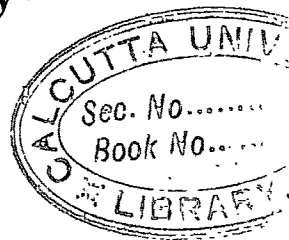


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Ramananda Chatterjee, M.A.



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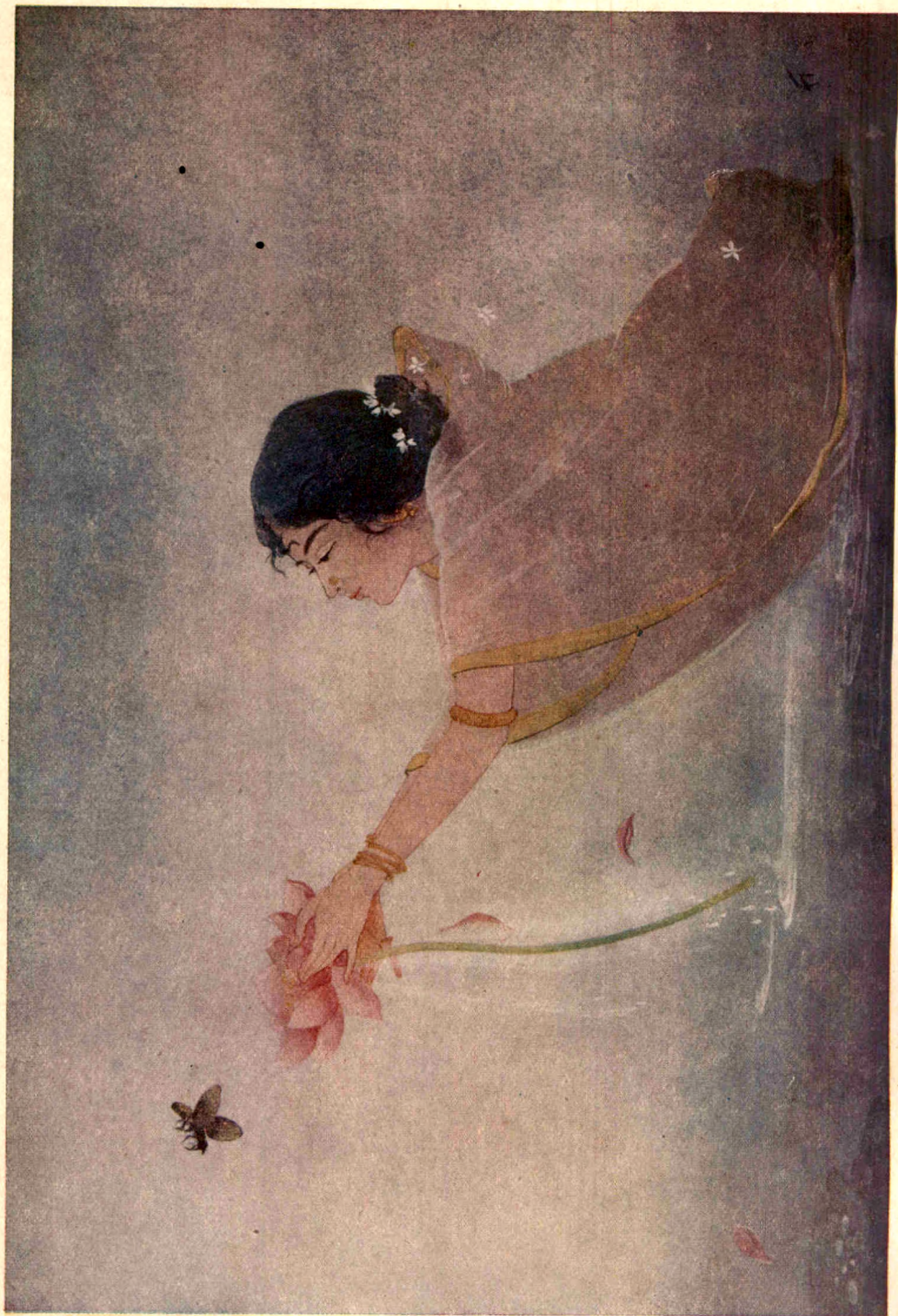
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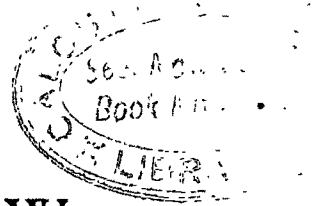
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IN SPORTIVE MOOD
By the courtesy of the artist Mr. Samarendranath Gupta.



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JULY, 1916

WHOLE
No. 115

MY REMINISCENCES

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(20) *Publishing.*

MY writings so far had been confined to the family circle. Then was started the monthly called the *Gyanankur* (Sprouting Knowledge) and, as befitted its name it secured an embryo poet as one of its contributors. It began to publish all my poetic ravings indiscriminately, and to this day I have, in a corner of my mind, the fear that, when the day of judgment comes for me, some enthusiastic literary police-agent will institute a search in the inmost zenana of forgotten literature, regardless of the claims of privacy, and bring these out before the pitiless public gaze.

My first prose writing also saw the light in the pages of the *Gyanankur*. It was a critical essay and had a bit of a history.

A book of poems had been published entitled *Bhubanmohini Pratibha*.* Akshay Babu in the *Sadharani* and Bhudeb Babu in the *Education Gazette* hailed this new poet with effusive acclamation. A friend of mine, older than myself, whose friendship dates from then, would come and show me letters he had received signed *Bhubanmohini*. He was one of those whom the book had captivated and used frequently to send reverential offerings of books or cloth† to the address of the reputed authoress.

Some of these poems were so wanting in

restraint both of thought and language that I could not bear the idea of their being written by a woman. The letters that were shown to me made it still less possible for me to believe in the womanliness of the writer. But my doubts did not shake my friend's devotion and he went on with the worship of his idol.

Then I launched into a criticism of the work of this writer. I let myself go, and eruditely held forth on the distinctive features of lyrics and other short poems, my great advantage being that printed matter is so unblushing, so impassively unbetraying of the writer's real attainments. My friend turned up in a great passion and hurled at me the threat that a B. A. was writing a reply. A B. A. ! I was struck speechless. I felt the same as in my younger days when my nephew Satya had shouted for a policeman. I could see the triumphal pillar of argument, erected upon my nice distinctions, crumbling before my eyes at the merciless assaults of authoritative quotations; and the door effectually barred against my ever showing my face to the reading public again. Alas, my critique, under what evil star wert thou born ! I spent day after day in the direst suspense. But, like Satya's policeman, the B. A. failed to appear.

(21) *Bhanu Singha.*

As I have said I was a keen student of the series of old Vaishnava poems which were being collected and published by Babus Akshay Sarkar and Saroda Mit er. Their language, largely mixed with Maithili, I found difficult to understand ;

* This would mean "the genius of Bhubanmohini" if that be taken as the author's name.

† Gifts of cloth for use as wearing apparel are customary by way of ceremonial offerings of affection, respect or seasonable greeting.

but for that very reason I took all the more pains to get at their meaning. My feeling towards them was that same eager curiosity with which I regarded the ungerminated sprout within the seed, or the undiscovered mystery under the dust covering of the earth. My enthusiasm was kept up with the hope of bringing to light some unknown poetical gems as I went deeper and deeper into the unexplored darkness of this treasure-house.

While I was so engaged, the idea got hold of me of enfoldng my own writings in just such a wrapping of mystery. I had heard from Akshay Chowdhury the story of the English boy-poet Chatterton. What his poetry was like I had no idea, nor perhaps had Akshay Babu himself. Had we known, the story might have lost its charm. As it happened the melodramatic element in it fired my imagination; for had not so many been deceived by his successful imitation of the classics? And at last the unfortunate youth had died by his own hand. Leaving aside the suicide part I girded up my loins to emulate young Chatterton's exploits.

One noon the clouds had gathered thickly. Rejoicing in the grateful shade of the cloudy midday rest-hour, I lay prone on the bed in my inner room and wrote on a slate the imitation *Maithili* poem *Gatana kusuma kunja majhe*. I was greatly pleased with it and lost no time in reading it out to the first one I came across; of whose understanding a word of it there happened to be not the slightest danger, and who consequently could not but gravely nod and say, "Good, very good indeed!"

To my friend mentioned a while ago I said one day: "A tattered old manuscript has been discovered while rummaging in the *Adi Brahma Samaj* library from which I have copied some poems by an old Vaishnava Poet named Bhanu Singha,* with which I read some of my imitation poems to him. He was profoundly stirred. "These could not have been written even by *Vidyapati* or *Chandidas*!" he rapturously exclaimed. "I really must have that MS. to make over to Akshay Babu for publication."

* The old Vaishnava poets used to bring their name into the last stanza of the poem, this serving as their signature. Bhanu and Rabi both mean the Sun Tr.

Then I showed him my manuscript book and conclusively proved that the poems could not have been written by either *Vidyapati* or *Chandidas* because the author happened to be myself. My friend's face fell as he muttered, "Yes, yes, they're not half bad."

When these Bhanu Singha poems were coming out in the *Bharati*, Dr. Nishikanta Chatterjee was in Germany. He wrote a thesis on the lyric poetry of our country comparing it with that of Europe. Bhanu Singha was given a place of honour as one of the old poets such as no modern writer could have aspired to. This was the thesis on which Nishikanta Chatterjee got his Ph. D.!

Whoever Bhanu Singha might have been, had his writings fallen into the hands of latter-day me, I swear I would not have been deceived. The language might have passed muster; for that which the old poets wrote in was not their mother tongue, but an artificial language varying in the hands of different poets. But there was nothing artificial about their sentiments. Any attempt to test Bhanu Singha's poetry by its ring would have shown up the base metal. It had none of the ravishing melody of our ancient pipes, but only the tinkle of a modern, foreign barrel organ.

(22) Patriotism.

From an outside point of view many a foreign custom would appear to have gained entry into our family, but at its heart flames a national pride which has never flickered. The genuine regard which my father had for his country never forsook him through all the revolutionary vicissitudes of his life, and this in his descendants has taken shape as a strong patriotic feeling. Love of country was, however, by no means a characteristic of the times of which I am writing. Our educated men then kept at arms' length both the language and thought of their native land. Nevertheless my elder brothers had always cultivated Bengali literature. When on one occasion some new connection by marriage wrote my father an English letter it was promptly returned to the writer.

The *Hindu Mela* was an annual fair which had been instituted with the assistance of our house. Babu Nabagopal Mitter was appointed its manager. This was perhaps the first attempt at a reveren-



"ONE NOON THE CLOUDS HAD GATHERED THICKLY."

From a drawing by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

By the courtesy of
Mr. Rathindranath Tagore.

U. RAY & SONS, CALCUTTA.

tial realisation of India as our motherland. My second brother's popular national anthem "*Bharater Jaya*," was composed, then. The singing of songs glorifying the motherland, the recitation of poems of the love of country, the exhibition of indigenous arts and crafts and the encouragement of national talent and skill were the features of this *Mela*.

On the occasion of Lord Curzon's Delhi durbar I wrote a prose-paper—at the time of Lord Lytton's it was a poem. The British Government of those days feared the Russians it is true, but not the pen of a 14-year old poet. So, though my poem lacked none of the fiery sentiments appropriate to my age, there were no signs of any consternation in the ranks of the authorities from Commander-in-chief down to Commissioner of Police. Nor did any lachrymose letter in the *Times* predict a speedy downfall of the Empire for this apathy of its local guardians. I recited my poem under a tree at the Hindu Mela and one of my hearers was Nabin Sen, the poet. He reminded me of this after I had grown up.

My fourth brother, Jyotirindra, was responsible for a political association of which old Rajnarain Bose was the president. It held its sittings in a tumble-down building in an obscure Calcutta lane. Its proceedings were enshrouded in mystery. This mystery was its only claim to be awe-inspiring, for as a matter of fact there was nothing in our deliberations or doings of which government or people need have been afraid. The rest of our family had no idea where we were spending our afternoons. Our front door would be locked, the meeting room in darkness; the watchword a Vedic *mantra*, our talk in whispers. These alone provided us with enough of a thrill, and we wanted nothing more. Mere child as I was, I also was a member. We surrounded ourselves with such an atmosphere of pure frenzy that we always seemed to be soaring aloft on the wings of our enthusiasm. Of bashfulness, diffidence or fear we had none, our main object being to bask in the heat of our own fervour.

Bravery may sometimes have its drawbacks; but it has always maintained a deep hold on the reverence of mankind. In the literature of all countries we find an unflagging endeavour to keep alive this reverence. So in whatever state a parti-

cular set of men in a particular locality may be, they cannot escape the constant impact of these stimulating shocks. We had to be content with responding to such shocks, as best we could, by letting loose our imagination, coming together, talking tall and singing fervently.

There can be no doubt that closing up all outlets and barring all openings to a faculty so deep-seated in the nature of man, and moreover so prized by him, creates an unnatural condition favourable to degenerate activity. It is not enough to keep open only the avenues to clerical employment in any comprehensive scheme of Imperial Government—if no road be left for adventurous daring the soul of man will pine for deliverance, and secret passages still be sought, of which the pathways are tortuous and the end unthinkable. I firmly believe that if in those days Government had parades a frigidness born of suspicion then the comedy which the youthful members of this association had been at might have turned into grim tragedy. The play, however, is over, not a brick of Fort William is any the worse, and we are now smiling at its memory.

My brother Jyotirindra began to busy himself with a national costume for all India, and submitted various designs to the association. The *Dhoti* was not deemed business-like; trousers were too foreign; so he hit upon a compromise which considerably detracted from the dhoti while failing to improve the trousers. That is to say, the trousers were decorated with the addition of a false dhoti-fold in front and behind. The fearsome thing that resulted from combining a turban with a *Sola-topee* our most enthusiastic member would not have had the temerity to call ornamental. No person of ordinary courage could have dared it, but my brother unflinchingly wore the complete suit in broad day-light, passing through the house of an afternoon to the carriage waiting on outside, indifferent alike to the stare of relation or friend, door-keeper or coachman. There may be many a brave Indian ready to die for his country, but there are but few, I am sure, who even for the good of the nation would face the public streets in such pan-Indian garbs.

Every Sunday my brother would get up a *Shikar* party. Many of those who joined in it, uninvited, we did not even

know. There was a carpenter, a smith and others from all ranks of society. Bloodshed was the only thing lacking in this *shikar*, at least I cannot recall any. Its other appendages were so abundant and satisfying that we felt the absence of dead or wounded game to be a trifling circumstance of no account. As we were out from early morning, my sister-in-law furnished us with a plentiful supply of *luchis* with appropriate accompaniments; and as these did not depend upon the fortunes of our chase we never had to return empty.

The neighbourhood of Maniktola is not wanting in Villa-gardens. We would turn into any one of these at the end, and high and low-born alike, seated on the bathing platform of a tank, would fling ourselves on the *luchis* in right good earnest, all that was left of them being the vessels they were brought in.

Braja Babu was one of the most enthusiastic of these blood-thirstless *shikaris*. He was the Superintendent of the Metropolitan Institution and had also been our private tutor for a time. One day he had the happy idea of accosting the *mali* (gardener) of a villa-garden into which we had thus trespassed with: "Hallo, has uncle been here lately!" The *mali* lost no time in saluting him respectfully before he replied: "No, Sir, the master hasn't been lately." "All right, get us some green cocoanuts off the trees." We had a fine drink after our *luchis* that day.

A Zamindar in a small way was among our party. He owned a villa on the river side. One day we had a picnic there together, in defiance of caste rules. In the afternoon there was a tremendous storm. We stood on the river-side stairs leading into the water and shouted out songs to its accompaniment. I cannot truthfully assert that all the seven notes of the scale could properly be distinguished in Rajnarain Babu's singing, nevertheless he sent forth his voice and, as in the old Sanscrit works the text is drowned by the notes, so in Rajnarain Babu's musical efforts the vigorous play of his limbs and features overwhelmed his feeble vocal performance; his head swung from side to side marking time, while the storm played havoc with his flowing beard. It was late in the night when we turned homewards in a hackney carriage. By that time the storm clouds had dispersed and the stars

twinkled forth. The darkness had become intense, the atmosphere silent, the village roads deserted, and the thickets on either side filled with fireflies like a carnival of sparks scattered in some noiseless revelry.

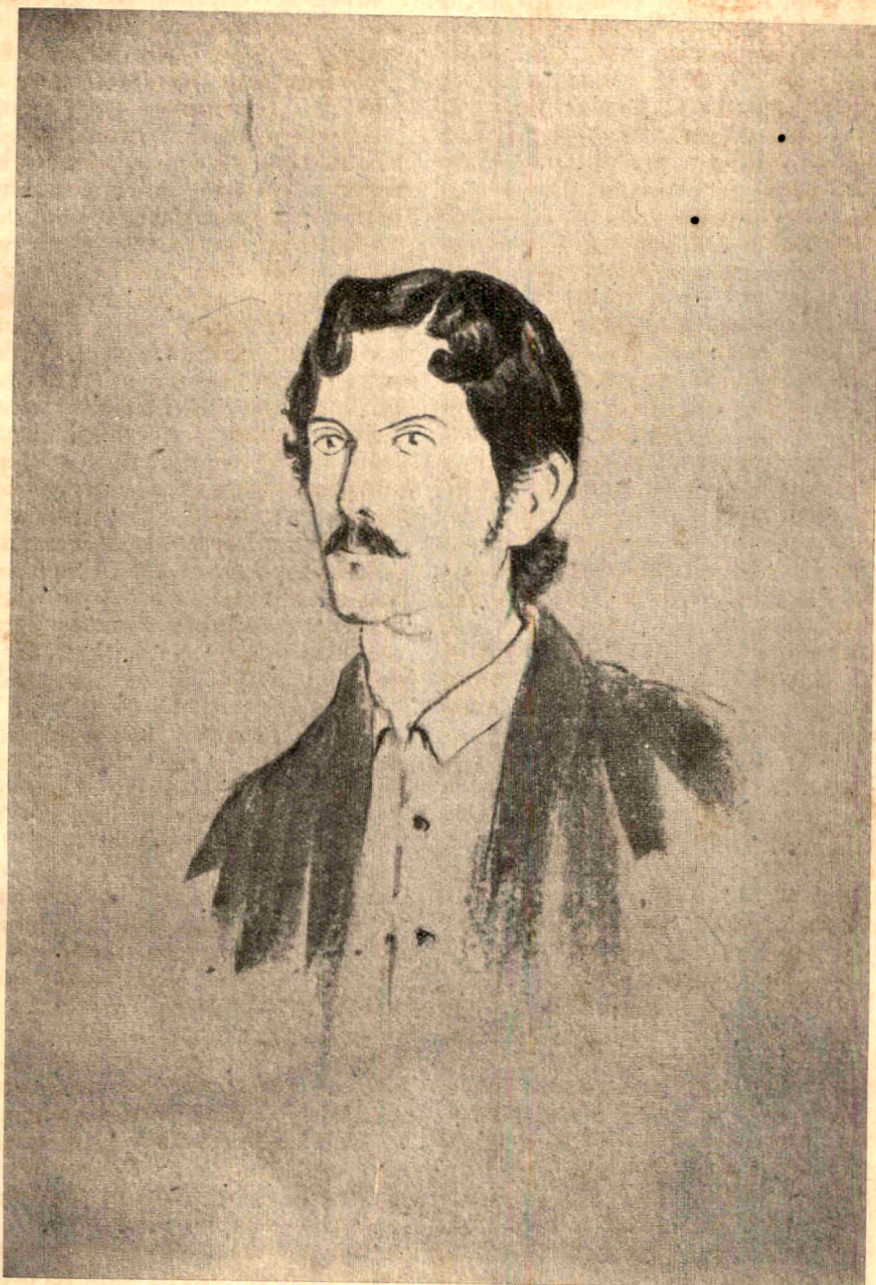
One of the objects of our association was to encourage the manufacture of lucifer matches, and similar small industries. For this purpose each member had to contribute a tenth of his income. Matches had to be made, but matchwood was difficult to get; for though we all know with what fiery energy a bundle of *khangras** can be wielded in capable hands, the thing that burns at its touch is not a lampwick. After many experiments we succeeded in making a boxful of matches. The patriotic enthusiasm which was thus evidenced did not constitute their only value; for the money that was spent in their making might have served to light the family hearth for the space of a year. Another little defect was that these matches could not be got to burn unless there was a light handy to touch them up with. If they could only have inherited some of the patriotic flame of which they were born they might have been marketable even today.

News came to us that some young student was trying to make a power loom. Off we went to see it. None of us had the knowledge with which to test its practical usefulness, but in our capacity for believing and hoping we were less than none. The poor fellow had got into a bit of debt over the cost of his machine which we repaid for him. Then one day we found Braja Babu coming over to our house with a flimsy country towel tied round his head. "Made in our loom!" he shouted as with hands uplifted he executed a war-dance. The outside of Braja Babu's head had then already begun to ripen into grey!

At last some worldly-wise people came and joined our society; made us taste of the fruit of knowledge, and broke up our little paradise.

When I first knew Rajnarain Babu, I was not old enough to appreciate his many-sidedness. In him were combined many

* The dried and stripped centre-vein of a cocoanut leaf gives a long tapering stick of the average thickness of a match stick, and a bundle of these goes to make the common Bengal household broom which in the hands of the housewife is popularly supposed to be useful in keeping the whole household in order from husband downwards. Its effect on a bare back is here alluded to.—Tr.



"MY FOURTH BROTHER, JYOTIRINDRA"
From a drawing by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

By the courtesy of
Mr. Rathindranath Tagore.

✓ opposites. In spite of his hoary hair and beard he was as young as the youngest of us, his venerable exterior serving only as a white mantle for keeping his youth perpetually fresh. Even his extensive learning had not been able to do him any damage, for it left him absolutely simple. To the end of his life: the incessant flow of his hearty laughter suffered no check, neither from the gravity of age, nor ill-health, nor domestic affliction, nor profundity of thought, nor variety of knowledge; all of which had been his in ample measure. He had been a favourite pupil of Richardson and brought up in an atmosphere of English learning, nevertheless he flung aside all obstacles due to his early habit and gave himself up lovingly and devotedly to Bengali literature. Though the meekest of men, he was full of fire which flamed its fiercest in his patriotism, as though to burn to ashes the shortcomings and destitution of his country. The memory of this smile-sweetened fervour-illuminated lifelong-youthful saint is one that is worth cherishing by our countrymen.

(23) *The Bharati.*

On the whole the period of which I am writing was for me one of ecstatic excitement. Many a night have I spent without sleep, not for any particular reason but from a mere desire to do the reverse of the obvious. I would keep up reading in the dim light of our school room all alone; the distant church clock would chime every quarter as if each passing hour was being put up to auction; and the loud *Haribols* of the bearers of the dead, passing along Chitpore Road on their way to the Nimtollah cremation ground, would now and then resound. Through some summer moonlight nights I would be wandering about like an unquiet spirit among the lights and shadows of the tubs and pots on the garden of the roof-terrace.

Those who would dismiss this as sheer poetising would be wrong. The very earth in spite of its having aged considerably surprises us occasionally by its departure from sober stability; in the days of its youth, when it had not become hardened and crusty, it was effusively volcanic and indulged in many a wild escapade. In the days of man's first youth the same sort of thing happens. So long as the materials which go to form his life have not taken on

their final shape they are apt to be turbulent in the process of their formation.

This was the time when my brother Jyotirindra decided to start the *Bharati* with our eldest brother as editor, giving us fresh food for enthusiasm. I was then just sixteen, but I was not left out of the editorial staff. A short while ago, in all the insolence of my youthful vanity, I had written a criticism of the *Megha-nadabadha*. As acidity is characteristic of the unripe mango so is abuse of the immature critic. When other powers are lacking, the power of pricking seems to be at its sharpest. I had thus sought immortality by leaving my scratches on that immortal epic. This impudent criticism was my first contribution to the *Bharati*.

In the first volume I also published a long poem called *Kavikahini* (The Poet's Story). It was the product of an age when the writer had seen practically nothing of the world except an exaggerated image of his own nebulous self. So the hero of the story was naturally a poet, not the writer as he was, but as he imagined or desired himself to seem. It would hardly be correct to say that he desired to be what he portrayed; that represented more what he thought was expected of him, what would make the world admiringly nod and say: "Yes, a poet indeed, quite the correct thing." In it was a great parade of universal love, that pet subject of the budding poet, which sounds as big as it is easy to talk about. While yet any truth has not dawned upon one's own mind, and others' words are one's only stock-in-trade, simplicity and restraint in expression is not possible. Then, in the endeavour to display magnified that which is really big in itself, it becomes impossible to avoid a grotesque and ridiculous exhibition.

When I blush to read these effusions of my boyhood I am also struck with the fear that very possibly in my later writings the same distortion, wrought by straining after effect lurks in a less obvious form. The loudness of my voice, I doubt not, often drowns the thing I would say; and some day or other Time will find me out.

The *Kavikahini* was the first work of mine to appear in book form. When I went with my second brother to Ahmedabad, some enthusiastic friend of mine took me by surprise by printing and publishing

it and sending me a copy. I cannot say that he did well, but the feeling that was roused in me at the time did not resemble that of an indignant judge. He got his punishment, however, not from the author, but from the public who hold the purse strings. I have heard that the dead load of the books lay, for many a long day, heavy on the shelves of the booksellers and the mind of the luckless publisher.

Writings of the age at which I began to contribute to the *Bharati* cannot possibly be fit for publication. There is no better way of ensuring repentance at maturity than to rush into print too early. But it has one redeeming feature: the irresistible impulse to see one's writings in print exhausts itself during early life. Who are the readers, what do they say, what printers' errors have remained uncorrected, these and the like worries run their course as infantile maladies and leave one leisure in later life to attend to one's literary work in a healthier frame of mind.

Bengali literature is not old enough to have elaborated those internal checks which can serve to control its votaries. As experience in writing is gained the Bengali writer has to evolve the restraining force from within himself. This makes it im-

possible for him to avoid the creation of a great deal of rubbish during a considerable length of time. The ambition to work wonders with the modest gifts at one's disposal is bound to be an obsession in the beginning, so that the effort to transcend at every step one's natural powers, and therewith the bounds of truth and beauty, is always visible in early writings. To recover one's normal self, to learn to respect one's powers as they are, is a matter of time.

However that may be, I have left much of youthful folly to be ashamed of besmirching the pages of the *Bharati*; which shame me not for their literary defects alone but for their atrocious impudence, their extravagant excesses and their high-sounding artificiality. At the same time I am free to recognise that the writings of that period were pervaded with an enthusiasm the value of which cannot be small. It was a period, to which if error was natural, so was the boyish faculty of hoping, believing and rejoicing. And if the fuel of error was necessary for feeding the flame of enthusiasm then while that which was fit to be reduced to ashes will have become ash, the good work done by the flame will not have been in vain in my life.

KOJU'S LOYALTY

MITSUNAKA Minamoto, Lord of the Horse to the Emperor Murakami, had a boy Bijo, who was sent to a certain monastery in the mountains called the Chuzonji Temple to study. But being reckless and wild by nature, Bijo did not apply his mind to study; on the contrary, he spent his time from morn till night in the practice of military exercises and even in quarrel-making. Now when Mitsunaka came to full knowledge of his son's behaviour, he despatched Nakamitsu, his trusted retainer, to the temple to summon him back home to Kyoto. On Bijo's return, Mitsunaka, at once called him to his presence to reprimand him. He exclaimed: "My sole reason for not recalling you sooner from the temple was that I wished to indulge you in the pursuit of your studies. You must have

learned to read the holy scriptures. Now let me listen to your reading of them."

He bade his son sit before the desk with the sacred text written in gold letters. Bijo could not spell out, alas, even one letter of the book, since he had never touched his hand at the temple to either a penmanship book or a sutra; so he remained silent and distressed. Even though he was unable to write, Mitsunaka said to him that he supposed he must have learned verse-making; Bijo's reply was in the negative. "And how about music?" Mitsunaka asked. Bijo could not make any answer to his question. Mitsunaka, who was from the beginning somewhat irritated, now grew enraged, and glaring at his son, he exclaimed:

"Can it be that you have never listened to one word of your father? You young

fool, you drive me wild. How can I point you out to strangers as my child? What a shame to have such a son as you!"

No sooner were the words uttered, than out from the scabbard flew his sword; he was darting forward when good Nakamitsu rushed in between, checking the bloody scene. Nakamitsu begged his master to be merciful, saying that although his reproof was merited, he would entreat him to show some consideration. And he respectfully asked Mitsunaka to hand over his sword into his hand.

"If you wish I will give you this my sword," said Mitsunaka, whose anger was not yet appeased. "But be not slow to slay Bijo with it: I will never let you alone, all the gods look on me and hear my words, if you ever pity Bijo or contrive a plan for sparing his life."

Nakamitsu thinking it of first importance to calm his mind even for the moment, said, but with no confidence in his own words, that Mitsunaka's commands should be obeyed. Mitsunaka entered within the inner room.

Nakamitsu now being left alone became lost in thought. How, although he had promised Mitsunaka, could he slay his master's son? He resolved that he would in any case persuade Bijo to make a temporary escape. Presently he came to the place where Bijo was hiding, and said:

"There was neither word to say nor way to act, seeing the lord my master in such a rage."

"By your kindness here at this moment I am alive. But I have overheard my father's words commanding you to slay me; haste you now and strike off my head, and show it to my sire."

Nakamitsu, moved to admiration by the courageous expression of the young boy, urged him to agree to his plan, assuring the boy that when his father's mind grew calmer he would certainly be forgiven. But Mitsunaka's inquiries as to whether his order had been executed came fast in succession. Nakamitsu knowing not what to do was only thinking of the penalty of a previous life written in the Holy Scripture: that he was fated to slay his master's son, he thought, was nothing but a retribution for the sins of his former existence. He shed many tears; but Bijo, recovering his brave spirit, said that idle speech and crying would only make the hour grow late. He pressed on Nakamitsu

to strike off his head speedily. Nakamitsu said with tears:

"Were I but of like age with you, young my lord, I would redeem your life at the cost of mine own: My life in which a little import cannot serve at this great moment. Alas, how sad!"

Koju, son of Nakamitsu, a young boy of like age with Bijo, who was looking on at this sad scene from somewhere behind, made his sudden appearance, saying:

"Father, the words you have just spoken have found their way to my ear. Why do you not strike off my head? I am quick, slay me, and show my head to the master as the head of my lord Bijo."

"Bravely spoken, Koju. Such are the very words that I expect to hear from my son. I will wrap your head with a thin cloth, and present it to the master in the darkness of night, keeping it at some distance from him; though he be maddened and fearless, his father's eyes will surely grow dim and he will not dare examine the head closely. Koju, be ready to be a substitute for young my lord."

Nakamitsu held up his sword, now standing behind his son Koju; but Bijo rushed forward to clasp Nakamitsu's sleeve, and held him back, declaring:

"Even should you slay Koju, I will kill myself at once!"

"But it is only an unwritten vow of a warrior that he shall lay down his lesser life for his lord."

Thus saying, Nakamitsu again stood behind Koju, who, with firm determination, stretched forth his neck, and joined his hands in prayer; but the father hesitated to bring down his sword upon Koju's young head. Here was Bijo, son of his master, whom he was commanded to slay; and there was his own son, to whom he had imparted his own flesh and blood, and whose head he should have; and both of them striving for death, with Nakamitsu between. It was only natural for Nakamitsu to feel dismay; but encouraged by Koju who said that his martial honour would only be perfected through his dying for his young lord, and that it were kinder of his father to make misery short by striking quickly, Nakamitsu sent down his murderous sword upon Koju's head. A flash, a moment, alas, the young head dropped at his feet. Oh, what a horror!

He summoned a servant and commanded

him to lead Bijo away at once to some safe place of shelter. Then he made his presence before Mitsunaka, announcing that his master's command had been obeyed; and when the head of Koju was unveiled to view, Mitsunaka who never dreamed that it was some other boy's, gazed sadly on it with many tears in his eyes, and asked Nakamitsu how were his last moments, and if he had behaved like a coward. Nakamitsu replied:

"Not so, my master. As I stood aghast, holding up my sword in hand, your son called out saying: 'Why does Nakamitsu thus delay?' Oh, my lord, those were his last words."

"I have something to say to you, Nakamitsu. As you know well, I had no child except Bijo; and since I have lost him, I should like to adopt your Koju as my heir. Go quickly and call him here."

"I thank you for your words. But Koju in despair at being suddenly separated from young my lord, cut off his locks and assumed a priestly guise; he has vanished nobody knows whither. I too, would crave permission for my leave-taking to enter into a temple for a holy life of prayer."

Then Mitsunaka went on to say that, swayed by the madness of a moment, he had commanded Nakamitsu to slay Bijo; and since Bijo had received from Nakamitsu such a fatherly protection, Mitsunaka thought what grief should be in Nakamitsu's heart in losing both his children at once. Although Bijo was a boy whom he had cast off, still Mitsunaka recalled that it was his own son all the same; so he announced that a proper funeral rite for him should be performed.

* * * * *

Bijo, who had by the kindness of Nakamitsu escaped the perilous moment, had taken refuge with Genshin, abbot of the Esanin Monastery on Mount Hiyei. Genshin duly began to think that it would not be right to leave the matter as it was; he accompanied Bijo one day to Mitsunaka's palace in the capital, where he first met Nakamitsu, to whom he spoke the words of condolence for poor Koju. Then the priest appeared in Mitsunaka's presence. When he said that he had something to say about Bijo, Mitsunaka replied that he had commanded Nakamitsu to slay the boy, for he was undutiful in conduct. Genshin proceeded:

"It is that I would discourse of, my lord. Be calm and deign to give me your attention while I speak. Although you commanded that Bijo's head should be cut off, Nakamitsu could not prevail on himself to kill one to whom, as his lord, his reverence was bound through the Three Worlds. Nakamitsu slew his son Koju and saved Bijo's life. I would humbly supplicate you to forgive one for whose welfare Nakamitsu's heart of loyalty was beautifully expressed."

Then the priest called out Bijo from the place where he was lying hidden. On seeing him unexpectedly, Mitsunaka's anger commingled with shame blazed again, and he exclaimed:

"You coward, you craven! What reason have you to live, letting Koju be sacrificed? Why did you not kill yourself, you scum?"

The priest, begging him to put all other thoughts aside, said that, if it were only as an act of piety to Koju's soul, he should refrain from cursing his son. The priestly language of his entreaty gradually softened Mitsunaka's stony hard mind, and he at length allowed the priest's request. Nakamitsu, glad to see the hearts of father and son again intertwined, brought out a cup and wine which he first offered to hold. Genshin then asked Nakamitsu to rise and dance some lucky piece on this happy occasion. Nakamitsu now adjusted his own dress and started to dance. While dancing, he could not help thinking that, if Koju were but here on this day, he would let the two dance together, while he would beat the time, and would shed tears of joy instead of grief. But he soon recovered his spirit, deeming it a warrior's shame to be seen crying, and that tears were inappropriate to such glad occasion; and once more he danced spiritedly. Genshin thinking it was for him and his disciple to depart, rose up and said farewell, while Nakamitsu rising to see them off, walked close to Bijo's palanquin, and whispered his fatherly counsel into his ears:

"Dear young lord, you should be earnest in study."

He was thinking that if Koju were alive, he would certainly see Bijo along to his temple. But Bijo is alone today. How bitterly in heart Nakamitsu cried!

YONE NOGUCHI.

IN SALUTATION TO MY FATHER'S SPIRIT

(AGHORNATH CHATTOPADHYAY).

Soldier and saint, singer and mystic sage,
 O subtle jester, golden-hearted child,
 Selfless, serene, untroubled, unbeguiled
 By trivial snares of pride or grief or rage,
 O splendid dreamer in a dreamless age
 Whose pure alchemic vision reconciled
 Time's changing message with the undefiled,
 Deep Vedic wisdom of thy heritage !
 Farewell, farewell ! my father and my friend,
 Whose spirit knew not birth or death for end,
 But only Truth for ever-living goal !
 And hail to thee in thine ethereal flight
 From hope to hope, from height to heav'nlier height
 Lost in the rapture of the Cosmic Soul !

SAROJINI NAIDU.

Hyderabad, Deccan.

NEW LIGHTS ON MARATHA HISTORY

BY PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., P.R.S.

§1. *When, how and why was Shahji imprisoned by the Bijapuris?*

THE authentic Persian history of Bijapur, entitled *Basatin-i-Salatin*, states that while the Bijapur army under Nawab Mustafa Khan as supreme commander and Malik Raihan and Shahji Rajah as his lieutenants, invaded the Karnatak and besieged Jinji, a quarrel broke out first between the two Muslim generals, and then between Mustafa Khan and Shahji. "Shahji, withdrawing his head from obedience to the Nawab, began to oppose him, till at last the Nawab decided to arrest him. One day he made Babaji [=Baji] Rao Ghorpure and Aswant (or Yeswant) Rao Asad-Khani get their forces ready and sent them very early in the morning to Shahji's camp. It so happened that Shahji, having passed the preceding night in feast and merriment, was sleeping

in bed in the morning. As soon as the two Raos arrived and he learnt of their purpose, he in utter bewilderment took horse and galloped away from his house alone. Babaji Ghorpure gave chase and caught him, and brought him before the Nawab who threw him into confinement. His contingent of 3,000 cavalry was dispersed, and his camp was thoroughly looted . . . At the arrest of Shahji, Malik Raihan grew more suspicious of the Nawab than before, and took precautions to guard against any attempt to seize his person. . . . When a full year had passed since the commencement of the siege of Jinji, a mortal illness seized the Nawab and it was protracted; treatment produced no effect and he daily grew worse. So, Malik Raihan reported the matter to Adil Shah . . . who ordered (his wazir) Khan Muhammad to listen to Jinji with his 7,000 troopers and re-

place Mustafa Khan in the command of operations, and also sent from Court Afzal Khan to bring Shahji away and an eunuch and Malik Itibar Khan to attach the property of Shahji and the deceased noble Khairiyat Khan. These were still on the way when the Nawab died on 3rd Ziqada 1058 (=9 Nov. 1648) . . . Malik Raihan guarded the captive Shahji till the arrival of the party from the Court. . . . The siege was pressed on, till at last on 17 Dec. 1649 Raja Rup Nayak, the lord of Jinji, capitulated." (Pp. 309-311 of Major B. D. Basu's MS.)

On P. 328 it is distinctly stated that Shahji was arrested in the month of Rajab 1058 A.H. (=12 July-10 Aug. 1648 A.D.), i.e., three months before the death of Mustafa Khan. It is, therefore, clear that (i) Shahji was arrested not on 6th Aug. 1647 as Mr. Sardesai writes (*Marathi Riyasat*, i. 207), but a year later. (ii) Baji Ghorpure did not arrest Shahji by treachery as is asserted by the Maratha chroniclers. (iii) Shahji was not imprisoned by order of Adil Shah, but by the commander-in-chief at Jinji without his master's knowledge or consent, and the cause of the arrest was not Shivaji's usurpation of Bijapuri forts in the Konkan, but Mustafa Khan's hostility to Shahji—probably based on a false accusation by spies that he was intriguing with the enemy and ruining his master's cause, (the very accusation against Malik Raihan). The Bijapur history which is bitterly hostile to Shivaji and calls him *nimak-haram* and *badzat* (p. 376), does not say that Shahji was put in prison as a means of coercing his rebel son. The earliest life of Shivaji extant, viz., Sabhasad's, is silent about Shahji's captivity, and ascribes Adil Shah's remonstrance with the father for the son's offences to a later period, 1659. (*Shahhasad Eakhar*, p. 10).

The release of Shahji was effected shortly after 30 Nov. 1649, on which date Shah Jahan wrote two letters to Shahji and Shivaji (Rajawade, viii. Nos. 3 and 4), saying that he had issued orders on Bijapur for the release of Shahji, 'not remembering his past misdeeds.' These letters cannot be later forgeries because they state a fact which is known only to those few who have made a minute study of Shah Jahan's movements by plodding through the voluminous Persian histories of his reign. The Emperor says, "I am

soon going to Delhi;" in fact he was on that date at Lahore and reached Delhi soon afterwards. No modern fabricator could have added this little touch.

§2. *The Treaty of Purandar, 1665.*

The terms of the agreement made between the Mughal general Mirza Rajah Jai Singh and Shivaji at Purandar on 13 June 1665, are distinctly and repeatedly given by Jai Singh in his despatches to Aurangzib, as the Emperor made particular inquiries about them. Early in August, Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor: "Your Majesty has asked—'What promises and agreements have been made by Shiva? What oaths, considered solemn by Hindus, have been sworn by him? How did you compose your mind about his [possible] ill-faith, when allowing him to go away?' My liege! when I dismissed Shiva, I took from him oaths no stronger than which a Hindu can possibly take and the violation of which is believed to make a man accursed and doomed to perdition. We agreed to the following conditions: (a) Shiva should be content with the 12 forts, large and small, and the land yielding one lakh of *hun* (i.e., 5 lakhs of rupees) which I had left to him as a mark of Imperial grace, and he should never act disobediently nor plunder the Imperial dominions. (b) Wherever in the *subah* of Deccan he is ordered on a service, he should perform it. (c) His son Shambhuji, with the rank of a Commander of five thousand, and accompanied by Netuji, who is surnamed the Second Shivaji, should [always] attend on the *subahdar* of the Deccan. (d) If lands yielding 4 lakhs of *hun* in Tal-Konkan and 5 lakhs of *hun* in Balaghat Bijapuri (i.e., uplands) are granted to Shiva by the Emperor and he is insured by a *farman* the possession of these lands after the [expected] conquest of Bijapur [on which Jai Singh was about to set out], then he would in return pay the Emperor 40 lakhs of *hun* in yearly instalments of 3 lakhs. (e) 23 forts with territory yielding 4 lakhs of *hun* in Balaghat and Tal-Konkan Nizam Shahi (i.e., the former territory of the extinct kingdom of Ahmadnagar) will be taken away from Shiva and annexed to the Mughal empire." (*Haft Anjuman*, Benares MS., 66b-67a.)

A little later Jai Singh writes:—"Your Majesty has replied, 'Bijapuri Tal-Konkan

is granted to Shiva, but no order will be issued by me about Bijapuri Balaghat being given to Shiva. If he can take it, let him wrest it from Adil Shah.' True, such a remark is equivalent to an order from your Imperial grace, but Shiva, out of extreme obedience to your wishes, will not venture to undertake the conquest of the latter territory unless he gets a definite *sanad* to that effect.... The standard revenue of these mahals was 9 lakhs of *hun* in former times. But it will now fall short of that sum, even after the pacification of the country and the settlement of *ryots*.... Adil Shah had offered to cede this territory to Shiva if he allowed his brother's son to enter the Bijapur service. But Shiva in reliance on the sanctity of my promises and in hopes of the Emperor's liberality, declined.... I pray that Shiva's request may be granted and it may be entered in the Imperial farman that 9 lakh *hun* worth of land in Bijapuri Tal-Konkan and Balaghat are bestowed on Shiva, on condition of his paying 40 lakhs of *hun* by fixed instalments." (*Ibid*, 70 a & b.)

Still later Jai Singh writes: "My liege! You have graciously accepted my recommendation about the demands of Shiva.... He reached my camp on 27th September, 1665, and welcomed the Imperial *farman*. He promised to accompany me in the Bijapur expedition with the troops of his son's *mansab*, and, in addition, 7000 expert infantry....

"As for the land worth one lakh of *hun* annually which the Emperor has left to him out of the old Nizam Shahi dominions, he very humbly submits that he has no other source of income except this; because the *ryots* of Bijapuri Tal-Konkan have been unsettled by the hostility of Adil Shah. As for Bijapuri Balaghat, though he (i.e., Shiva) can occupy it before our march on Bijapur, yet during that expedition [in which Shiva must be present] the *ryots* will disperse and cultivation will cease. Shiva, therefore, prays that he may be granted villages and mahals yielding one lakh of *hun* in the Nizam Shahi territory.... But after much enquiry I learn that there is an immense difference between the former (i.e., theoretical) revenue and the present (i.e., actual) yield of the Nizam Shahi parganahs. Therefore, instead of at once ceding to Shiva villages with a theoretical revenue of one lakh *hun*, I have decided that at first the entire

Nizam Shahi territory, except the 12 tofts in Shiva's possession, should be administered by the Crown lands department so that the true facts about its revenue may be learnt [by our collectors]. At the end of one year, mahals yielding one lakh [in actual collection] will be selected for Shiva out of this tract. In the meantime, to meet the expenses of Shiva's contingent during the coming war against Bijapur, I have agreed to pay him two lakhs of rupees in cash, as a substitute of the *jagir* [from which he is to be kept out for this one year].

"As for the *jagir* due to Shambhaji, I told Shiva plainly that so long as I was not assured of the payment of the annual instalments of 3 lakhs of *hun*, out of the 40 lakhs agreed upon as his fee [for the possession of Bijapuri Tal-Konkan and Balaghat], I could not grant any *jagir* to his son. He very loyally replied, 'Although the land for which these 40 lakhs have been promised, *has not yet been fully taken possession of* by me, and although the real income from it can be known only after taking full possession, yet I shall supply the contingent of troops which my son's *mansab* (rank in the army) makes it necessary for him to keep under his banner; and I pray that the salary of his *mansab* may be taken as an equivalent of the instalment of tribute due from me to the Imperial Government.' I have agreed to these proposals, as Shiva can render very valuable help to us in the impending war [with Bijapur]." (*Ibid*, 74b-76c.)

It is clear from the above that the treaty was really an agreement between the Mughals and the Marathas for the partition of the Bijapuri kingdom between them. Shiva was to conquer his portion either before or during the war, and the Mughals agreed not to claim this portion after the conquest of Bijapur on the ground of their being heir to *all* the lands of Adil Shah, but to confirm Shiva in possession of it, in return for a fee of 40 lakhs of *hun*. The two robbers here agree as to how the booty should be divided, in anticipation of the territorial brigandage they are just going to commit. Not a word is said about Shiva being given the right to *evy chauth* on Bijapuri territory, as is asserted in the Marathi accounts. (*Sardesai*, §17). No promise was made by Jai Singh or his master to confer on Shiva the viceroyalty of Mughal Deccan, as the *Bakhsh* allege

(*Sahmasad*, 38), and the idea of such a promise appears to me to be extremely improbable.

Some account of the places mentioned in the treaty is necessary to assist the reader's comprehension of the real state of affairs. *Tal-Konkan* is the low land lying at the foot of the Western Ghats, i.e., the coast strip, while *Balaghat* (Marathi, *Ghat-matha*) is the highland on the top of these hills. In the 16th century and a part of the 17th, these two regions had been divided between the Nizam Shahi (or Ahmednagar) and Bijapuri kingdoms,—the former holding the northern half and the latter the southern. But the repeated shocks of Mughal invasion from 1599 to 1633 utterly shattered the Nizam Shahi kingdom and its fragments were seized by its neighbours. The treaty of 1636 made a partition of the dominions of this extinct kingdom between the Emperor of Delhi and the Sultan of Bijapur, the latter getting Nizam Shahi Tal-Konkan and Balaghat. (For details see my *History of Aurangzib*, i. 38-39, and *Haft Anjuman*, 67b. As the result of Aurangzib's invasion of Bijapur in 1657, Adil Shah agreed to cede to the Mughals Nizam Shahi Tal-Konkan and Bijapuri Balaghat. (*History of Aurangzib*, i. 278 and *Haft Anj.*, 67b.) But the war of succession broke out soon afterwards and Adil Shah refused to yield the promised territory. But this region was never effectively occupied and administered by the Bijapuris; Shiva had, long before 1665, seized several places in it. In fact it was now a no man's land which the Mughals offered to Shiva.

§3. *The Captivity of Shahu or Shivaji II, 1689-1707.*

Shahu, the son of Shambhuji, was captured by the Mughals on the fall of Raigarh, on 19 Oct. 1689 (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 331) and kept a prisoner of state in the Emperor's camp in the Deccan. He was never sent to Delhi, nor was he taken care of by Zebunnissa, as is asserted by Col. L. W. Shakespear in his recently published *Local History of Poona* and Sardesai in his *Marathi Riyasat*, i. 620. Zebunnissa lived at Delhi as a captive under her father's wrath from 1681 to her death in 1702, and she never once went to the Deccan after her father's accession to the throne in 1658. It was not Zeb, but her younger sister Zinat-un-nissa who manag-

ed Aurangzib's household in the Deccan during his 25 years' stay there (*History of Aurangzib*, i. 70), and this princess might have taken pity on the boy Shahu, though no mention of it is made in any history. I give the known facts of Shahu's prison-life below:—

"Itiqadkh, the conqueror of Raigarh and son of the *wazir* Asad Khan, brought Shahu and his father's family to the Imperial presence on 23 Nov. 1689. The Emperor graciously ordered that suitable tents should be pitched for Shambhuji's mother and other relatives in the *gulalbar* (circle of the imperial residence) and they should be made to dismount there with all honour and privacy. Her servants and dependents were lodged close to the prime minister's camp. Annual pensions were settled on all of them according to their ranks. Shahu, aged nine years, was given the *mansab* of a Commander of Seven Thousand, the title of Rajah, a robe of honour, jewels, horse, elephant, kettle-drums and standard." (*M. A.* 332.)

"About July 1699, the prisoners were joined by the captured family of Rajah Ram (*Ibid*, 407).

"About Oct. 1700, the Emperor learnt that as Hindus did not take cooked food in prison, Rajah Shahu, the son of Shambhuji, used to eat sweetmeats, fruits and *pakkanna*, instead of cooked food. His Majesty sent word to Shahu, 'You are not a prisoner; you are living in your own house. You should therefore eat cooked food.'" (433).

"In 1703, Shahu received many costly presents and was sent to make his bow to Kam Bakhsh. His tent was also ordered to be pitched near Kam Bakhsh's residence." (473).

"In 1704, Shambhuji's daughter was married to Muhammad Muhiuddin, a son of Sikandar Adil Shah, receiving a dowry of Rs. 7000 from the Emperor. The marriage of Shahu was settled with the daughter of Bahadurji." (482).

"June 1705, Rajah Shahu, by command of the Emperor, went to and came back from the house of Firuz Jang Bahadur (the Nizam's father) with the troops of Hamiduddin Khan (an Imperial general of high rank)." (495).

"25 Jan. 1706, Shahu, who was residing within the *gulalbar*, was for some political reasons ordered to accompany the army of Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur Nusrat Jang,

who was sent to recover the fort of Bakhshenda-Bakhsh or Kondana," [which was effected about 16 March next]. (511). The fate of Shambhuji's widow Yessubai was very sad. She was confined in a fortress, and the Muslim governor of it took advantage of her helpless condition. When her shame could no longer be concealed, the Emperor learnt of the scandal and punished the licentious *qiladar*.

IN AMERICA WITH MY MASTER •

VISIT TO AMERICA.

THE time now arrived to make preparations for our visit to America. Some difficulty arose, however, about booking our passage. Though the War had been declared only three months ago, yet there were disquieting news of several vessels and a battleship having been mysteriously sunk in the Irish Sea and in the Channel. It could hardly be believed that the Germans could have the daring to send their submarines to such distances from their base. Subsequent events have shown that their apprentice hands were even then at work. Great insecurity was felt in taking a voyage across the Atlantic, and the three ships, the *Lusitania*, the *Arabic* and the *Cymric*, in one of which we thought of taking our passage, were, as is well known, torpedoed and sunk. We, however, decided to take our passage in the American liner *SS. Philadelphia*, which was not a very sea-worthy vessel and in which we had all the sufferings of a tempestuous voyage across the Atlantic.

For the first time I met a certain kind of Americans of whom I had heard but had hitherto no actual experience. Two distinct types of Americans are to be met with, one belonging to the old Puritanic stock, quiet and dignified, having inherited the older culture of Europe; the other is the flamboyant Yankee type, who looked down upon the rest of the world as effete and decadent. There was one of these latter variety on board the ship,—a rich successful lawyer, who by his fluent talks kept his compatriots spell-bound with admiration for their great country. He gave out bewildering and novel statistics showing how his small State of Maryland alone held 87 out of 100 of the greatest inventions of the world as regards material prosperity. America, he

said, held 90 per cent of the total wealth of the world. "We do not go in for such foolish and antediluvian things as 120 ton guns and super-dreadnaughts with which Europe is trying to settle their differences. Why?" he continued with his nasal intonation, "Because we have something which is a secret of which the world is unaware. Artillery can send explosive shells to a maximum distance of 20 miles or so; but we have invented something which is nothing more than a harmless looking piece of brick; water does not wet it, fire does not explode it. We throw it out by a catapult and the impact of its fall sets the chemicals to work and *then* for a radius of 200 miles things simply vanish into space!" After this I had grave doubts whether we had anything worth showing to people accustomed to such wonderful things. The extraordinary part of it was that most of his compatriots swallowed all these wholesale. Fortunately there were some who were less gullible.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

We arrived at New York by the end of November and drew out plans for the extensive lecture tour. Already some of the leading journals in America had given brief accounts of my Master's remarkable experiments. The majority of professors in the American Universities had their training in Germany and were imbued with orthodox views. As my Master's work controverted the results of the leading German physiologists, the path that lay before him was likely to be a difficult one. The first Discourse was before the Columbia University. This is perhaps the richest University in the United States. We can hardly realise its enormous resources, the recurrent annual expenditure being 7 crores of rupees! Money is no

•obstacle for endowment of research, and they have ransacked the whole world in the selection of their professorial staff. My Master's new methods of inquiry are so extremely delicate and require such high experimental skill that even in the American laboratories few ventured to repeat them. Professor Harper of the Columbia University was an exception and had been successful in repeating some of the standard experiments. He regarded these of such importance that my Master's Electrical Research on Irritability of Plants formed the subject of regular lectures at the Columbia University in the summer term.

Of the many distinguished scientific men who met my Master, I may mention the name of Professor Loeb of the Rockefeller Institute. His work on *Artificial Fertilisation* by purely chemical stimulus, marked a great advance in recent Biological science. He was intensely interested in my Master's discoveries in plant-life which bridged the gap between the vegetable and animal kingdoms.

The lecture before the University was very enthusiastically received. At the conclusion of the discourse the President spoke of the unique character and fundamental importance of the work which had even in such a short time attained a classical rank. They had hitherto been obliged to send their post-graduate students to Germany. They would regard it as a privilege if they were allowed to send their scholars to India, the very fountainhead of new lines of investigation. Americans are eminently practical. Dr. Bose would in his next visit be gratified to find how many-sided were the activities which the great stimulus of his Discourse had evoked among the American men of science. My Master received the following official letter from the University of Columbia.

"Our students here in Columbia have been most deeply interested in your work and for them I wish to express the thanks of the department for your most interesting and stimulating lectures and demonstrations. Your automatic recording apparatus makes it possible to attack by quantitative methods the fundamental problems of plant growth and response to stimuli and the results you have obtained offer for the first time from plant organisms materials for a truly general physiology of both plants and animals. In

this field of response to stimuli no such instruments of precision have hitherto been available for plant physiologists. It is to be hoped that facilities may be provided in your laboratory for the reception of foreign students who are desirous of familiarising themselves first-hand with your apparatus and methods."

Professor Marquette from the physiological Department wrote :

"I take the liberty of inquiring as to the chances of our being able to obtain one of your remarkable Resonant Recorder this year. I am anxious to have the use of one of these epoch-making instruments for our Physiological Laboratory."

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.

The most important yearly event in American science is the Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, where all the leading scientific men of the United States, representing different branches of science meet to discuss the most important advances that have been made. The Meeting of 1914 was held in the University of Pennsylvania. My Master received a very cordial invitation to deliver an address illustrated by the records of his instruments. We had been accustomed to the cold in Europe but we had no conception of what that meant in America. There had been a very heavy snow-fall and the lowering of temperature was so great that the rivers were frozen solid. It appeared almost hopeless to revive the vital activity of our plants. But every opportunity was offered at the greenhouse attached to the Physiological Department for the success of the demonstration. The temperature of the hot-house was raised to its maximum: but even that was not enough and we had to keep several additional heaters in operation to revive our benumbed plants. When visitors came they were at first overcome with excessive heat, but this did not deter their unflagging interest in the experiments.

The assembled scientists were profoundly impressed by these wonderful and unexpected revelations in plant life. Scientific leaders eagerly came round to express their enthusiastic appreciation and to shower on him invitations to all the leading Universities in different parts of the United States. Professor Ganong, the celebrated Plant Physiologist whose

different types of apparatus have hitherto been accepted in different parts of the world as the standard instruments for research, was equally enthusiastic and spoke of the relative crudity of his own inventions compared with the instruments whose marvellous performance he witnessed that day. At the ensuing reception the assembled scientists were unanimous in declaring that the most important event of the session was my Master's Discourse. Telegraphic accounts of the Discourse appeared in all the leading papers in America with prominent head lines, a specimen of which is given below :

"INDIAN PROFESSOR LINKS PLANTS AND ANIMALS.

"CALCUTTA SCIENTIST GIVES STARTLING DEMONSTRATION.

"New, unsuspected and even startling similarities between the behaviour of plants and animals were revealed at the University of Pennsylvania before the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Dr. J. Chunder Bose, the Indian scientist, made an extraordinary and impressive figure among the hundreds of the assembled scientists. In the opinion of his compeers, he placed himself, by his experiments, among the foremost of the biological investigators."

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY,
PHILADELPHIA.

In the Eastern Coast of the United States there are three great cities, among whom great rivalry exists as regards pre-eminence. Philadelphians take pride in their descent. Every respectable Philadelphian is supposed to have in his possession a bit of the "Mayflower", the old ship in which their great Pilgrim Fathers made their voyage to the new country. They are, however, looked down upon by their go-ahead New York rivals, as being extremely slow. It is said that no oyster is served in a Philadelphia Restaurant because the staid Philadelphian can never overtake the comparatively quick-footed mollusc! There is another story current that a Philadelphian on a visit to New York was raised by an express lift to the top of the 57th storey of the Woolworth Buildings. At that inconceivable height, being afraid that the moon might strike his head, he lost his balance and toppled over. But the very fall started the

automatic alarm at the Fire Brigade station which was so instantaneous in its efficiency that they had ample time for their spreading net to catch and save the hapless Philadelphian, on whom even the force of gravity was relatively inoperative in inducing acceleration! The saying goes that, at Philadelphia one is asked "Who is your ancestor?" at New York "What is your bank account?" and at Boston "What have you done?" According to these rival claimants, the rest of the world does not exist.

There is no doubt that at Philadelphia they established the oldest Philosophical Society of America under the inspiration of Benjamin Franklin. At this great Institute is preserved the original appliances by which Franklin made his memorable discoveries in Electricity. It was he who first drew from the clouds the electric fluid and proved that the force that lay in the lightning discharge was the same force that makes a pith marionette dance before a rubbed piece of amber. In the Hall of the Institute is to be seen the original draft of the Declaration of American Independence.

My Master received an invitation to address this historical Society from the President Dr. W. W. Keen, who is known all over the world as one of the most daring and successful surgeons in operations of the brain. His daughter Miss Keen is equally famous for her explorations in the frozen North. A great reception was organised in Philadelphia in my Master's honour and my Master's Discourse before the Philosophical Society was received with great enthusiasm.

The following notice of the lecture appeared in the Philadelphia Press. "In addition was made yesterday to the list of great scientific achievements, when Dr. J. C. Bose, the Hindu scientist, before the distinguished gathering of surgeons and botanists successfully anaesthetised a plant and then measured its nerve reactions. The mere success of the operation which was the first of its kind, was acclaimed marvellous by those present. He showed how some plants would respond to one three-millionth part of a standard electrical stimulus while the tip of the human tongue was unable to perceive a stimulus ten times as strong. Even more noteworthy, it was declared, was the wise synthetic generalisation which Dr. Bose reached."

NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

One of the most important events of our visit to America was the Address before the New York Academy of Sciences. For the accommodation of the unusually large audience the lecture was organised to take place in the big Hall of the Natural History Museum. Perhaps no museum in the world possesses such rare and valuable specimens, arranged for popular instructions as that of New York. Here are to be seen the unique specimens of original fossils of the extinct giant saurians, before which elephants would appear like pigmies. There are also skeletons of monsters found embedded in the earth's crust, which marked the primeval era when reptiles were becoming transformed into birds. These giant reptiles were provided with wings, the memory of which must have been given rise to the tradition of the fabulous roc, carrying as its prey elephants in its talons. There is also exhibited the trunk of a wonderful tree-giant, the transverse section of which proved its incredible age. For it clearly shows the annual rings from which its life has been exactly determined. Since it sprouted many epochs have passed but it stood an immutable witness of the birth and decay of many civilisations. There is a little flag fixed about the middle of the radius of its concentric zones, that was the time when William the Conqueror imposed Norman supremacy on Saxon England. A little more towards the centre another flag marks the time of invasion of Julius Cæsar, and successive flags marked the backward procession of ages which witnessed the cataclysms of the world's history,—the sack of Jerusalem, the destruction of Nineveh, the fall, and the preceding climax of the Egyptian civilisation in the hoary past. It was at the Hall of this great Institute that Master's coming lecture was to be delivered. It had aroused very keen interest among the intellectual circles of the great city and in response to enquiries the Academy of Science issued the following bulletin:—

"Professor Bose's Discourse before the Academy concerns the possibility of revealing the hidden history in the life of plants by means of their own autographs. A plant gives an answering signal to a questioning shock, and that signal can be automatically converted into an intelligent script, and there are no physiological

phenomena in the animal which are not duplicated in the plant. The experiments to be shown include measurements of perception time of the plant, the speed of its nervous impulse and the reaction to various drugs, anaesthetics and poisons, and prove the existence of the throbbing, pulsating organs. Finally, it will be shown how the plant exhibits convulsive movement at the moment of death. These researches open out lines of work which would materially advance agriculture, physiology and medicine."

The success of the lecture more than realised the expectations that had been raised and the following official letter of thanks was received from the President of the Academy.

"Dear Professor Bose,

I cannot tell you how greatly indebted to you we are for your splendid lecture on 'Plant Autographs.' The phenomena you so clearly demonstrated and with such marvellous apparatus, the action of plant towards various drugs and its response to shock,—was set forth so lucidly that everyone was absorbed by the novelty of it. Your audience hesitated to leave the hall even after the lecture was over. It was one of the most interesting lectures ever delivered in the Academy. We wish you every success in this field, so original, and for which you are so eminently fitted. The British Government showed its wisdom in sending you on a special mission to speak in the United States."

NIKOLA TESLA.

Of the many distinguished men who were present at my Master's lecture at New York I may specially mention Nikola Tesla. My Master's first Discourse before the Royal Institution followed that of Tesla and it was remarked that the two great scientists working in two different parts of the globe had something in common—great imagination which pierced through the shell that shrouded the mystery of Nature. Referring to my Master's Discourse the *Electrician* observed that

"In many ways the lecture recalled Nikola Tesla's Discourse, in which the enthusiasm of the individual was as interesting as the experiments. The fates, however, were kinder to Prof. Bose than to Mr. Tesla. All the experiments succeeded exceptionally well. The degree of Prof. Bose's absorption in the matter in hand may be measured by

the fact that he was bold enough to calmly remark to a Royal Institution audience at 9.50 p. m. 'I will now pass on to the proper subject of my address. "the polarisation of the Electric Ray." The lecturer had, however, meanwhile kept everyone fully interested by describing his ingenious Receiver expatiating on the reliability and efficiency of his apparatus for the "Electric Ray"; exhibiting the electrical opacity of water and electrical transparency of liquid air."

Since Nikola Tesla produced the astonishing effects by his high frequency oscillating electric disturbance in space giving rise to wireless illumination, his work has gone further. He has made streams of incessant zigzag lightning discharges, over 30ft. in length, play round him, while he sat unmoved in complete safety. He is now dreaming of causing such powerful electric disturbance in the Earth itself that it would, he thinks, be possible to tap from it energy even at great distances. He asked for a card of admission and wrote back: "I am looking with keen interest to your lecture, hoping that nothing will prevent me from taking advantage of so rare an opportunity." After the lecture he spoke how my Master's work had made him realise that all matter is alive. He appeared to be deeply impressed with the concepts of Indian philosophy.

The Editor of the *Scientific American* himself came to take notes of the experiments and photograph the apparatus, and a leading illustrated article extending over several columns appeared in that scientific journal, from which I reproduce a short paragraph:

The dramatically interesting investigation on Plant Autographs is highly significant. It was conducted by Prof. Jagadish Chunder Bose as a continuation of a remarkable series of studies which culminated in positive proof that inorganic matter is as responsive to crucial electrical tests as organic matter. The investigations prove further that there is no difference between plant and animal life in response to environment, and the barrier long supposed to exist between the two is purely arbitrary. There is but one matter, one science, one truth, and all outwardly different matters, all sciences and all truths are part of a great unity. It is poetically fitting that this should have been taught by a descendant of Hindu philosophers. In this remarkable investigation, the synthetic intellectual methods of the East co-operate with the analytic methods of the West in a single mind. In science, at least, all nations meet on a common ground of understanding, although half the nations of the world are at war.

The Editor also contributed a striking popular article to a leading American

Magazine from which are given the following quotations:

"By a remarkable series of experiments, conducted with instruments of unimaginable delicacy, the Indian scientist has discovered that plants have a nervous system. He has discovered that a cabbage or a radish responds to external forces very much as a human being does: that it winces at a blow, is tired by exertion, is intoxicated by alcohol, stupefied by chloroform, and degenerates through laziness. His experiments promise not only to revolutionise plant physiology, but to open great new fields of experimentation in applied sciences such as medicine and scientific agriculture."

"All this work on the effect of gases, poisons, drugs, and currents on plants was inspired, he it is remembered, by the belief that there is but one kind of matter in the universe, whether it be a complex man or a simple iron ore. In these boundless regions, beginning with the inorganic, proceeding to organic life and its sentient manifestations, this Indian scientist had been seeking an underlying unity amid chaotic and bewildering diversity."

"He subjected all matter to questioning shocks, and discovered that there is no difference in the reply. Patiently he added fact to fact in his explorations in the realms of living and non-living, and was amazed to find the dividing frontier vanishing. At last he reached a new conception, which includes in one magnificent sweep the dust beneath our feet, the protoplasmic ooze floating on a stagnant pool, and man himself."

Other leading journals also gave accounts of these remarkable results. In *Current Opinion* there appeared a long article in its Science and Discovery Section. "The *Literary Digest* wrote a very appreciative article on "How the work on Professor J. C. Bose, now on a visit to the United States, astonished scientific men, by his marvellous experiments on plant life, where the plants were made to reveal the history of their experience by means of autographic records." The characteristic feature of *Harper's Monthly Magazine* is the publication of the most important scientific discoveries of the age. The series is contributed only by the leaders of science to whom the discoveries are due. The article on *Positive Electron* was contributed by Sir J. J. Thomson and that on *Radioactivity* by Sir William Ramsay. The Editor of the Magazine wrote to my Master for an article on his recent discoveries, which has been regarded as one of the greatest contributions in Biology since Darwin. *Harper's Magazine* thus announced my Master's article "Are Plants like Animals" in their March number.

"Dr. J. C. Bose of Calcutta, has astonished the scientific world with his remarkable discoveries about plants. He shows that they go to sleep and awaken,

"AHINSA PARAMO DHARMA"—A TRUTH OR A FAD ?

BY LALA LAJPAT RAI.

THERE is no religion higher than truth, nor a course of conduct nobler than "*Ahinsa Paramo Dharma*". Rightly understood and rightly applied to life, the latter makes a man a saint and a hero. Misunderstood and misapplied, it makes a man cowardly and craven, base and stupid. There was a time when the Indians understood it rightly and made only the proper use of it and they were a race of truthful, noble and brave people. Then came a time when some good people, thoroughly well-intentioned and otherwise saintly, made a fad of it, placed it not only at the top of all other virtues, but made it the sole test of a good life. They overdid it not only in their own lives but converted it into a supreme national virtue, at the cost of everything else. All other virtues which ennoble men and nations were thrown into the background and subordinated to this, according to them, the supreme test of goodness. Courage, bravery, heroism, all lapsed. Honor and self-respect were thrown into the shade. Patriotism, love of country, love of family, honor of the race were all extinguished. It was this perverted use or misuse of *Ahinsa*, (non-killing) or its exaggerated importance at the cost of everything else, that brought about the social, political and moral downfall of the Hindus. They forgot that manliness was as good a virtue as *Ahinsa*. In fact the former was in no way inconsistent with the latter, if rightly applied. They overlooked the fact that individual as well as national interests made it incumbent that the weak should be protected against the strong, and that the aggressor and the usurper, the thief and the scoundrel, the lustful villain and the infamous violator of woman's chastity, the ruffian and the cheat, should be prevented from inflicting injustice and doing harm. They ignored the fact that humanity required that the fear of righteous indignation and of the consequences that flow therefrom, should deter the soul of the evilly disposed people from harming innocence, violating purity and depriving others of their just rights. They failed to realize the importance and

the sublimity of the truth that whosoever allows or tolerates forceful dominance of evil or tyranny and oppression, in a way abets and encourages it and is partly responsible for the prosperity and strength of the evil-doer.

"*Ahinsa*" overdone and misapplied is a gangrene that poisons the system, enervates the faculties and converts men and women into half-lunatic, hysterical, unnerved creatures, good for nothing that requires the energetic pursuit of noble ends and noble virtues. It converts *men* into *monomaniacs* and cowards. The founders of the Jain religion were saintly people, pledged to a life of self-abnegation and self-mortification. Their followers, the Jain *Sadhus*, are amongst the most saintly people who have achieved the greatest possible success in killing passions and subduing desires both of the senses and the mind. The Tolstoyian *Ahinsa*, is a product of a few years only. The Jain *Ahinsa* has been known and practised in India for three thousand years. There is no country on the face of the globe which contains so many and such profound *Ahinsa-ists* as India does and which she has been having for centuries. Yet there is no country on the face of the globe which is so downtrodden, so bereft of manly virtues, as India of to-day is or as India of the last fifteen hundred years has been. Some people may say that it was not the practice of *Ahinsa* that brought about this fall but the desertion of other virtues. I am, however, inclined to insist that the perversion of this truth was *at least one of those causes* that resulted in India's forsaking the path of honor, manliness and virtue. The worst is that people who profess an absolute faith in the doctrine, prove by their own practice that a perverted use of such a truth necessarily leads to a life of hypocrisy, unmanliness and cruelty. I was born in a Jain family. My grandfather had an all-covering faith in *Ahinsa*. He would rather be bitten by a snake than kill it. He would not harm even a vermin. He spent hours in religious exercises. To all appearances, he was a very virtuous person, who held a

high position in his fraternity and commanded great respect. One of his brothers was a *Sadhu*, a high priest who was an exalted leader of his order. This last-named gentleman was one of the "noblest" types of ascetics I have ever met with in my life. He lived up to his principles and excelled in the mortification of the flesh and in keeping down his passions and desires. Yet according to the best standards of ethics, his life was barren and unnatural. I loved and respected him, but I could not follow his creed, nor did he ever show any anxiety to make me do it. His brother, however, i.e., my own grandfather, was a different sort of person. He believed in *Ahinsa*, that perverted *Ahinsa* which forbids the *taking of any life under any circumstances whatsoever*, but he considered all kinds of trickeries in his trade and profession as not only valid but good. They were permissible according to the ethics of his business. I have known many persons of that faith who would deprive the minor and the widow, of their last morsel of food in dealings with them but who would spend thousands in saving lice, or birds or other animals standing in danger of being killed. I do not mean to say that the *Jains* of India are in any way more immoral than the rest of the Hindus. Or that *Ahinsa* leads to immorality of that kind. Far be it from me to make such an unfounded insinuation. In their own way the *Jains* are a great community, charitable, hospitable, and intelligent and shrewd men of business. So are some of the other communities among the Hindus. What I mean is that the practice of *Ahinsa* in its extreme form has in no way made them better than or morally superior to, the other communities. In fact, they are the people who pre-eminently suffer from hooliganism and other manifestations of force, because they are more helpless than others, on account of their inherited fear and dislike of force. They cannot defend themselves, nor the honor of those dear and near to them. Europe is the modern incarnation of the divine right of force. It was good for Europe to have given birth to a Tolstoy. But the case of India is different. In India we do not advocate force and violence for purposes of oppression or usurpation or aggression. India, I trust, will never come to that. But we cannot afford to be taught that it is sinful to use

legitimate force for purposes of self-defence, or for the protection of our honor and the honor of our wives, sisters, daughters and mothers. Such a teaching is unnatural and pernicious. We condemn political assassinations; nay, we may go further, and even condemn illegal or unlawful force in the attainment of a lawful object, but we cannot afford to sit silent when a great and a respected man tells our young men that we can only "guard the honor of those who are under our charge, by delivering ourselves into the hands of the men who would commit the sacrilege" and that this is "far greater physical and mental courage than delivering blows." Suppose a ruffian assaults our daughter. Mr. Gandhi says that according to his conception of *Ahinsa*, the only way to protect the honor of our daughter is to stand between her and her assailant. But what becomes of the daughter, if her assailant fells us and then completes his diabolical intention. According to Mr. Gandhi, it requires greater mental and physical courage to stand still and let him do his worst than to try to stop him by matching our force against his. With great respect for Mr. Gandhi, this has no meaning. I have the greatest respect for the personality of Mr. Gandhi. He is one of those persons whom I idolize. I do not doubt his sincerity. I do not question his motives. But I consider it my duty to raise an emphatic protest against the pernicious doctrine he is reported to have propounded. Even a Gandhi should not be allowed to poison the minds of Young India on this subject. No one should be at liberty to pollute the fountains of national vitality. Not even Buddha, much less Christ, even preached that. I do not know, if even the *Jains* would go to that length. Why! honorable life would be impossible under such conditions. A man who has such a faith cannot consistently resist any one acting as he likes. Why did Mr. Gandhi then injure the feelings of the white men of South Africa by raising the standard of revolt against their cherished policy of excluding the Indians from that country? To be logical he should have left the country bag and baggage and advised his countrymen to do the same as soon as the South Africans expressed a wish to exclude them. Why, under such circumstances, any resistance would be *hinsa*. After all physical *hinsa* is only a development of mental *hinsa*.

If it is a sin to contemplate the worsting of a thief or a robber or an enemy, of course, it is a greater sin to resist him by force. The thing is so absurd on the face of it, that I feel inclined to doubt the accuracy of the report of Mr. Gandhi's speech. But the press has been freely commenting on the speech and Mr. Gandhi has issued no disclaimer. In any case I

feel that I cannot sit silent and let this doctrine go as an unquestioned sublime truth to be followed by young India, so long as the speech remains uncontradicted or unexplained. Mr. Gandhi wants to create a world of imaginary perfection. Of course he is free to do it, as he is free to ask others to do it. But in the same way I consider it my duty to point out his error.

INDIA AND WAR

JOHN Bright used to declare that he was never sure that he was right so long as "The Times" did not say that he was wrong. This interesting maxim of John Bright applies to some of the Conservative papers in England, when they talk about India. When they happen to discuss India's shortcomings, we should be disposed to think, that India has really done some great thing to deserve the notice of those worthy critics. Among those papers "The Morning Post", it seems, has now taken the lead. Just about the sittings of the Indian National Congress at Bombay, presided over by one of the most trusted officials of the Government of India, the paper described India as a nuisance (!) to the Empire; now it comes forward to say that India has practically given very little help, and that it should contribute to the National Debt, just following the example of *Nigeria*, which has resolved to pay £6 millions towards the cost of the war and the paper says that India has so far done almost nothing to help the Empire in this terrible war. "The Morning Post" has secured an interview from Sir John Hewett, who was once the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, and from the stuff provided by Sir John to the representative of the paper, it attacks India in such an astounding manner. Sir John speaks of the desirability of bringing the poor people of India, to a realisation of this terrible war, by putting on them heavier financial burdens than they have to bear at present and says that India has given but little help in the prosecution of this terrible war. Sir John, who enjoyed a salary greater than that of the Cabinet

Ministers of England, during his regime as a Lieutenant Governor of a province, and even now enjoys a fat pension from India, should certainly have prevented himself from vilifying this country in the way he has done. Well, what has he to say? He says:—

"We hear of Australia being ready to spend 50 millions sterling in its troops on one year and of Canada aiding the Mother Country by raising for her use 25 millions. In the meantime, what has India done? The Government of India have been thinking in sixpences. Sir William Meyer, the Finance Minister of India, speaking to the Karachi Chamber of Commerce in depreciation of the proposal that India should raise a large national War Loan said that the first duty of those whom he was addressing was to India, and that they should use their superfluous cash in subscribing to Indian Government Loans."

Sir John *hears of Australia being ready* to spend 50 millions sterling on the troops in one year, while the Government of India have been thinking in six-pences! That his should have come from a former Lieutenant Governor of India is rather strange, because, the facts stare him full in the face. Sir John ought to realise whether the Government of India have been thinking in six-pences or millions of sterling. What else would be a better antidote to restore his clarity of vision, than the following telling words of the victim of his attack, I mean Sir William Meyer, the Finance Member of the Government of India, in his Budget Statements on the last March 1916?—

"The Indian Army still continues to play a conspicuous part, side by side with representatives of every portion of the Empire, in the great war which the King Emperor and his Allies are waging for the cause of liberty and right. Nor, as I indicated in my speech in the closing budget debate last March,

is this the only respect in which India has borne her share of the Empire's burdens. She has rendered invaluable aid by recruiting and training large numbers of soldiers; by furnishing supplies of all sorts—foodstuffs, clothing, ordnance, equipment and munitions; by training and despatching horses; by lending to the Admiralty a great part of her Royal Indian Marine fleet; and by fitting out transports. The total value of the supplies and services of all sorts which she has thus undertaken on behalf of the War Office amounted, including some similar expenditure brought to account at home, to about £10 million in 1914-15 and is estimated at about £18 million in 1915-16 and £20¼ million in 1916-17. These figures include also the outlay in civil departments on the manufacture of munitions which is now in full progress."

India's critics forget that if Indian troops had not been present in the Western front during the first months of the war, the Germans would have swept everything before them. India alone could then send soldiers at a moment's notice; the self-governing colonies were then nowhere in the seats of war. But India's salt has the property of making many mean-minded fellows ungrateful, so we need not complain.

Some of the houses in England have the terrible experience of having been bombed; Sir John says that India has been largely free from these terrors of the air. Quite so; but, India did enjoy the terror of the German Cruiser Emden, which shelled Madras for more than half an hour. We should also bear in mind that the Government spends a major part of £5,000,000 a day in England, which has made a goodly bulk of the British people to have booming business on account of the war. Sir John borrows some of his arguments from the Hon. Mr. M. De P. Webb of Karachi who alone out of the whole Anglo-Indian world has the audacity to challenge India's contribution to the war. His argument is that India should help the Empire by raising a £25 million War Loan in India, to be spent *in India*. It would have been all right had the Hon. Mr. Webb stopped by saying only that, but he makes a mess of his argument when he says that compared to the help of the self-governing Colonies, India's help is little or insignificant. He says that, barring two-thirds of the people, who are too poor to pay, the remaining 100,000,000 people of India earn £200,000,000 every year; they should voluntarily set apart 10 p.c. of their income every month for the War Loan account, so that they would be able to hand over to the state at the end of one

year a loan of £20,000,000, to be called the Indian National War Loan, to be spent *in India*, and that the Government of India should pay at least 5 p. c. interest for the same. The scheme of Mr. Webb aims at profit to the investors for their surplus cash, and profit to India including Anglo-Indian merchants, contractors and the like, from War business.

To talk of 100,000,000 people who earn an aggregate of £200,000,000 in the course of one year, paying 10 p. c. from their gross income, is sheer folly on the part of Mr. Webb, because it is almost impossible to maintain 100,000,000 people on £200,000,000 for one year, in the face of an all-round rise in prices, not to speak of their saving a penny. Correspondents bewail in *The Times of India* and other Anglo-Indian papers, of Europeans, officials and non-officials alike, spending 200 and 300 rupees every month, in dances and dinner-parties, treating and the like. It is these people, who can save and invest their cash for the benefit of the Empire and themselves. Mr. Webb bewails of great sums of money going out of India, for investment in British and French War Loans. He should be proud of it, because it is helping the Allies to win the war, against the German Barbarians.

Sir John Hewett in his interview remarks that the Imperial Indian Relief Fund has only helped the Empire to the extent of Rs. 100,000,000. He should remember that there are scores of War Relief Funds scattered all over the Indian Continent, helping the Empire in their hundred different ways. Not to talk of gifts of comforts to the soldiers by the Women's Branches of the War Relief Fund, there is a continuous stream of individual gifts from the princes and the people of India, gifts of Aeroplanes, and Motor-Ambulances, Hospital-ships and Red-cross gifts, too innumerable to mention in this brief article. These sums of money and war-gifts, if we count the total cost, amount to at least 25 to 30 millions sterling. Bombay alone maintains five fully-equipped War hospitals. But all these gifts are nothing in comparison to the help given by 300,000 fighting soldiers of India, who are cementing the union of India and the Empire with the sacrifice of blood. These soldiers who are helping the Empire to bring the war to a victorious end, are maintained in the battle-fields, by the

people of India, contributing to their expenses, in a splendid and self-sacrificing manner. The non-official representatives of the people brought forward a resolution in the Viceroy's Legislative Council to share the burdens of the Empire, by paying the usual cost of that splendid army. Till the end of March, India has paid £11,000,000 for the maintenance of that army, which fights for the liberty of the Empire, and they will willingly pay £8,000,000 more in the current year for the same purpose. Notwithstanding this splendid aid the critics come forward with the sorry exhibition of their theories that India has not helped the Empire, in the hour of crisis.

It is needless to remind the British people, who are the guardian-angels of the liberties of the small nations, that all this sacrifice of blood and treasure has been spontaneously and willingly undergone by the Indian people, though they are not given the primary rights of British Citizens, the right to bear arms, the right to volunteer, and the right to have commissions in the army. Can the policy of the state be more suicidal to itself than this denying of rights at such a juncture? India's formidable armies would have thrashed the Germans out of Belgium and France in no time, as they helped the French in driving away the Huns from the Marne. Will the Government now take a lesson?

"VOX POPULI."

NOTE BY THE EDITOR. To the above we add the following which we wrote in the April number of the Review in 1915.

"The help rendered by India should not be measured only by the money and men contributed by her since the war began. Other facts should also be taken into consideration. India has for long years before the war given opportunities to English military officers to obtain invaluable experience of warfare and paid them handsome salaries and placed ample resources at their disposal to acquire this experience. It will not be denied that though Lord Roberts did not take an active part in this war, he was very useful during the months of the war that he lived through. Lord Kitchener is now at the head of affairs, having supreme control of the operations in his hands. India had a great part in the making of Lord Kitchener. He acquired much of his experience here. India paid him to acquire this experience and

placed vast resources at his disposal to enable him to do so and make for himself a name. We suppose this should be considered part of India's contribution to the war. We need not mention the names of officers of lesser note.

"As regards the actual contribution in men, ammunition and money made during the war, it should be remembered that the Indian army were larger and if there were more money in the public treasury, India's contribution, too, would have been larger. The Indian people are not to blame that the contribution is not more than it has been, nor would it have been to their credit if it had been more. For it is not for them either to give or to refuse to give. The rulers of India have not been able to make a larger contribution in men and money and ammunition, on behalf of India, not because India stood in the way—she has no power to do so, but because it was not possible for the men in power to take more from her, for the very simple reason that she is poor and her standing army in her present pecuniary condition could not be very much larger. It is not the object of the present note to discuss why she is poor in spite of an industrious and teachable population, a fertile soil and vast mineral resources. Suffice it to say that part of the explanation lies in what the ruling caste does and refrains from doing. So while it is a fact that those Indians who have been able to make themselves articulate in the matter, have supported the employment of India's resources to further the cause of the Empire, the real fact to be remembered is that India neither did nor had the power to set a limit to her contribution,—she having no effective voice in either giving or not giving. The actual strength of her standing army and the state of her public treasury set the limit automatically.

"As for private contributions by the princes and people of India, the Review of Reviews for October said: 'Rich men [of England] are indeed bestowing alms, but when compared with the donations of Indian princes these contributions sink into insignificance.'

"We have already said that the help rendered by India should not be measured by the contribution she has made since the beginning of the war; we must look into past history, too, to form a correct

estimate. History teaches us that but for India the British Empire would not have been the wealthy and powerful state that it is. And in acquiring India, Great Britain did not spend a single pice of her own. India was won entirely with Indian money, and mainly by Indian soldiers. Indian soldiers have fought in other parts of the Empire, too. We suppose these are contributions. We do not and cannot say that India placed her resources at the disposal of the British people out of generosity;—India cannot take any credit for it. We mention it simply as a fact which nobody can truthfully gainsay, that India has been the making of the British Empire.

"Readers of Mill's History of India as continued by Wilson know that England could not have derived any advantage from the invention of the power-loom if Indian money had not enabled her to work them. Indian money thus lay at the foundation of her manufacturing progress and prosperity. We need not enter into the history of the decay of Indian industries on the one hand and the rise of British industries on the other in the days of the East India Company.

"India's wealth has made Great Britain rich in various ways. India's wealth has found its way to Great Britain through various channels. It has been the practice, held to be justified by the past and existing laws of war, of conquerors in all ages and countries to appropriate to themselves the portable wealth of the conquered as far as practicable. This took place in those parts of India which were acquired by conquest. That is one channel, and though this is a matter entirely of past history, the untold wealth which thus became Britain's has continued to fructify in British hands up to our own day. Another channel is that of commerce and manufacture. The bulk of the export and import trade in food-stuffs, raw materials and manufactures and of the manufacturing industries of India are in British hands. That means hundreds of millions every year for British pockets. The means of inland, river, canal, coasting and trans-oceanic transport are almost entirely in British hands. The highest and most

lucrative public appointments are held by the British, and only a few of the next highest are held by Indians. With quite insignificant exceptions here and there, the British men who obtain wealth from India by public service and pensions, and by trade, manufacture and dividends, spend the bulk of their gains outside India.

"Under all these circumstances, it is deep-dyed ingratitude to accuse India of niggardliness in her war contributions, as some Anglo-Indian papers and Mr. Abbot have done. If England is spending most, most of her wealth has been directly or indirectly derived from our shores. We, however, take no credit for making Great Britain rich. She has grown rich by means of her sons' manhood, enterprise, business capacity, patriotism and some other qualities of a different kind. It should also be remembered that if England spends most it is she who stands to gain or lose most by success or failure.

"One more observation and we have done. It is a just principle that responsibilities should be proportionate to rights. It will be clear from what we have said above that India has done more for the Empire than any of the Colonies. But if she had done less, could anybody justly demand more from her? The colonies are treated as partners in the Empire. They can treat Indians just as they like, and openly declared opposite Imperial policy notwithstanding. But while they are looked upon as partners, India has been hitherto looked upon as a property. The hope* has been held out that after the war her position would improve. When she comes to have that promised higher status, it would be graceful to demand contributions from her equal to those of any other parts of the Empire, though the demand may betray shameful ignorance of contemporary and past history."

* Latterly British statesmen have ceased, as if by common consent, to speak of "the changed angle of vision" or of the position of India after the war! They now only praise India's loyalty.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

OUR EDUCATION

BY LALA LAJPAT RAI.

THE more an *educated* Indian mixes with foreigners in Europe and America, the more keenly does he feel the defects of his education. The consciousness of comparative ignorance and lack of proper upbringing creeps on him bit by bit, and gets on his nerves. He begins to look down upon himself and therein faces a great danger which in this age of *boastful self-confidence* (grown almost to a science in the West), is real and substantial. This age has no use for meekness and humility or for self-sacrifice in the oriental sense. This is an age of self-assertion. We are living in times when "*boosting*," self-laudation, and self-advertising pays. It will not do for us to make too much of our shortcomings and defects. That breeds want of confidence and leads to dependence. Fully conscious of that, I cannot help taking my countrymen into my confidence, as to how I feel about the so-called education we receive in our schools and colleges.

In this respect, private institutions maintained and managed by non-official agencies are as bad as, if not worse than, Government institutions. Oftener than not, the former are only a bad copy of the latter. Competing for the honors of University examinations and Governmental recognition, they neglect the special objects for which they were started, or the special mission which they have in the education of the nation. Everything in India must bear the stamp of Government approval or the seal of Government recognition, and the managers of the private schools have neither the time nor the inclination nor even the means to disregard it. Having been closely connected with the management of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, from its very conception up to 1910, covering the best part of my life and a period of over a quarter of a century, I know how the managers are forced by circumstances to drift downstream. They start with grand ideas, about absolute self-help, and in-

dependence of official control and official approval. Visions of national education, physical education and many other kinds of education, are requisitioned for the collection of funds and an appeal to the public. Bit by bit, however, it begins to dawn on them, that they had counted without their host; that to create a demand for the sort of education they want to impart they will have to toil and wait for years before they can show any results. The collection of funds, however, depends on results. So in seeking for immediate results they start by *postponing* action on their principles, pending the accumulation of funds, until at last the funds and the popularity of the institution become their sole or at least principal objects. The needs of the nation and the principles of sound education, for which they had started, fall into the background.

In the meantime, the demands of the Department of Public Instruction and then the demands of the University begin to tell heavily, and gradually their approval becomes one of the mainsprings, if not the only mainspring, of their conduct. At first the Department and the University try underhand means to kill their independence, but eventually they start on a campaign of reconciliation by a combination of recognition and threats. This last proves effectual, so effectual, that it brings the managers to their knees, making them almost abject in their submission. Then the last chain in the link is put on, *viz.*, an appeal to the personal ambitions of the conductors, which brings an utter collapse of the principles which had inspired the founders. Let me not be misunderstood. I have the highest respect for the managers of the D. A. V. College. One of them I idolize; the others I love. It is not my object to criticise or to find fault with them. What I maintain is that the circumstances are such as to make it almost impossible to resist. As one of those who guided or controlled the des-

tinuity of the College for a quarter of a century, I assume the fullest responsibility for the drift downwards. There are other institutions in the country which started with similar principles but which have failed to keep up to their spirit. The struggle is unequal and I do not blame them for their failure. The most recent of them is the Hindu University experiment. With the constitution of its governing body and with the history of its foundation before us, it would be unreasonable to build any big hopes on it. The Hindu University will have fine buildings, may have a fine staff, but it can only be a Hindu edition of the other Universities in India. The incidents connected with its opening ceremony are not very inspiring. It is almost impossible to bring about a radical change in the system of education in India, unless there is a substantial change in the attitude of the Government towards education and in their educational policy. The remedy is in the hands of Government and Government alone. The education of a nation cannot be undertaken, even to a moderate degree, by private agencies, however enterprising and spirited the latter may be.

But what are the principal defects which make us feel so small in the presence of the foreign educated person?

Firstly, our education has no marketable value outside India. Even in India it makes us absolutely dependent on Government, or on professions which are after all so much allied with the work of administration, *viz.*, law, teaching, or office-work, as to justify their being styled semi-Governmental. The full significance or insignificance of this kind of education is not felt and properly realized unless one faces the necessity of earning a livelihood anywhere outside of India. I have seen practical illustrations of it in the U. S. A. An Indian matriculate, or F. A.-passed, or Bachelor of Arts finds that the only way by which he can earn a livelihood in the U. S. A., if the expected remittance from home does not arrive, or is delayed or even stopped, is by seeking a job to wash dishes, attend on the table, do menial work in families or go out in the fields or on the roads as an unskilled laborer. Even here he finds that he is greatly handicapped by the education he had received in his native country. He was never trained to work with his hands. After

10 or 15 years of literary education received in Indian schools or colleges he finds it extremely hard to learn the use of his hands for the purpose of washing dishes or sweeping the room or doing other kinds of daily work in open fields or on roads. That so many of them are eventually able to earn *something* to keep themselves going, is very creditable to their power of endurance. But it is pathetic to see men of education being bossed by absolutely illiterate countrymen of theirs who fare much better in manual labour. Their practical knowledge of agriculture does them good service. Then their physical condition is always better than that of the so-called educated men. So the former are heads of gangs and the latter work under them and put up with all sorts of humiliation.

An educated Hindu is generally at sea if he has to earn his living anywhere outside of the province of his birth. He is besides helpless like a baby in several other respects. Very rarely, if at all, does he know anything of cooking, of stitching, or of first-aid. Most of them can neither swim nor row. They do not know even the rudiments of the art of self-defence, because no one has ever devoted a thought to that part of their education. The only thing they know is the use of the English language for ordinary purpose. This, no doubt, saves them from being altogether stranded in countries where English is spoken.

Secondly, looking at the cultural side of education, they have no notion of it. They have no ear for music; nor any eye for a picture or a painting. The Bengalees and the Mahrattas, thanks to their family influences, are better in this respect than the Punjabees or the U. P. men. Ask a Northern Indian to entertain an audience and it is a sight to see him making excuses. He cannot sing; he cannot play; he cannot recite; he cannot even tell a story. Take him to a concert or an exhibition of Fine Arts and he feels as if he is in a prison. He cannot appreciate, nor enjoy, nor admire. In his lonely hours he does not know how to relieve the monotony of his solitude by humming a tune. The only thing he can do is to prattle of the past greatness of India without even knowing what that greatness consisted in, or sometimes to sneer at it. A Punjabee youth is a pathetic sight in a group of boys and girls determined on "*good time*." He can make

no contribution to the common mirth of the party. He can only sigh. Asked to recite some poetry, he may be able to repeat a few verses of Tennyson or Shakespeare in humble accents. But as to Punjabee poetry or Urdu poetry or Sanskrit or Hindi poetry, he never considered himself so foolish as to waste time on it. The folklore of his country, he has never heard of. Sometimes he meets foreign gentlemen or ladies who know of his country's folklore or mythology better than himself, and then his humiliation or discomfiture knows no bounds.

We hear all kinds of theories put forward by the rulers of India to improve the quality of the education imparted in Indian schools and colleges, but when we come to practical measures we find them exhausted in exaggerated emphasis on good buildings, a slight increase in the salaries of teachers and great emphasis on a superior and a better knowledge of English. The Indian administrators' standard of excellence of education is generally measured by the scholars' proficiency in English language and literature. In their eyes that alone is the principal aim of an Indian's education. We often hear of Sir James Meston's thundering on quality in preference to quantity, but we have not been told what is his standard of quality. We do not know if the U. P. Schools are now, since Sir James Meston's accession to the Office of the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces of Oudh and Agra, turning out better men, than before—men better able to fight the battle of life vocationally, men who will be able to earn a living in any country and under any circumstances, men with a knowledge of the foreign languages of the world, men with finer tastes and finer bodies. When one compares the educational methods in India with those prevailing in Japan, one is inclined to think that we in India are 50 years behind Japan, though the Japanese in their turn are no less than 25 years behind Europe and America. The Japanese education makes an ample provision both for mind and body. Their system of physical culture is perfect. They insist on a young man learning the art of self-defence to perfection. They teach him fencing, boxing, archery, shooting, swimming and running. All kinds of schools, religious or secular, general or professional, common or special, vie with one another in

the provision they make for physical culture. They amply provide for Tennis, Cricket, Football, Hockey and Baseball, but what they insist on, are the games that make a man efficient for offence as well as defence. Then, every Japanese lad knows how to sing and play and how to draw. They have an instinct for beauty, but the development of the taste to perfection is done by education. It is a part of a young Japanese' education to know something of everything for the ordinary needs of life—a bit of cooking, a bit of sewing and stitching, and so on. The Japanese are at the present moment everywhere on earth, from the North Pole to the South Pole, from Japan to California. They are readily accepted in domestic service and so are the Chinese; but the Hindus (including the Mohammedans) are so clumsy that it is with difficulty they find a job to keep their souls and bodies together. Why? Because they are lacking in the training which makes a man useful, even though he may not be an expert in any particular line.

I am sure we want Sanskrit scholars and scholars of the English language. We want scientists, philosophers, doctors, jurists, historians, economists, scholars in every branch of human knowledge, but above all, what we want are sensible men who can look to their ordinary needs and comforts under any circumstances in which they may be placed; men who can depend on themselves when cornered; men who can turn a pie by laying their hands to anything which may come handy in time of need. That is the kind of education upon which the edifice of higher and a university education should be raised. Even in the higher spheres what the country needs more than anything else are better mechanics, more efficient carpenters, skilful electricians, resourceful chemists, men who will enable the country to compete with the outside world in the output of their industries. The promoters and leaders of the Hindu University cannot put the country's money in their hands to a better use than lead in laying the foundation of a useful system of education. We have quite enough of grammarians or lexicographers or orators,—men who can talk a lot about philosophy and religion and spirituality but who fail to realize that a hungry stomach is not the best condition for sound thought. A nation,

helpless, dependent, wanting in common sense, looking to others for the necessities of life, can only *talk* of religion but they can never *live* it. We have had enough and to spare of *the philosophy of religion*. What we now need is a *living* religion which will inspire us to nobler deeds and higher ideals in the life of the world in which we live and breathe, than in the life which is known to occultists and clairvoyants only. We want thought but even more life. We want spirit, but just now, even more body. We want high ideals, but even more, practical ideals. For God's sake, let us not put the cart before the horse.

The world has enough of admiration for our philosophy, for our mysticism, for the knowledge of the spirit developed

by our ancestors. Yet they hold us in contempt all the same, as we are lacking in those things which go for self-respect, self-assertion, self-confidence and self-dependence. It is a critical time in the life of our nation, and we cannot be too careful in laying out ideals for *immediate realization* and in chalking out lines of national activities for the amelioration of the condition of our people. In our present condition we are the most despised people on the face of the earth. Even our educated men fail to inspire respect because of the lack of true education.

Oh! Our Education! Is it not tragic that we should at times feel that in the battle of life we might have done better without it.

20th April, 1916.

EVILS OF SMOKING

AN ADDRESS BY RAI BAHADUR DR. U.N. BRAHMAĀCHARI, M.D., Ph. D.

Delivered at the Quarterly Public Meeting of the Anti-Smoking Society, March, 1916.

THERE are various kinds of drugs which are used for smoking. But this evening I shall confine myself to the effects of smoking tobacco.

Before I describe to you the baneful effects of smoking tobacco, I would like to say a few words about the origin of this drug and its introduction into society.

Tobacco is prepared from the leaves of several species of *Nicotinia*, a genus of the plants, belonging to a family which include the tomato, potato and deadly nightshade.

The question as to the original home of the plant is one of great interest and has given rise to a considerable amount of discussion. The problem of its introduction into India is naturally a matter of still greater importance for the purpose of this evening's meeting here. Briefly speaking the question resolves itself into deciding between the claims of the old and the new world as the home of the plant which is now equally common in both.

Many botanists have ascribed to one variety of this plant an eastern origin and no doubt the plant has the appearance of

being perfectly wild in many parts of the world. Most authors of the 16th century speak of this species as a plant introduced from foreign countries. The evidence for a non-American origin of tobacco appears, according to most authorities, to be of a very slight character and they come to the conclusion that tobacco reached the East *via* Europe and ultimately from America. It is generally believed that it was first introduced into India by the Portuguese in the early years of the 17th century. The reference to the use of tobacco in ancient books of India is meagre, though one finds reference to various kinds of smoking in some of the earliest works in India. Still it is doubtful whether the view generally held that it was introduced into India from the West is a correct one. I quote here a few passages which would tend to throw doubt upon this generally accepted theory of introduction of tobacco into India.

कलञ्ज सम्बेदन धूमयानात्

सा दन्तशुद्धिं मुखरोगं हारी ।

विष्णु हि. दान्तसारवली ।

संविद्या काळकूटं तामकूटं चक्षुस्तरं
अहिमेन खल्वैरसं तारिकं तरिता तथा ।

इत्यथो सिद्धयानि यथा सूर्याटकं प्रिये ।

कुबार्णव तन्न

But we shall not waste time in this academic discussion and pass on quickly to study its baneful effects.

At the present day there is an extensive tobacco industry in India. The total area cultivated in India in 1905 was upwards of one million acres and the value of its export for the same year was more than one hundred thousand pounds.

In small doses tobacco causes a sensation of heat in the throat and a feeling of warmth at the stomach. In over doses the prominent symptoms are excessive and distressing nausea, vomiting and sometimes purging, extreme weakness, and relaxation of the muscles, depression of the vascular system, feeble pulse, pale face, cold sweats and fainting, convulsive movements, followed by paralysis and a kind of torpor terminating in death.

In habitual smokers the practice when employed moderately provokes thirst, increases the secretion of saliva and mucus and is supposed to produce a peculiar soothing effect on the mind which has made it so much admired and adopted. But the smoking of the drug by those who are unaccustomed to it, sometimes gives rise to disastrous effects. Cases are on record in which fatal results have followed smoking in individuals unaccustomed to its use. These dangerous results are due to a most dreadful active principle contained in tobacco which is known as nicotine.

There can be no doubt as to the harmful effect produced by the drug in the young. Its use by the young is to be strongly condemned. In them even in small quantities, it may give rise to vertigo, nausea and often vomiting with feeling of uneasiness in the region of the stomach, general weakness, unusual muscular relaxations, depression of the pulse, coolness of the surface and faintness. In excessive doses, the pulse becomes sometimes slow, sometimes frequent but oftentimes small, extremely weak and irregular. As stated before, there may be fatal results, which have sometimes occurred in less than an hour, especially in the young and the unaccustomed. So dangerous are its actual principles in tobacco that its application

to abraded surfaces of the body has sometimes been attended with dangerous results.

The practice of habitual smoking in excessive doses is dangerous and especially so in the young and individuals of nervous temperament. In excess, it is often very injurious, greatly impairing the vigour of the nervous system and of the health generally and probably shortening life, if not directly, at least by rendering the system less liable to resist noxious agents. The effects most frequently induced are dyspepsia, defective nutrition, paleness and emaciation, general debility and various nervous disorders, of which the most frequent are palpitation of the heart, hypochondriacal feelings and neuralgic pains, especially of the head and eyes. Very great habitual excess has been held by some to be capable of directly inducing a condition prominently marked by muscular tremors, obstinate wakefulness and hallucinations. Even insanity has been attributed to the excessive habitual use of tobacco.

There are many diseases which are referable to the use of tobacco and it may be of interest to my audience to know some of these. There is the tobacco amblyopia in which there is a gradual loss of sight equal in both the eyes and if its use is still continued there may be atrophy of the disc. Then there are various functional disorders of the heart induced by tobacco, as shewn by bradycardia arrhythmia and palpitation, angina pavis in the heart, weakening of coats of blood-vessels and overstress of the heart. Chronic pharyngitis and laryngitis and cancer of the larynx and the lips may follow its excessive use. Chronic gastritis may result, with its attendant symptoms, such as loss of appetite, coated tongue, paleness, anaemia, emaciation, headache, constipation and depression of spirit. In many, chronic cough develops due to congestion of the air passages which may lead to various diseases of the lungs, such as phthisis or chronic bronchitis.

Besides Nicotine, tobacco contains Pyridine bodies which also are poisonous. They excite the medulla and cord more readily and may produce general convulsions.

Such then, gentlemen, are the baneful effects of the so-called fragrant weed upon the system. The habit of smoking tobacco has been forbidden from time to time.

• The actual date of its introduction among that nation of smokers, the Dutch, is somewhat uncertain. For some years after its introduction among the Dutch, it held a wonderful reputation as a panacea. Before long, all classes, both rich and poor, spent a considerable part of their leisure in indulging in the new habit of smoking tobacco. After some time active opposition to tobacco began to make itself felt in Holland. The General and Provincial Governments attempted to check the habit by the issuing of severely worded proclamations and the imposition of heavy duties; the municipal authorities imposed fines on persons found sucking tobacco; the governors of orphan asylums and religious institutions forbade tobacco under pain of instant dismissal or even imprisonment; and finally it was made impossible for the country's military and naval defenders to obtain any tobacco at all.

Similarly the measures adopted for the suppression of tobacco smoking were exceedingly drastic in several other European continental countries.

In Russia the herb was solemnly cursed and declared unclean by the ecclesiastical authorities and in 1630 it was forbidden by royal proclamation. The people, however, disregarded the patriarchal ban and the order of the Little Father, with the result that three years later it was forbidden under the penalty of losing one's nose. In 1641 the Czar ordered that on the third conviction for smoking tobacco, the offender should have his nostrils split and be banished to Siberia for long. In 1655 the Czar absolutely prohibited smoking under the penalty of death. Still the habit prevailed and the Russians are one of the most inveterate smokers in Europe.

Thus smoking of tobacco has been forbidden in European countries from time to

time. In England, the sale of tobacco has been recommended to be forbidden among children, and I understand that smoking by youths under 20 has been suppressed in Japan. I hear the religious people in Belgium do not smoke.

I hope the attempts of your society will be crowned with success and measures will be adopted to prohibit its use among the school and college boys. But in this respect the parents and guardians of the youths are more likely to be helpful than the State. Let your appeal go to them that they might join you in your noble cause.

When the plant was first introduced into Europe, it was supposed to possess almost miraculous healing powers and was designated as herba panacea. We read of the divine tobacco of Spenser and the holy herb Nicotian of William Lily. But the miraculous healing powers of the herb are myths and tobacco has vanished from the British Pharmacopœia.

I forbid the young and the unaccustomed to taste this weed, which has now become such a favourite article of luxury in all parts of the world. I would say to you that to smoke tobacco is to create a drug habit which is useless and in many cases prejudicial to the health of the individual. The world will not in any way suffer if smoking were prohibited to-day except the interested parties who grow and sell this so-called fragrant weed. It is an unnecessary luxury which has slowly crept into society and should be given up. If you succeed in eradicating the habit of smoking among school boys and college youths they will avoid it when they grow older and thus slowly and surely tobacco will cease to be used by the old as well as the young.

"THE KING OF THE DARK CHAMBER"*

OF the three later dramatic compositions of Sir Rabindranath it is the "Raja" or "The King Of The Dark Chamber" wherein we discover a unique work in which the dramatic and the lyrical

* *The King of the Dark Chamber* : a Translation of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's "Raja." MacMillan & Co.

elements are blended together in perfect rhythm and harmony. Unlike the other two sister compositions it has an well-defined plot running through it, which at once rouses our interest and sustains it. This has probably been suggested by an old Jataka story called the "Kusa Jataka" ("The Jataka" edited by V. Fousboll, vol V.—No. 531) in which such important modifications have been made that we can claim for

the poet a great amount of originality even on this account. Before discussing the other aspects of the work it may be desirable first to compare the story of the poet with the story of the Jataka with a view to appreciate the value of those changes through which the poet has so remarkably realised his purpose, which is so entirely different both in ideal and execution from that of the original story.

The story as it appears in the "Kusa Jataka" may briefly be summarised as follows:—

A certain king has no heir, but at length by the favour of Sakka, his chief queen Silabati miraculously gives birth to two sons. The elder—Kusa, is ill-favoured but supernaturally wise. He only consents to marry when a princess is found exactly like a golden image which he himself had fashioned. Such a princess being found, Silavati the mother of the prince Kusa, at once thought that as the bride was so lovely she would not in all probability like to remain with her ugly son, so she stipulated with the Madda king, the father of the bride, that she is not to look upon her husband's face by daylight till she has conceived. Prince Kusa, however, being desirous to look upon the beautiful face of his consort Prabhavati, disguises himself as an elephant-keeper and a groom in the stable and satisfies his desire. Again, one day when Prabhavati told her mother-in-law that she wanted to see King Kusa, she was directed to look upon him through an window when he was expected to make a solemn procession through the city. The next day the queen mother had the city decked out and ordered her second son, the beautiful prince Jayampati, clad in a royal robe and mounted on an elephant, to make a triumphal procession through the city. Standing at the window with Prabhavati she said, "Behold the glory of your lord," and she, mistaking Jayampati for Kusa, was elated with joy. But King Kusa, disguised as an elephant-keeper, was seated behind Jayampati and gazing at Prabhavati as much as he would in the joy of his heart deported himself by gesticulating with his hands. When the elephant had passed them the queen mother asked if she had seen her husband. "Yes lady, but seating behind him was an elephant-keeper, a very ill-conducted fellow who gesticulated at me with his hands." Musing on the matter she thought, "This elephant-keeper is a bold fellow, and has no proper respect for the king. Can it be that he is the King Kusa? No doubt, he is hideous and that is why they do not let me see him." So she sent her hump-backed nurse to ascertain the fact: King Kusa, however, on noticing her, understood the whole thing and strictly charged her not to reveal his secret and let her go. She came and told Prabhavati just as Kusa had directed and she believed. Once more the king longed to see her and hid himself up to his neck in the lotus pool, standing in the water with his head shaded by a lotus leaf and his face covered by its flower. Prabhavati, who had been taken to the side of the pond by the queen mother, longed to bathe and, seeing that lotus, stretched forth her hand, eager to pluck it. Then the king putting aside the lotus leaf took her by the hand, saying "I am King Kusa." On seeing his face she cried, "A goblin is catching hold of me" and then and there swooned away. On recovering her consciousness she decided to go away from her ugly husband to her paternal kingdom. The king hearing this thought, "If she cannot get away, her heart will break, let her go; by my own power I will bring her back again." King Kusa then followed her there and under variety of menial disguises of a

potter, basket-maker, gardener and cook tried in vain to win back her affections with the assistance of the hump-backed nurse. Now the god Sakka finding the miserable plight of Kusa sent messengers to seven kings as if they came from King Madda to say, "Prabhavati has thrown over King Kusa and has returned home. You are to come and take her to wife." The seven kings came and finding that all the seven kings had been invited for only one woman, became enraged and wanted to fight with the Madda king, who consequently became very much frightened. He said that after casting off the chief king in all India she returned here and as a result of that has brought this mishap on me; I will slay her and after cutting her body into seven pieces send one to each of the seven kings. This terrified Prabhavati greatly and she went to her mother's chamber and related to her the whole thing. Her parents being aware of the whole situation sent Prabhavati to beg pardon of him (Kusa) and she came and fell in the mud at the feet of the King Kusa in his workman's dress and asked his forgiveness. He pardoned her and placed her on an elephant beside him and went to meet the seven kings in stately array. Thereafter he bestowed the seven sisters of Prabhavati in marriage upon the seven kings and returned home with Prabhavati.

The story of "Raja," however, takes the marriage of Sudarshana with the invisible king as an accomplished fact and all at once lauds us in the midst of an universal quest after the invisible king, for not only is Sudarshana anxious to meet him, but all the citizens and the seven stranger kings are seeking to find him in vain. The queen is allowed to come into the presence of the king only in darkness and in her extreme anxiety to see the king her lord in daylight has her eyes dazzled by the sight of the false king in triumphal array. Afterwards when she sees the actual king she cannot bear to see his ugly face and hurries to her own paternal kingdom and is followed there by the seven kings every one of whom was anxious to get possession of her by fair fight. Her father is taken prisoner in the fight and her pride is humbled. It is at this juncture that the king comes, all the other kings fly away and he accepts his repenting queen at her knees and goes out with her in the light of day.

A comparison of the two stories and a critical study of the "Raja" will make it clear to any reader that the modifications adopted by the poet and the manner in which he has given expression to it have completely changed their purpose. The Jataka tale is not anything more than a love story wherein we feel interested in the passionate love of Kusa and slightly repelled by the vanity of his beautiful queen and are glad that after all they are both reconciled. The same important links of the story find their place here also, but the creation accomplished is incomparably higher and greater. The resultant dominant emotion here is not as in the other case a mere amorous pleasure, the joyous strain of the sensuous within us, but a quest, a pulsation, a throbbing after the Eternal within us. The elements constituting the static interest of the story have been touched here with the naive skill of the poet in such a manner that all the pent-up longings of our spirit are set in motion. It is not merely a drama of a system of events or a play of passions which we enjoy on the basis of sympathy, but one in which the supremely lyrical in us pour its contents in the same cup in which the dramatic elixir is drunk. In every turn of the drama, the lyrical longing after the transcen-

dental, the insatiable search after the Infinite, the ceaseless resonance of "Where" in all our intellectual scrutiny enlivens our heart to the very verge of intoxication. But still we are aware that it is not the mere lyrical breeze, the heaving emotion of life pulsating through Nature and man, which characterises his later master-piece "Phalguni." But here is the simultaneous satisfaction of the dramatic and the lyrical in man, the simultaneous feasting of the eye and the palate in the sweet and ripe creation of Nature. Here it is that we see that with the superficial development of the plot and the characters of the drama there develops *pari passu* in a deeper region in a much subtler strain a soul-drama which constitutes the lyrical element of the piece. It is not an allegorical composition of which we can only say that "more is meant than meets the ear," but this is a creation in which the suggestion that lies deep and the play that floats on the surface are bound together in the same strain, so that the growth of the latter involves the growth of the former, though we have to confess at the same time that the content of each is independent of the other. The dynamic of the mythic process reflects that of the transfiguration and the value of each grows through mutual reflection and re-reflection.

The government that earthly kings impose upon their subjects is only marked by misplaced restrictions upon individual freedom, arbitrary laws and arbitrary limitations, crooked ways, and self-contradictory measures. To this, however, the supreme order that runs through the process of universal Nature presents a striking contrast before our view. There the process is so simple, the actions are so automatic and living that whenever we stand face to face with these mysteries we ask ourselves, Is there any Creator? Is there any master who dominates and lords over this magnificent kingdom? We ponder over it, calculate, reason and doubt. We protest and ignore the reality of a supreme master; still there is no response; no punishment is directly inflicted upon our disloyalty. Thus from the wonder and the quest comes the doubt, and from doubt comes the negation, and it seems that instead of running towards the Master, we are taking just the opposite course and are flying away from him, and are puffed up with vanity; our eyes are blinded with the glitter and the blaze of hollow ambition. In a word we are lost. But there is no way to be lost, and to run away from him is but a step of running towards him. There are no ways but those that run towards him. The negation contains within itself the germ of its own criticism, contradiction and destruction. Vanity contains within itself the elements of its own destruction and leads of itself to submission. Modesty follows pride, contentment follows ambition and Faith follows atheism. The drift of our life which apparently took us away from Him, one day crushed our pride, powdered into dust the armour of our vanity and brought us low at His feet, wailing and repenting for our sins and praying to be forgiven. It is this which constitutes the inner tragedy of our soul, which marks the death of Man and the birth of the Spirit or the Holy Ghost. This pessimistic scheme pervades the poet's mind not only here but in his other works as well; we are told in the "Phalguni" that the shivering, dreary winter is transformed into the flowery freshness of the smiling spring, that life was only re-invigorated and rejuvenated through death, and further in the Citanjali, that Failure in us had its complement in the supreme realisation in the hand of God who in His own timelessness holds the perfection of our Being

which could not manifest itself through the obstructions of the temporal order of this Universe. But this optimism which is at once deeper than that of Browning and more sublime and pervading than that of Tennyson is not manifested here merely as such but as evolving through a dialectic. Thus the doubt manifests itself in two spheres, the subjective and the objective, and grows therein until with its growth the very seed of its destruction also grows and expands and ultimately nullifies it and through it the supreme end of the quest is realised. The quest which eventually is transformed into doubt is first seen among the individual citizens until it gradually grows and grows and pervades the minds of the kings of Kanchi, Kosal, &c., and this it may be remarked is the direct antithesis of the former. The first germs of Negation which may at first be noticed among men as individuals, soon exceed their bounds, develop and creep into the Social Mind, States as represented by the kings (as here of Kosal, &c.) and constitute the vanity and arrogance of Nations, which are manifested in the supreme contempt for anything higher than the Will of Man; and the punishment of such a course of things is brought through greed and ambition which bring with them internecine war and devastation and those that survive are brought on their knees to submission before the mighty Being who with his unseen presence rules the destinies of the world. But in direct antithesis with this development and dissolution of Doubt in the Objective sphere, we have to notice its progress in the Subjective sphere as exemplified in the vanity and anguish of Sudarshana.

Apart from the quest after the Master in the objective course of things, there is the quest after Him in man's own heart. He feels His presence in the deepest region of his heart, not however with the definiteness and clearness of direct vision, not in all the concreteness of his nature as upholding in his regal splendour the kingdom of the universe, but as a mere feeling, a mere pulsation after the Infinite which can neither establish itself "beyond doubt," nor affiliate itself with His nature as the Great King of the Universe. To be brief, it is merely subjective as such, which cannot save man from the grip of Doubt. He cannot reconcile the order of the universe with his own indefinite feelings, and loses faith in it, is filled with vanity, ambition and immodesty and is drawn out by the phantom glitter of the day; his peaceful and happy nook is set on fire and his very existence is in danger through the storm and fury of an objective struggle. Sir Arthur's round table was dispersed by those who followed "wandering fire." Man says, 'if this that I find in my heart is God, why should it not establish itself in the exterior order, in riches and power which I long to attain?' He is duped by Mammon, forfeits his peace and happiness,—the product of his own vain passion—in which his very soul is often pawned. But there are no ways but those that lead to him, and even this revolt which heaps miseries on miseries does but lead him to submission; he finds that in running away from him hunting after the false lord of riches and power, he is on the very verge of ruin from which nothing else can save him; he throws himself on his knees before him and clings to him, with all the humility of his heart, and finds to his satisfaction that all his fears are dispelled. Then and then alone when all his vanities are vanished, his pride humbled, and his mind filled with his glory can he eternally return back to Him and see Him pervading his "within and without."

Go anywhere you will, you cannot be lost; the inherent contradiction of your fault must lead you to the right. The superiority of this optimism over that of Browning consists in this that he did not know the dialectic nature of Faults, but only believed that Faults presuppose a perfect condition of things in another life in Heaven.

The book contains twenty scenes and they are arranged in such a way that every scene dealing with the exterior world, the objective sphere, the kings and the citizens, is alternated by another scene dealing with the development of the plot in the inner harem, so far as Sudarshana is concerned. Thus the development of the Idea through its Negation both in the objective world of Realities and the subjective world of inner experiences, in the very same stride and movement, is brought clearly by force of suggestion before our view. We are made to feel that the same vanity which creeps into individuals creeps into societies as well, and they are brought into relation with each other through the same course of development of the germ of Sin in both, they proceed in their course by the same dynamic, and suffer; but ultimately out of their very suffering the Christ of their deliverance comes before their view, the inherent contradiction of Sin corrodes and eats itself up, and man and society in their fullest submission lay themselves at the feet of their Lord and achieve their supreme realisation.

There are five characters in the drama: (1) the King of Kanchi, (2) the Queen Sudarsana, (3) Surangama, the maid, (4) the grandfather, and (5) the invisible king himself. Of these the characters of the King of Kanchi and Sudarshana are similar in this that while the former through his vanity ignores The King, the latter through love of greediness and pride was attracted by the illusive show of a false king, felt herself bored at the presence of the real King, her husband, thought Him ugly and flew away from Him. This inherent weakness of her character first dissolved the peace and happiness of her sweet home, made her a beggar and an unwelcome guest at her father's place, brought upon herself and her father all the troubles of a foreign invasion of the seven kings under the leadership of the King of Kanchi, whose lust she had excited by offering her own garland to the false king at the time of the pompous procession of The King, her husband, at her home. This Nemesis, this curse of Duryasa, was not however a Dieu-Ex-Machina, extraneous to the conception of the drama, but was the poisonous exhalation of her own sin. The pride of the King of Kanchi was also humbled by the appearance of the King himself at the critical moment. The peaceful end of the drama the supreme grace which followed the whole-hearted submission of Sudarshana, reminds us therefore of the whole history of a Paradise Lost and Regained.

The characters of Surangama and the Grandfather are similar in this, that the former with the right instinct of a devotee and the latter with the true instinct of a poet with the utmost loyalty of their hearts had not only never lost their faith in Him but felt themselves pervaded with His presence. No temptation could shake them. His royal ensign as the Thunder in the Lotus, the Terrible in the Tender was familiar to them. They were the born Holy. The King himself, however, never appears on the stage, but it is His self-sustained activity and calmness which is the source of all movement in the characters of the drama. He is the absolutely passive and the supremely active. Thus the Grandfather

speaking of Him says that we are all kings and this is the bond which connects us with Him :—

"We are all kings in the kingdom of our King.

Were it not so, how could we hope in our heart to meet Him?

We do what we like, yet we do what he likes ;

We are not bound with the chain of fear at the feet of a slave-owning king.....

We struggle and dig our own path, thus reach his path at the end.

We can never get lost in the abyss of dark night.

Were it not so, how could we hope in our heart to meet him?"

He is the supreme freedom which is the cause of all freedom and movement in us.

Neither slander nor praise can touch him. Wherever we meet with the grandfather surging and foaming with the joy of loyalty and fired with the poet's and the prophet's zeal, we feel a new awakening in us. Our hearts dance with his dance in the joy of the same harmony in which sorrow and joy, good and bad, death and birth, and bondage and freedom are dancing in eternal bliss.

We have taken a long time in describing the nature and the value of this transfiguration in this masterly work but could not at the same time draw the attention of our readers to the charming lyrical aspect of the play by quoting illustrative passages from it, as most of the beauty and elegance of the original has been lost in the translation. To those who have read "Raja," the translation cuts a very sorry figure and we feel that it had rather been never undertaken at all. The very best passages have often been omitted, and the general rendering is so crude and heavy, that it would indeed be a pity if we wished to demonstrate the fine lyrical effusion in the rapturous and quickening language of the poet by any quotations from it. In our review, therefore, we have only considered the general plan of the play and have not tried to take its estimate in its purely literary character, as it would be vain to do it on the basis of this poor translation.*

In conclusion it may not be out of place to point out that "Raja" being essentially a work of Art and "thing of beauty and joy for ever", the transfiguration involved in the life criticism of the drama through its own peculiar story should never be misunderstood as that which the poet primarily wishes to communicate to us as a lesson for which the drama has been taken up merely as an excuse. For the transfiguration is merely the re-shining, the resonance, from the form or the tune of the drama itself; what the Sanskrit rhetoricians would call an "Anuranana" or "Vastudhwani". Its relation with the drama is like the melody which sticks to our ears long after the song has actually died away. The dramatic spectacle captivates our senses, the lyrical flow sets our very being in a whirl-pool, we have no time to think, we are led on and on, when the scene closes, the spectators rise, and in the bustle of the crowd we prepare to return home; but yet the joy hangs on us like a thin misty cloud; and we know not whether we are glad or sad. What does it all mean? What is the deeper truth that underlies it? From the

* I have personally ascertained it from the poet that he had no hand in the translation though he has erroneously been put as the translator on the title page of the translation.—S. D. G.

drama we return back to the strife of our own moral nature on which some new side-light has now been thrown; we ponder, think, and are absorbed, while some lines are probably still ringing in our ears:—

"We struggle and dig our own paths, thus reach his path at the end."

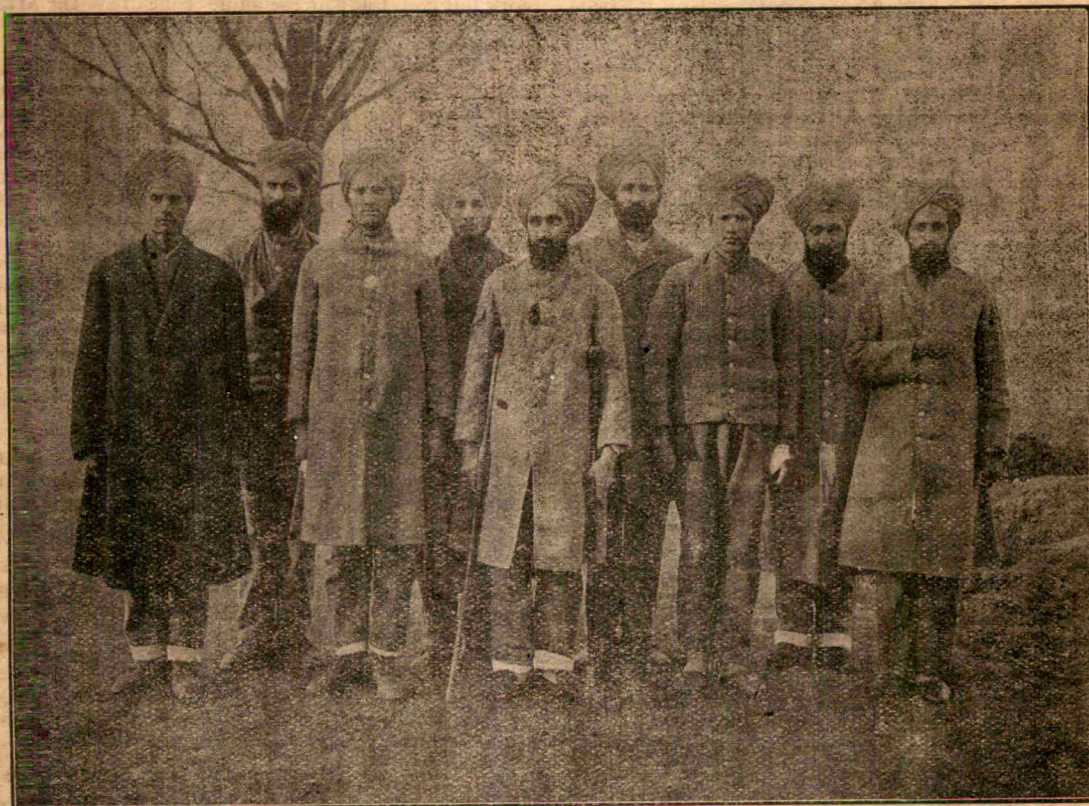
We can never get lost in the abyss of dark night.
Were it not so, how could we hope in our hearts
to meet him?"

SURENDRANATH DAS GUPTA.

INDIANS AT WAR

THE tragic fall of Kut must have come as a fearful blow to Indians in India—more so I think than to Indians and friends of India in England. Even though, when weeks ago, we first heard of General

Townshend's plight, we never thought he would be forced to surrender, we never dreamt that things would get to such a fearful pass that he would be unable to hold out. When one overheard, perhaps,



Some wounded warriors of the 15th Sikhs, one of the most famous regiments.
Taken at Netley Hospital.

on tram or bus or in the train, the business man discussing the state of affairs in Mesopotamia with a friend, you would invariably hear the remark, "Oh! but

everything will be all right. The Indian troops are there!" And it was this quiet and perfect confidence in the Indian troops that somehow brightened the gloom that



Members of the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps photographed with some of the wounded Indians. Taken at Netley Hospital.

seemed to hang like a pall over everything and everybody. And when it was officially stated that General Townshend had been forced to surrender, people whispered here that "things must have been awfully bad, —not even the Indian troops could hold out." And it is a real and genuine sadness that has taken possession of the hearts of the British people to-day, a sadness born of a real affection and admiration for the Indian warriors who are taking such a splendid part in the battle for Right against Might.

Ever since the beginning of the War when India, in one stupendous and spontaneous burst of patriotism, offered her troops and her money to the Empire, the Indian Warrior has reigned supreme in the hearts of the British public. Whether it be the haughty mien of a handsome Sikh, or the quaint face and merry eyes of a little Gurkha, they are all an object of worshipful admiration. Perchance it is that there is a certain halo of romance which envelopes the form of an Indian

Sepoy, but whatever it is, they have come and conquered the hearts of the British public. The very thing that statesmen and politicians have been striving so strenuously to accomplish for so many years, namely, a better understanding between the people of Britain and the people of India, has been brought about in this singular way. The exploits of the Indians in Flanders, Gallipoli and Mesopotamia are stories that will be handed down to the generations yet to come, and sung to the babe in the cradle and told to the child at the mother's knee when this Great War has become a thing of the dim past—a nightmare at which we shall look back with relief to know it is over.

And it is, no doubt, somewhat cheering to know that, as far as possible, the British Government have done all that they possibly could for the comfort of the Indian troops. The arrangements for the sick and wounded have received especial consideration, and one cannot but marvel that such a state of perfection could be arrived at



Some members of the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps who have been serving with the Indian Contingent at Netley since the beginning of the War.

under the circumstances. When it was first rumoured that Indian troops were on their way to fight in Flanders, there were many people who thought the British Government were doing a very foolish thing. "But if they are wounded or ill, what about their caste, who will look after them?" they wailed; and they prophesied heaps of trouble for the Government. But these well-meaning and short-sighted people have been distinctly surprised, and no doubt a little hurt, to find that no such thing has happened.

But although the British Government showed great fore-thought in dealing with the many problems arising from the bringing of Indian troops to Europe, yet to a great extent the praise does not belong to them. Their burden was lightened in a most unexpected manner by the wave of patriotism that swept over Great Britain, and the spontaneous outburst of love for their countrymen that came from the hundreds of young Indian Students—

Medical, Law, and Engineering—who asked the Government to be allowed "to do something." And well have they done their "something." The Government saw a way out of their difficulty at once, and banded these young men together into a corps called "The Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps." Trained as dressers and hospital orderlies they were then sent to attend the Indian wounded, first at Netley Hospital, and later in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

The glimpse the writer had of an Indian hospital is not easily forgotten. Imagine a large two-storeyed building standing in its own grounds. Along the front of the building stretched a verandah, half a mile in length, and on this verandah walked, sat, or lay Indian warriors in all stages of convalescence. The wards were cool and airy and filled with sweet perfumed flowers which scented the air, and, as a tall Pathan confided to the writer in a whisper, "smelt like India." A Sikh with



Wounded Indians playing Chess.

a dreamy far-away look in his eyes, lay on a bed half-way down a ward, and was chanting in a low voice some sacred song of his own race, the refrain of which was taken up and repeated by a comrade in a bed opposite. Sikhs, Pathans, Jats, Gurkhas—they were all there. All looked happy and contented. And among them moved the slim young Indian Student Dressers, who tended these men as though they had done it all their lives. And when one considers that in India these same young men would not be allowed to perform the smallest menial duty, it is all the more credit to them that they should so easily adapt themselves to the circumstances in which they have been placed. There are many touching incidents showing that the Indian Sepoys themselves appreciate the care and devotion of these young men. One badly wounded Gurkha was being attended to by the son of a very well-known gentleman of Calcutta. There was a look of great distress on the little Gurkha's face, and, unable to bear it any

longer, he cried out, "Oh, no, Babu Sahib, you mustn't do it; what would your father say!" And a Sikh remarked that "it's a wonderful war to bring the Babu Sahibs to serve us."

The cooking of food for the Indian troops is also a matter that has received the most careful attention. Everything is carried out according to the strict rules of the different castes, and no man's caste is in any way offended. The cooking and preparing of the food by Indian cooks, under the vigilant eyes of members of the Volunteer Corps, is carried out with the greatest of care, and the brightly polished cooking utensils and boards made snowy white with much scrubbing, gives the place a look of perfect cleanliness.

In the beautiful grounds surrounding this retreat are shady trees and pleasant walks, and seats in abundance. Here the convalescent Indian can sit and read, or play his favourite game, or stroll among the flowers and shrubs and think of home. I know he thinks of home because I can

see the look of wistful sadness in his eyes, although his lips may smile. He is thinking of that day, when after the War, he will return to that land which is not to be compared to any other land, that land

of great rivers and plains and wonderful mountains, the land he calls "home."

EVA WILLIS.

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VILLAGE GOVERNMENT IN BRITISH INDIA

By LALA LAJPAT RAI.

IT is a valuable book which Mr. John Matthai of Madras has written, on Village Government in British India, and which has been published by the well-known London publisher, Mr. T. Fisher Unwin. Our friend Mr. Sydney Webb, has contributed an illuminating preface, in which he points out with great force, how much undue insistence is laid on "the cleavages of castes" in thinking about and discussing the successful introduction of representative institutions in India. Mr. Matthai's book makes it clear that the village councils, which administered the affairs of the villages in pre-British days, were generally composed of men of different castes, exercising jurisdiction over all castes. He points out, by actual examples, how even the *Shudras* were allowed to take part in these village councils, thus demolishing the theory that the Caste System prevailing in India is an insuperable obstacle to the successful working of democratic institutions. Mr. Sydney Webb points out how the Caste System had "in fact, permitted a great deal of common life" and how its existence was made "compatible with active village councils."

Mr. Webb also points out that "the vote by ballot" and "party government" are not the only methods of bringing administration under popular control. Indian Village Councils performed that function quite successfully in their own way. In the opinion of Mr. Webb, it is a pity that the aspirations of so many Indians for Indian Self-Government, and especially those of Indian students should contemplate so exclusively what concerns India as a whole. After all, he continues, it is the local government of a village or a municipality that touches most nearly the lives of the people, and the Dominion Governments of the British Empire are self-governing, essentially because they run their own local governments. But Mr. Webb evidently seems to ignore the fact that indigenous local government having been destroyed by the present system of government, it is in the power of the central government alone, now to create such institutions with sufficient powers to make them successfully perform the functions of local government. Therefore, it is necessary for Indian politicians to agitate for the proper constitution of the central government, as until that is achieved and the central government placed on a popular basis, there can be no hope of local government being placed on a really popular foundation.

Mr. Matthai's book gives sufficient indications of his having covered a large area in getting the material for his book. We have nothing but admiration for the excellent way in which he has done his work. The

historical portion of the book is especially valuable as a powerful reply to those who contend that popular institutions are foreign to the genius of the Hindus and that under their own government they had never enjoyed the advantages of an impartial administration of justice, and a system of public education and public sanitation, etc. Mr. Matthai has collected sufficient material to show that Ancient India was quite familiar with all these institutions and that even in centuries immediately preceding the introduction of British rule, all the communal interests of the people were properly looked after by communal councils, not necessarily based on caste distinctions. Reading between the lines, one can easily see how village sanitation and village education have suffered by the change of government and how ruinous has been the change in the system of administering justice.

Mr. Matthai has done well in bringing the different chapters of his book up to date, and including in them the provisions of British laws and British codes on the points covered by the chapters; but it should not be forgotten for a moment that theory is very different from practice, that the rules laid down in different codes, though they read very well, are far from being practised in the same spirit.

There is one subject on which the present writer can speak from personal knowledge, viz., "Famine Relief". I have had personal experience of the administration of famine relief in three big famines, during which I took part in organizing private relief, and I know full well how short the official relief fell and how different the actual relief given was, from the spirit of the codes.

It is extremely necessary that Indian students and scholars should give proper attention to the social and political institutions of their country with a view to use the experience and the lessons of the past in the evolving of the future. There is a good deal in the social and political thought of the Hindus and Mohammadans that deserves careful study and that would amply repay the labour spent on it. Moreover it is necessary to point out to the world that in claiming representative institutions we do not ask for the moon and that when the West was mostly enveloped in darkness, India had evolved a system of social thought which can give points to the modern world.

In order to encourage research work on these lines, it seems desirable that books like the one under review should command a good sale.

April 23, 1916.

SINO-JAPANESE BUDDHISM AND NEO-HINDUISM

SECTION 1.

THE ALLEGED EXTINCTION OF BUDDHISM
IN INDIA.

THE name Buddha, either as that of the Great Teacher of the sixth century B. C., or as that of a God, has not been much in vogue among the followers of what is called Neo-Hinduism, i.e., those who accept as their bibles the *Puranas* and *Tantras*. It has, therefore, been held among Orientalists that Buddhism whether as *Hinayanism* or as *Mahayanism* is extinct in India, the land of its birth.

This is a very superficial and erroneous view of the actual state of things. For, taking the evolutional view of Sociology, it would appear that Buddha has been immortal in Indian consciousness both as a teacher and as a divinity. In the first place, *Hinayanism*, i.e., *Nirvanism* or Cessation-of-Misery-ism, or the Doctrine of Renunciation or Self-sacrifice, or Philanthropy and Social Service, or Asceticism and Monasticism, is still practised by the Hindus who do not call themselves Buddhists, as much as by the professed Hinayanists of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. Secondly, *Mahayanism*, which alone I have called Buddhism, as the worship of the deities named Buddha, Avalokiteswara, etc., is as great a living religion of the modern Hindus who have no Buddha in their pantheon as of the Buddhists of Tibet, Mongolia, China and Japan.

Let us apply what is known as the *philosophical method* to the elucidation of this problem. If the deities of the neo-Hindu pantheon, male and female, were catalogued and studied alongside of the "Gods of Northern Buddhism," i.e., the so-called Buddhistic deities of trans-Himalayan Asia, it would appear

1. that in many cases, the same deity exists in all the countries under different names.

2. that the purposes of invocation and the modes of worship are more or less identical.

3. that the folk-ideas associated with the deities and the efficacy of worshipping

them do not practically differ among these peoples.

4. that deities which seem to be special to India, China or Japan, having no analogues in the sister countries, are new creations adapted to local conditions, but easily assimilated to the entire system in each.

5. that if the Japanese and Chinese mythologies have any claims to be called Buddhistic, so do the Pauranic and Tantric of the Indians, though they practically ignore the name of Buddha.

Besides, a *historico-comparative* study of the mythologies of the races of the *Sanguoku* would bring out three important factors which have contributed to the building up of each:

1. The Cult of World-Forces common to Vedists (*Rita-ists*), pre-Confucian Chinese (Taoists) and the worshippers of *Kami* (Shintoists).

2. The Religion of Love and Romanticism which grew out of the first. This was born almost simultaneously in India and China as the worship of saints, *avatars*, heroes, Nature-Powers, etc., with the help of images; and transferred to the Land of the *Kami* in the very first stage of its history, where it found a most congenial soil, and where the race-consciousness might have developed it independently.

3. The Religion of the Folk which was the parent of the first two has ever been active in creating, adapting, and re-interpreting local and racial myths of the three countries down to the present day.

The Gods and Goddesses of the *Puranas* and *Tantras* are the joint products of all these factors; so, too, are the Gods and Goddesses of Buddhist China and Buddhist Japan. The present-day deities of the Hindus owe their parentage to the Mahayanic cult of mediæval Hinduism and are historically descended from the Gods of 'Northern Buddhism' in the same way as the pantheons of modern Japan and China continue the tradition of the 'Hinduism of the Buddha-cult.'

Thus, both philosophically and histor-

cal, Neo-Hinduism and Sino-Japanese Buddhism are essentially the same. The Vashnavas, Shaivas and Shaktas of India should know the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists as co-religionists. Similarly the Sino-Japanese Buddhists should recognise the neo-Hindus of India as Buddhists.

The alleged "strangling" of Buddhism by Hindus is a fiction and cannot stand the criticism of the philosophico-historical method. The disappearance of Buddha and his loss from present-day Indian consciousness belongs to the same category as that of Indra, Varuna, Soma, Pushan and other Vedic deities. And in spite of this the Hindus have a right to be called followers of the Vedas, they have equal claims to be regarded as Buddhists (both Hinayana and Mahayana).

SECTION 2.

THE BODHISATTVA-CULT IN CHINA, JAPAN AND INDIA.

(a) TI-TSANG

The learned historical articles on "The Bodhisattva Ti-tsang (Jizo) in China and Japan" by M. W. De Visser in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (July, 1913 to December, 1914) supply enormous facts from which it would be obvious to students of Indology that the so-called Buddhist gods of China and Japan and the gods of neo-Hinduism in India are substantially the same. There are slight differences in name and function, in features of images and modes of worship. But people used to the mythology of the Puranas would notice a family-likeness and even analogues or identities in the Sino-Japanese Buddhist mythology. In some cases it is not possible to trace the historical connexion—but philosophically speaking, even there the identity is obvious and indicates a common mythological development among the three peoples on more or less independent lines.

In China Ti-tsang is described "as the compassionate priest, whose *khakkhara* shakes and opens the doors of hell, and whose precious pearl illumines the Region of Darkness." A Korean prince of the eighth century was declared to be a manifestation of Ti-tsang. Visser quotes the statements of a modern Japanese author on the history of the Ti-tsang cult in China: "From the time of the Tsin, Sung, Liang, Chin, T'sin and Chao dynasties (A.D. 265-589) the cases of those who

were saved by invoking and reciting the names of Kwanyin, Ti-tsang, Maitreya and Amitabha were so many that they are beyond description." The following is a picture of Ti-tsang in the Chinese work *Yuh-lih* (Calendar of Jade):

"After some pictures representing Shangti throning as judge of the dead, surrounded by his officials, and virtuous souls rewarded with heavenly joy, while the wicked are tortured by the demons of hell, we see Ti-tsang in the robe of a priest with the *urna* on his forehead, wearing a five-pointed crown and with a round halo behind his head. He rides on a tiger, and is escorted by his attendants, two young priests, of whom one carries his master's *Khakkhara*, whereas the other holds a long streamer adorned with a lotus flower. We read on the streamer: 'The Tantra-ruler of the Darkness, King Ti-tsang the Bodhisattva.' A boy leads the tiger with a cord."

(b) JIZO.

The Japanese have ever been as good Puranists and Tantrists as the neo-Hindus; or, what is the same thing, the neo-Hindus have been as good Buddhists as the Japanese.

In Japan Jizo is worshipped as a deity of the roads. Jizo in one form is the "Conqueror of the armies" and an *avatara* of an old Yamato Thunder-god. This Jizo represented on horseback is the tutelary god of warriors who used to erect his images on the battlefields and at the entrance to their castles. Jizo in another form is the giver of easy birth. There is "the custom of placing Jizo images before the house of a newly married couple in the bridal night." Jizo is believed to save the souls from Hell and lead them to paradise. He also healed the sick and many of his images were known for curing special diseases. He is also the special protector of the children.

It is superfluous to add that the Pauranic and Tantric Hindus with their three hundred and thirty million deities would recognise in these Japanese Jizos some of the objects of their love and devotion. The cult of these gods is not a matter for mere archæological study in the great empire of the Far East. Any tourist would endorse the following remarks of Visser:

"Thus we see that New Japan goes on worshipping this mighty Bodhisattva and imploring his assistance and protection in all the phases of human life. The present day with all its western civilisation, sees our gentle, merciful Bodhisattva gloriously maintaining his mighty position and living in the people's heart like in the days of yore."

If this is Buddhism, it is sheer pedantry to say that Buddhism has been driven out of India "to seek Lavinian shores." This

most important Bodhisattva of China and Japan is historically none other than *Kshiti-garbha*, one of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas of Mahayanic pantheon, for the Chinese name *Ti-tsang* is the exact equivalent of the Sanskrit term. It is interesting to note that "his name is apparently seldom mentioned in Indian literature. Therefore we have to consult the Chinese Tripitaka for getting information about his nature." Further, "in the well-known Chinese work on India, entitled *Records on Western Regions made under the Great Tang Dynasty* (A. D. 618-907), and composed in A. D. 646 by the famous Buddhist pilgrim *Hsien-Tsang* (A. D. 602-664) we do not read one word about *Kshiti-garbha*. Also, *The Traditions on the Inner Law, by one who returned from the Southern Ocean to China*, written by another famous pilgrim *I-tsing* (A. D. 634-713) who in A. D. 671 started from China and returned in A. D. 695, does not mention *Kshiti-garbha*." It is probable, therefore, that *Kshiti-garbha* was not worshipped as such in India, and that the *Ti-tsang*-cult as well as *Jizo*-cult should be regarded as independent extra-Indian developments. The only items borrowed by the Chinese and Japanese seem to be the name, and, of course, certain theological notions recorded in the *Sūtras*; but the elaboration is mainly original. And yet in the complex pantheon of the neo-Hindus there are deities which are the exact duplicates of *Ti-tsang* and *Jizo*, i.e., of the primal *Kshiti-garbha*. These and thousand other facts would lead to the conclusion that Mahayanic Buddhism lives in and through the so many cults of modern Hinduism, and that this Hinduism is essentially the same as Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. The members of the Sino-Japanese pantheon are all to be found under new names in the Vaishnava, Shaiva, Shakta and other pantheons of modern India.

(c) AVALOKITESWARA.

In fact, the Bodhisattva came into the Mahayanic pantheon with all the marks of recognised Neo-Hindu deities. Thus it is not difficult to identify Avalokiteswara with a Vishnu or a Brahma.

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* for the year 1894, Waddell contributed a paper on the genesis and worship of the

Great Bodhisattva Avalokita, the keystone of Mahayana Buddhism—and his *Shakti* or Energy, i.e., consort, Tara, the saviouress. His literary sources of information were Tibetan, and illustrations were drawn from the lithic remains in Magadha (Bihar, India). This was one of the first attempts to study the dark period of Indian Buddhism subsequent to *Hsien-Tsang's* visit (A. D. 645). The following is taken from that paper.

"Avalokita is a purely metaphysical creation of the Indian Buddhists, who in attempting to remedy the agnosticism of Buddha's idealism, endeavoured to account theistically for the causes lying beyond the finite, and so evolved the polytheistic Mahayana form of Buddhism. * * The metaphysical Bodhisattva Avalokita ultimately became so expanded as to absorb most of the attributes of each of the separate Buddhist deities. His different modes were concretely represented by images of different forms and symbols; his more active qualities were relegated to female counterparts (Saktis), chief of whom was Tara."

The cult of Avalokita brought with it organised worship, litanies and pompous ritual. The style of the worship was similar to that for his consort Tara. It is divided into seven stages: (1) The Invocation. (2) Presentation of offerings. (3) Hymn. (4) Repetition of the spell. (5) and (6) Prayers for benefits present and to come. (7) Benediction. All this is thoroughly orthodox Brahmanic or neo-Hindu.

The introduction of Tara into Buddhism seems to date from the sixth century. *Hsien-Tsang* refers to her image in a few shrines; but "her worship must soon thereafter have developed rapidly, for her inscribed images from the 8th to the 12th centuries A.D. are numerous at old Buddhist sites* throughout India and in Magadha—the birth-place of Buddhism." This Tara might be a Lakshmi or a Durga or a Saraswati as the goddess of wealth, terror or wisdom or what not, according to the thousand and one manifestations of Energy.

(d). MOODS OF DIVINITIES.

An Adi Buddha is called *Vajrasatta* (whose essence is thunderbolt) in Sanskrit. He is the Buddha of supreme intelligence. He is worshipped in China as *Suar-tzu-lo-sa-tsui*, and in Japan as *Kongosatta*. Mrs. Getty gives the following account in her *Gods of Northern Buddhism*:

* Many have been unearthed in recent years by the archaeologists of the "Varendra Research Society" in Rajshahi, Bengal.

* "He has both a 'mild' and 'ferocious' form. The mild form has usually two arms and is seated on a lotus throne which is often supported by an elephant. The ferocious form has six arms, a third eye, and a ferocious expression. Above the forehead is a skull. His colour is red. In this form he is not supported by an elephant."

Not only are the characteristics and functions of the Bodhisattvas and the Buddhas identical with those of the Patric and Tantric deities, but the canons of art also are the same for Mahayanic as well as neo-Hindu iconography. Thus the ferocious and mild forms of the Buddhist deities are repeated in the non-Mahayanic, too. One common art-tradition* was utilised by the sculptors and painters to express the common spiritual consciousness.

The following remarks about icons in *Sukra-niti*, could be made by a *Puranist* or *Tantrist* as much as by a so-called Buddhist :

"The characteristic of an image is its power of helping forward contemplation and 'Yoga.' The human maker of images should, therefore, be meditative. Besides meditation there is no other way of knowing the character of an image—even direct observation (is of no use)." Chapter IV. Section iv. 147-50.

As for the moods of the divinities corresponding to which sculptors should select the forms of the images† the following is recorded by Doctor Sukra (IV. iv. 159-166):

"Images are of three kinds—'sattvika' 'rajasika' and 'tamasika.' The images of Vishnu and other gods are to be worshipped in the 'sattvika' 'rajasika' or 'tamasika' form according to needs and circumstances. The 'sattvika' image is that which has 'yoga mudra' or the attitude of meditation, the straight back, hands giving blessings and courage, and has the gods represented as worshipping it. The 'rajasika' image is that which sits on some 'vahana' or conveyance, is adorned with numerous ornaments, and has hands equipped with arms and weapons as well as offering courage and blessings to the devotees. The 'tamasika' image is that which is a killer of demons by arms and weapons, which has a ferocious and vehement look and is eager for warfare."

In *Sukra-niti*,‡ which is evidently neo-

Hindu, there is no mention of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas or Avalokiteswaras. But readers of Getty's book and Waddell's paper would notice that the Mahayanist iconography also presents the same three-fold type.

It need also be added that Indian Æsthetics, whether called Hindu or Buddhist, crossed the Himalayas to enrich the art-consciousness of the Chinese. Thus in reviewing *Das Citralakshana*, edited and translated by Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum, Chicago, Smith writes in *The Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (January-March, 1914).

"Laufer holds that the influence of Indian painting in China was not confined to Buddhist subjects, but that it extended to the composition and technique specially the colouring of painting in general."

And Abanindranath Tagore in his contribution on "Sadanga or the Six Limbs of Indian Painting" as given by Batsayana (670 B.C?—200 A.D.?) in the same journal (for April-June 1914) remarks on the theory of "Six Canons of Chinese Painting" enunciated by the Celestial art-critic Hsieh Ho (5th century A. D.) as being eminently significant. There is thus one art-inspiration governing the so-called Buddhist and the so-called Hindu, i. e., all the peoples of India, China and Japan.

SECTION 3.

THE BUDDHISM OF CHINA AND JAPAN EUPHEMISM FOR SHAIVA-CUM-SHAKTAISM.

A few feminine divinities are being described according to Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism*.

Tara as a goddess was known to the Chinese in the 7th century, A. D.

"Hiuen Tshang mentions a statue of the goddess Tara of great height and endowed with divine penetration, and says that on the first day of each year kings, ministers and powerful men of the neighbouring countries brought flower offerings of exquisite perfume, and that the religious ceremonies lasted for eleven days with great pomp."

The Japanese Tara "holds the lotus, and may be making 'charity' and 'argument' *mudra* or have the hands folded. Her colour is a whitish green.....She holds the blue lotus or the pomegranate which is believed as in India to drive away evil."

Ekajata or blue Tara is a ferocious form of Tara.

"She has from four to twenty-four arms, and is generally standing and stepping to the right on corpses—she has the third eye, is laughing horribly, her teeth are prominent, and her protruding tongue,

* See in the *Modern Review* (October 1915) A. N. Tagore's paper on "Sadanga" or the six limbs of Painting." It is a contribution to the psychology of Hindu Æsthetics. Vide the works of Havell and Coomaraswamy on Hindu Architecture, Sculpture and Painting.

† See the paper on "Some Hindu Silpa-Sastras in their relation to South Indian Sculpture" by Hazare in the "Ostasiatische Zeitschrift" (April-June, 1914).

‡ "Sukra-niti" translated from Sanskrit into English for "The Sacred Books of the Hindus Series" (Parini Office) by B. K. Sarkar.

according to the 'Sadhana,' is forked. Her eyes are red and round. Her hips are covered by a tiger-skin, and she wears a long garland of heads. If painted, her colour is blue, and her chignon is red. She is dwarfed and corpulent. Her ornaments are snakes."

Saraswati is worshipped by the Buddhists of China and Japan as the goddess of music and poetry.

"In Japan the goddess Benten is looked upon as a manifestation of Saraswati. Her full name is..... Great Divinity of the Reasoning Faculty. The white snake is believed to be a manifestation of Saraswati. The goddess is generally represented either sitting or standing on a dragon or huge snake, she has only two arms, and holds a 'biwa' or Japanese lute."

Red Tara is "the goddess of wealth and follows in the suite of the god of wealth Kuvera, but is not his consort or *Sakti*." Vasudhara, "goddess of abundance, is the *sakti* of Kuvera, god of wealth. She is always represented with one head, but may have from two to six arms, and wears all the Bodhisattva ornaments. When she has but two arms, the left hand holds a spike of grain, while the right holds a vase, out of which pours a quantity of jewels."

If the people of Tibet, Mongolia, China, and Japan are known as Buddhists because they worship these deities, the modern Hindus who follow the Tantras and Puranas are also good Buddhists. The Shaiva-cum-Shakta pantheon of neo-Hinduism can present duplicates of all these divinities and is in essence but an expression of Sino-Japanese Buddhism.

It is superfluous to add that the goddesses of Shiva's family, in fact, his consorts, e.g., Kali, Durga, Jagad-dhatrī, etc., are the sisters of some of the trans-Himalayan Taras, and that his daughter Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, also can be identified with one of them. Besides, the Hindu Lakshmi's sister, Saraswati, goddess of learning, is known by the same name among extra-Indian Buddhists.

Descriptions of some of the members of the Shaiva pantheon, with illustrations by painters of the modern nationalist school of Indian Art, are to be found in *The Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists* by Nivedita and Coomaraswamy.

The following invocation of the Buddhist Tara given in Waddell's paper could be made by a neo-Hindu to his Durga:

"Hail! O! verdant Tara!
The Saviour of all beings!

Descend, we pray Thee, from Thy heavenly mansion, at Potala
Together with all Thy retinue of gods, titans and deliverers!

We humbly prostrate ourselves at Thy lotus feet,
Deliver us from all distress! 'O Holy Mother!'

So also the presentation of offerings to the Buddhist Shakti is in the characteristic spirit of India:

"We sincerely beg Thee in all Thy divine Forms
To partake of the food now offered!
On confessing to Thee penitently their sin:
The most sinful hearts, ya! even the committers
of the
Ten vices and the five boundless sins,
Will obtain forgiveness and reach
Perfection of Soul—through Thee!"

In the Buddhist hymn translated by Waddell, Tara is praised in her twenty-one forms as:—(1) Supremely courageous, (2) Of white moon brightness, (3) Golden coloured, (4) Grand hair piled, (5) *H'urg* shouter, (6) Best three-world worker, (7) Suppressor of strife, (8) Giver of supreme power, (9) Best bestower, (10) Dispellor of grief, (11) Cherisher of the poor, (12) Brightly glorious, (13) Of universal nature deeds, (14) With the frowning brows, (15) Giver of prosperity, (16) Subduer of passion, (17) Supplier of happiness, (18) Excessive vast, (19) Dispeller of distress, (20) Advent of spiritual power, (21) Completely perfect.

Such forms are known to the Pitanists and the Tantrists also about their own *Shaktis* (Goddesses of Energy). The hymns also are identical.

Just as Buddhist divinities may be said to have been receiving worship as Shaiva deities in modern India, so also the Shaiva divinities may be said to have been receiving the worship of the Sino-Japanese Buddhists.

The great masses of gods and goddesses in Japanese Buddhism regarded as the manifestations of the supreme original divinity are thus described by Okakura:

"Fudo, the immovable, the god of Samadhi, stands for the terrible form of Shiva. He has the gleaming third eye, the trident-sword and the lasso of snakes. In another form, as Kojin, he wears a garland of skulls, armlets of snakes, and the tiger-skin of meditation. His feminine counterpart appears as Aizen, of the mighty bow, lion-crowned and awful, the God of Love—but love in its strong form, whose fire of purity is death and who slays the beloved that he may attain the highest. The Indian idea of Kali is also represented by Kariteimo, the mother-queen of Heaven. Saraswati as Beater, with her 'vina' (lute), which quells the waves; Kōmpira or the Gandharva, the eagle-headed, sacred to mariners; Kichijoten or Lakshmi, who confers fortune and love; Taigensui, the commander-in-chief (Kartika) who

bestows the banner of victory; Shoden, the elephant-headed Ganesh, Breaker of the Path, to whom the first salutations are paid in all village worship —all these suggest the direct adoption of Hindu deities."

Trans-Himalayan Buddhism is really an euphemism for Shaiva-cum-Shaktaism.

SECTION 4.

NEO-HINDUISM IN TRANS-HIMALAYAN ASIA.

There are other goddesses in Buddhist China and Japan besides Saraswati and Tara whose names are identical with those of the Pauranic and Tantric deities of India.

Among the deities worshipped by the Buddhists of China and Japan under the same name as by the Hindus of India may be mentioned—(1) Nagas and Garudas, (2) Kuvera and Lokapalas, (3) Mahakala, (4) Marichi, (5) Hariti. Thus not only is Shaivism Buddhistic or Mahayanic but other Indianisms also are equally so. In other words, the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists are Hindus of the Pauranic and Tantric sects.

The following is taken from Getty :

"In China Yen-lo-wang (Yama) is not regent of the Buddhist hells, he is a subordinate under Ti-tsang and the fifth of the ten kings of hell, who reign over ten courts of judgment. They are represented in Chinese temples, standing when in the presence of Ti-tsang, and surrounded by representations of the torments of the different hells. He is believed to be assisted by his sister who judges the women, while he judges the men.

"In Japan Emma-O (Yama) is regent and holds the same position as Yama in India. In both China and Japan the representations of Yama are practically alike, a middle-aged man with a fierce expression and a beard. On his head is a judge's cap, and he is dressed in flowing garments with the feet always covered. He is seated with the legs locked and in his right hand is the mace of office."

The twelve Japanese gods alleged to have been painted by the celebrated Kobo Daishi are: (1) Boten—(Brahma) attended by (2) the white bird *Ha Kuga* or *svan*; (3) Khaten—(Agni, Fire god); (4) Ishanna—(name of Rudra or Siva); (5) Thaishak—(Indra—a Vedic deity); (6) Futen; (7) Vishamon (Kuvera—Lord of wealth) whose consort is Kichijoten (Goddess of Fortune); (8) Emma (Yama)—riding on a buffalo, and bearing the great staff of death, surmounted by two heads; (9) Nitten (Suryya, the Sun-god); (10) Getten (the Moon-god); (11) Suiten (the God of waters on a tortoise); (12) Shoden (Ganesha).

Neo-Hinduism must be said to be flour-

ishing as much in Buddhist China and Japan as in modern India; or modern Hindus are Mahayanists still like the Chinese and Japanese.

The following picture of what may be regarded as Japanese Vaishnavism is furnished by Okakura :

"A wave of religious emotion passed over Japan in the Fujiwara epoch (A.D. 900-1200), and intoxicated with frantic love, men and women deserted the cities and villages in crowds to follow Kuya or Ipen, dancing and singing the name of Amida as they went. Masquerades came into vogue, representing angels descending from Heaven with lotus dais, in order to welcome and bear upward the departing soul. Ladies would spend a lifetime in weaving or embroidering the image of Divine Mercy, out of threads extracted from the lotus stem. Such was the new movement, which closely paralleled in China in the beginning of the Tang dynasty has never died, and to this day two-thirds of the people belong to the Jodo sect, which corresponds to the Vaishnavism of India.

Both Genshin, the formulator of the creed, and Genku, who carried it to its culmination, pleaded that human nature was weak, and try as it might, could not accomplish entire self-conquest and direct attainment of the Divine in this life. It was rather by the mercy of the Amida Buddha and his emanation Kwannon that one could alone be saved."

SECTION 5.

MODERN HINDUISM.

Haraprasad Sastri was probably the first to bring to the notice of scholars that mediæval Buddhism exists even now among the lower orders of the Bengalee people. The worship of the god Dharma is according to him nothing but the Mahayanic cult elaborated in the *Sunya Purana* of Ramai Pandit. The doctrine of *Sunya* or void, i. e., Nothingness, was a principal theory of one of the forms of mediæval Buddhism, and though generally associated with the name of Nagarjuna, may be traced back to Aswaghosha according to Vidhusekhara Sastri's communication in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London, 1914). H. P. Sastri's contributions to the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1, 1895, and *Proceedings* of the Society for December, 1898, supply interesting facts about Buddhism in modern Bengal.

Dines Chandra Sen in his *History of Bengali Literature* also refers to Buddhist elements in the literature and life of Bengal from the tenth to the seventeenth century. His remarks on the absorption of Buddhism by Vaishnavas who have followed Chaitanya the Reformer (A.D. 1483-1533) are also relevant to the present topic.

And in Nagendranath Vasu's *Modern Buddhism*, one can see the various forms under which Buddhism is maintaining its existence even at the present day in some of the border districts between Bengal and Orissa.

Another work by a Hindu scholar may also be mentioned. Haridas Palit's *Adyer Gambhira*, written in Bengali language, deals with a folk-festival of the Shivaïtes in Northern Bengal. In this he has presented a historic treatment of the stages and processes in the evolution of the neo-Hindu Shiva-cult out of the Mahayānic and pre-Sakyan, i.e., Vedic elements. The modern Shiva is descended as much from the primitive Rudra as from the Yoga-Tantric Avalokiteswara, and has assimilated, besides, the characteristics of various popular deities. In fact, all the three factors mentioned in Section 1., have contributed to the making of Shiva and his host.

Conclusions of these and other Indian scholars have been incorporated with my forthcoming * work *The Folk-Element in Hindu Culture*.

If the religious beliefs and practices of all classes of the so-called Hindus were scrutinised, it would be found that, historically speaking, the foundations of every sect of the present-day Puranists and Tantrists are to be sought in that romantic religion of love, which expressed itself simultaneously in Mahayanism and also in the isms of the so-called Brahmanic order. And as has been pointed out in the preceding sections, philosophically, also, neo-Hinduism and Sino-Japanese Buddhism are the same. For if the Jodo sect of Japan be regarded as Buddhistic, the Vaishnava sects of India which are equal advocates of *Bhakti* or love and devotion are all Buddhists. If it is good Buddhism in China and Japan to worship a god of war, a patron-saint of children, a protector of roads, and so forth, the Hindus or Brahmanists of India who worship Kartika the warrior-god, and Kali the goddess of terror, Mother Sitala defender from smallpox, Mother Sasthi the protector of offsprings, and a thousand others, are equally Buddhists.

Regarding the Sino-Japanese Buddhism, therefore, the following brilliant suggestion of Sister Nivedita in her introduction

to Okakura's *Ideals of the East* may be taken as scientifically established :

"Rather must we regard it as the name given to the vast synthesis known as Hinduism, when received by a foreign consciousness. For Mr. Okakura, in dealing with the subject of Japanese art in the nineteenth century, makes it abundantly clear that the whole mythology of the East, and not merely the personal doctrine of the Buddha, was the subject of interchange. Not the Buddhising but the *Indianising* of the Mongolian mind, was the process actually at work—much as if Christianity should receive in some strange land the name of Franciscanism, from its first missionaries."

Are the Chinese and Japanese, then Hindus? The answer is "yes." But at once the difficulty arises as to the answer to the question—"What is Hinduism?" Whatever it is, it is not the name of a religion. Strictly speaking, it is a convenient ethnological term adopted by foreigners to understand certain races of men, just as 'Barbarian' or *Mlechchha* or *Yavana* is used by certain Asiatic peoples to describe the European and other foreign races.

The people of India themselves know their faiths to be Vaishnavism, Saurism, Shaktism, Brahmanism, Aryaism and other isms according to the cult or principal tenet. The term Hindu is not to be found in any Sanskrit work, ethnological, political or religious. If the 'Hinduism' cannot be the name for the religion of the Indians, it is *prima facie* absurd that it should be the name for the identical religions of the sons of Han and the Yamato race.

Should, therefore, the religions of the three peoples be all known by the name of Buddhism? i.e., Should the people of India import from China and Japan back to its native land the name so popular there still? Evidently the answer must be in the affirmative. In spite of the ambiguity associated with the term as with Christianity as explained in a previous chapter, Buddhism seems to be the most acceptable name.

But the term Buddhism also is objectionable, since it pins down the thoughts and feelings of people to a certain historic person or suggests the exclusive sway of a certain deity. This would be quite out of keeping with the spirit of Asia. The mentality of the three peoples has grown through the age, evolving fresh personalities and deities in almost every generation. It is the historic

* Publisher Longmans Green & Co.

birth-right of every Asian to create his own god, his own saint, and his own *avatara*.

In matters spiritual every individual in Asia has ever chosen his or her love with his or her own eyes. Freedom of conscience leading even to seemingly anarchic individualism is the characteristic of the Far East; it has given birth to an incalculably varied godlore and saintlore. No personal name is thus adequate to express the ever-growing religious consciousness of the people in *San-goku*.

Both the terms, Hinduism and Buddhism, are unfortunate, and should, if possible, be abandoned. But in these days when age-long historic tradition has solidified and "polarised" the terms, and national superstitions have grown up around them, it is out of the question to do so. Besides, neither would the so-called Hindus of India probably like to be known as Buddhists because this would involve exclusive faith in a certain deity; nor the so-called Buddhists of China and Japan as Hindus, because this would be confounding their nationality.

It is clear, however, that for scientific purposes, e. g., for cultural anthropology and comparative religion, the eight hundred millions of human beings in the Far East should be considered as professing the same faith. And if following the example of Christianity which under one abstract name embraces a thousand and one denominations, sects, cults, orders, or churches, we are called upon to select a term that would embrace the Ti-tsangists, the Jizoists, the Shivaists and thousand other ists of China, Japan and India, I venture to think that such a name is to be found in Taoism, Shintoism or Sanatanism, i. e., the religion of the eternal way, *Teichi* or *marga*. And the metaphysics of that great *ism* of mankind is Monism in Pluralism.

EPILOGUE:

THE STUDY OF ASIATIC SOCIOLOGY.

I began with the hypothesis: "What pass for Buddhism in the lands of Confucius and Shinto cult are but varieties of the same faith that is known as Tantric and Pauranic Hinduism in modern *Tienchu* (Heaven) or *Tenjiku*, the land of Sakya the Buddha." Indications of the affinity as well as the methods of investigation

have been presented in the foregoing pages. For a complete verification of the hypothesis one has only to make a parallel and comparative study to Sino-Japanese Buddhism and modern Hinduism through their historic landmarks. It would be necessary to have recourse to the "philosophical method" of inquiry. This would involve (1) an analysis of the concepts underlying the mythology, ceremonials, superstitions, pilgrimages, etc., of Sino-Japanese Buddhism, and (2) an analysis of the concepts underlying the mythology, ceremonials, superstitions, pilgrimages, etc., of those who regulate their socio-religious life according to the teachings of the *Puranas* and *Tantras*. The two analyses will yield the same results and establish a common psychological basis of the three peoples.

Tantra-studies in English are few. Avalon's translation of *Maha-nirvana Tantra* from Sanskrit, *Hymns to the Goddess and Principles of Tantra (Tantra-tattva)* are recent works. According to "The Prabuddha Bharata" (or "The Awakened India"), a journal conducted by the Vivekanandists, "educated minds in the East as well as in the West will be, ere long, disabused of all that mass of prejudice that they have allowed to gather round the name of Tantra. * * * Tantrikism, in its real sense, is nothing but the Vedic religion struggling with wonderful success to reassert itself amidst all those new problems of religious life and discipline which later historical events and developments thrust upon it."

Secondly, it would be necessary to have recourse to the "historical method" of inquiry. This would involve

(1) a study of the growth, modification and development through the ages, of the mythology, superstitions, etc., of Sino-Japanese Buddhists. Visser's exhaustive study of Ti-tsang (Jizo), epoch by epoch, down to the twentieth century, and Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism* are instances of this method.

(2) a study of the growth, modification and development, through the ages, of the mythology, superstitions, etc., of the Vaishnavas, Shaktas, Jainas, Shaivas, and other sects of India. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaishnavism, Shaivism and Minor Religious Systems* in the Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research (Strassburg) and Palit's treatment of Shaivism in

Adyer Gambhira are instances of this method.

The historical studies will yield the result that the pluralistic or polytheistic faiths of Buddhist China and Japan as well as of Hindu India are but divergent streams descended from the same fountain. The brilliant period of the mighty Tangs (A.D. 618-905) in Chinese history—synchronous with the Nara Period (A.D. 710-794) and Kyoto Period (A.D. 782-1184) of Japanese, and the epoch of Imperialism continuing both in Southern and Northern India all the traditions of the Bikramadityan Renaissance;—which was signalled by the propagandism and literary activity of such synthetic philosopher-saints as Hiuen Tshang (A.D. 602-664), Kobo Daishi (A.D. 774-835) and Sankar-acharya (A.D. 788-850),—was the most important age

for the inauguration of that common fountain of love, faith and hope, out of which the Hwangho and the Yangtze, the Yodo and the Sumida, the Narmada and the Godavari, and the Indus and the Ganges have been regularly fed for over one millennium. It is not the purpose of this essay to trace the history of that practical idealism, romantic positivism and assimilative eclecticism, which have been the inspiration of eight hundred million souls during the last thousand years. I stop just at the threshold of the great Asiatic Unity.

BENOY KUMAR SARFAR.

Shanghai,
China.
Dec. 25, 1915.

PRE-MILITARY TRAINING FOR INDIAN BOYS

AT critical moments in their life-history, necessity compels nations to exercise a sort of introspection and discover means of utilising the available resources of material and moral energy in more efficient ways. We are to-day in the throes of such a crisis. Without allowing the fears of the moment to terrorise us into a blind imitation of German militarism, we should, if we have any commonsense, seek out means to invigorate the enfeebled limbs of the Empire by preventing the waste by disease of latent strength. And statesmen should now be on the look-out for discovering, training and organising such unused sources of strength.

That India is from a military point of view one of the weakest limbs of the British Empire is beyond any doubt. The comparison of India under Britain to Britain under Rome in this respect, is a school boy's truism, but none the less it is a fact worth pondering over. No country can be considered strong which depends for its strength and security upon a professional army. The latter must have behind it a reserve of citizens more or less acquainted with the rudiment of military training and the use of modern weapons. This has been

pointed out year after year by the Indian National Congress; and this year the exceptional circumstances, in which the country finds itself, have added a peculiar force to this insistent demand. Even some of the most influential anti-Indian journals have recognised the justice of India's claims and have advocated the throwing open to Indians of higher offices in the army and their admission into the ranks of volunteers.

But these are not enough; most foreign countries proceed further, and there is no reason why India should not do so. Physical courage is a habit and it should be ingrained in the character at that stage of life when habits are acquired with the greatest facility; and the easiest method of teaching physical courage and manliness is through sports, military exercises and discipline, military esprit de corps and a military sense of honour. Hence the opinion is widely held that educational institutions should give a certain amount of what may be called pre-military training. A few months ago *The Schoolworld* of London invited the opinions of a number of educational experts on this subject. Most of them advocated some kind of pre-military

training, not as a stepping stone to a military career but as a necessary element in the all-round development of the growing citizen. One of them said, "A secondary school without some form of military training, whether through an Officer's Training Corps, or a Cadet Corps, or some other system,* is an imperfect school." Another advocated "the adoption of the daily newspaper as one of the text books in schools," "the direct teaching of physical courage," and "a measure of pre-military training in those classes in which the age of the child exceeds thirteen."

These opinions are by no means novel theories. They are based upon the practice prevailing in most of the European countries, in Britain and in the British colonies.* In France, Italy, Germany, Austria and Switzerland the government makes provision for giving boys and youths, military training of three sorts:—(a) military exercises without arms, (b) military exercises with arms and (c) rifle practice. In all these countries, as conscription is practised, these pre-military courses are voluntary. The various government concerned make liberal grant of money and material for the encouragement of voluntary associations for rifle practice etc. In Sweden rifle practice is compulsory for all school boys between the ages of 15 and 18. These boys have to practise military exercises 4 hours a week for the first fifteen weeks of every year. 50,000 marks are annually spent by the government for buying arms and ammunition for public schools. In Norway, gymnastics which includes marching, shooting etc., is compulsory. The government also encourages rifle practice by making large grants to voluntary associations. In England many schools have cadet corps attached to them. These were started in 1860 and spread very rapidly all over the country. "Boy Brigade" started in 1883, of a quasi-religious character, have also been popular. Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts movement has met with phenomenal success, and there is scarcely any town in England where the movement is not represented. All these organizations are purely voluntary, but the government has always maintained a very sympathetic attitude. Lord Haldane wished to intro-

duce compulsory military training at school as a part of his military reorganization scheme in 1906, but strong opposition compelled him to drop the proposal.

Most of the British colonies have proceeded a step further in giving a semi-military training to boys at school. Compulsory military training was introduced into Australia in 1911. "The training prescribed is as follows:—(a) from 12 to 14 years in the junior cadets, (b) from 14 to 18 years in the senior cadets. The Act requires a junior cadet to devote 90 hours a year to the work including (i) Physical training for not less than 15 minutes per day; (ii) Marching drill; and any two of the following:—(iii) Miniature rifle shooting; (iv) Swimming; (v) Running exercises and organised games; (vi) First aid. On attaining the age of 14 years, the boy, if medically fit, becomes a senior cadet. He now wears a uniform, carries a rifle and becomes subject to military discipline. Here he continues physical training and also becomes acquainted with military or naval work. He practises shooting at fixed or moving targets. The law requires him to attend annually at least 4 whole-day drills (4 hours), 12 half-day drills (2 hours) and 24 night drills (1 hour). The cadet companies are usually officered by teachers who are required to attend camps of instruction at certain intervals." To a great extent the same system is enforced by the New Zealand Defence Act of 1910-11, by the South Africa Defence Act of 1912, and by the "Regulations for the Cadet Services of Canada," but in the latter two countries a greater amount of freedom is allowed in individual action.

India is the only great part of the Empire where this matter has received absolutely no attention or encouragement at the hands of the Government. A few cases are known of some movements in this direction, started on private initiative. A cadet corps, I believe, is attached to the Central Hindu College, Benares. The Boy Scout movement is not absent. But somehow these Boy Scouts are closely associated with the Volunteers and a boy of pure Indian parentage is apparently not eligible for admission.* Recently it was

* The description given below of the systems prevalent in these countries is taken from a paper read before the Educational Section of the British Association.

* Being uncertain whether pure Indian birth was a disqualification for admission into the ranks of the Boy Scouts, I made inquiries of Mr. Leech, the Commissioner for the Madras Scout. He was uncertain about it and referred me to Capt. Baker,

announced that Dr. Mullick of Calcutta was organising a Scout movement in that city. It is not known how far the project has materialised. * In a country where respectable citizens are not admitted as volunteers and where the people have been disarmed and rendered the helpless prey of dacoits and wild beasts, it is only natural to expect that the government will not take up such proposals with any extraordinary enthusiasm. But it is of the utmost importance to the manliness of future generations that attention should be paid to this problem and those who are interested in India and its future should set themselves seriously to solve it.

The expansion of the Boy Scouts movement among Indian boys is a possible solution. From the moment of its inception it has spread like wild fire over all European and American countries. And surely there is no reason why what has had so much attractive power over the boyish temperament in the West should lose its charm in the East. It may not, therefore, be out of place to give here a brief description of the nature and scope of this great movement.

Established by a soldier and organised in military fashion, it is clear that the idea of popularising an informal sort of military discipline led to the origin of the movement. But in the course of its development, it has lost much of its military spirit and has become a wider and more humanitarian brotherhood. It aims at developing in the growing boy a self-reliant character based upon all manly qualities. It makes the youth of the country pay enough attention to the work of physical development and trains them to find their pleasures in the free air and open country. It seeks to instil into their evolving personality a true idea of social service and a horror of that blank indifference to the wider concerns of social and national life that is the curse of our country. These aims, it attempts to realise by appealing to that sense of chivalry and romance inherent in every true boy. The training thus given also fits in with a widespread pedagogic principle—

General Secretary, Boy Scouts, South India. I wrote to the latter, but he was not pleased to send a reply. But it is certain that so far there has been in Madras no instance of an Indian Boy Scout.

* The project has materialised since the article was written.

the culture-epoch theory, the theory that the individual in his development follows the line of development of the race. "There has been in certain educational circles the feeling that there was need that every boy should have an opportunity to live through the race-life, pursue the primitive industries and occupations and finally come to the civilization of the twentieth century." This opportunity is afforded by the Boy Scouts movement.

As stated above the Scouts are organised in military fashion. They wear Khaki uniform and carry a long pole in their hands. All boys between 12 and 18 are eligible for membership. "They are divided into patrols of 8 boys of whom one is the patrol leader. Three or more patrols constitute a group which is in charge of a scout-master who must be an adult. There are three main orders:—

(1) Tender foots, (2) Second class Scouts and (3) First class Scouts, promotion from one grade to another being gained by proficiency in the different arts that a Scout is expected to know. In addition to these there are merit badges gained by passing the required tests in any of the common trades and crafts or in feats of skill and prowess. The merit badge is of silk, a little more than an inch square and it is worn on the right sleeve. The boy who wins five of these becomes a Star Scout. If he wins twenty-one he becomes an Eagle Scout."* All Scouts are expected to obey the Scout laws of which the following are the chief:—

(1) A Scout's honour is to be trusted. (2) A Scout is loyal to his king to his officers, his country, and his employers. (3) A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others. (4) A Scout is a friend to all, no matter to what social class he may belong. (5) A Scout is courteous. (6) A Scout is a friend to animals. (7) A Scout obeys orders. (8) A Scout smiles and whistles under all circumstances. (9) A Scout is thrifty. (10) A Scout is pure in thought, word, and deed.

I shall close these remarks with a reference to the benefits that can be derived from a training of this character. First and foremost, there is character training. All the activities of the movement are designed to give training in honesty, perseverance, kindness, thrift, hardihood,

* Article on Boy Scouts; Educational Magazine, New York, Dec. 1915.

pluck, and skill. "A scout's word is to be trusted. If he were to violate his honour by telling a lie, or by cheating, or by not doing exactly a given task when trusted on his honour, he may be directed to hand over his scout badge." One can understand that this would give an incomparably stronger inducement to the boy to remain truthful than all the schoolmasters of the world in one combined chorus of moral platitudes can effect. That independence and self-respect which is developed by this training is nowhere a greater need than in India. Another trait of character which this system develops is formed by free association with other boys. "The campfire is the supreme place for the development of intimacy and a company who have spent evenings together within its magic circle are likely to feel differently towards each other all the rest of their lives. Proper physical development is another gain. Again this seems to be a greater need here than elsewhere. Merit badges are awarded to those who qualify themselves in horsemanship, gymnastics, boxing, quaterstaff, wrestling, fencing etc.

A boy scout receives training in social service. He is required to do at least one act of kindness a day. This social activity presents before the boyish mind and boyish imagination that interpretation of the great law of self-sacrifice which is most intelligible and most appealing to them.

Badges are awarded to those who qualify themselves in Ambulance, in the work of fireman, interpreter, signaller, missionary, path finder etc.

This movement also teaches boys the habit of accurate observation and imparts to them some rudiment of technical instruction on rational lines. They give merit badges for proficiency in carpentry, basket making, farming, engineering, plumbing, printing, music, telegraphy, cookery, surveying etc. And the training demanded for obtaining a badge is of no superficial kind; for instance, to earn the handy-man's badge a Scout must be able "to paint a door, whitewash a ceiling, repair gas fittings, ballcocks, tap washers, sash lines, window and door fastenings, replace gas-mantles, and electric light bulbs, hang pictures and curtains and portiere rods, blind fixtures, lay carpets, mend clothing and upholstery, do small furniture and China repairs and sharpen knives." A path finder must learn "map drawing and map reading, rank and retching to guide a stranger, and also the entire detailed geography of his district and the art of surveying." To gain a merit badge as clerk, a Scout must pass in "hand writing, hand printing, type writing (or short-hand) a letter from memory on a subject given verbally five minutes previously, and simple book keeping."

E. RAMAN MENON.

DUBLIN, THE CITY OF REVOLUTIONS

BY JAMES H. COUSINS.

LADY Morgan, one of the literati of Dublin in the last century, called it the "cardrivingest, teadrinkingest city in the world." It was she also, I think, who described the chief occupation of certain sections of its population as

Fighting like devils for Conciliation,
And hating each other for the love of God.

The combination of sociability and fiery propaganda were and—whatever the interregnum of revolution has done to upset matters—will be the outstanding charac-

teristics of the Irish capital. In no city that I know could one meet with such open-hearted urbanity, as travelling Indians whom I know can testify. In no city, I believe, could such enthusiastic antagonisms be found. During my sixteen years' life at the heart of the "literary and dramatic revival," Dublin was a city of vortices. I suspect it is still a city of vortices, but that they are fewer, not by subtraction but by fusion. A city will not put off the habits of individuality even for

catastrophe, especially when those habits have behind them the genius of a race that acts with royal hospitality in the midst of penury, glorifies every miserable squabble with the enthusiasm of the ideal, and runs a revolution as if it was a play on the Abbey Theatre stage. Patrick Pearse writing an exquisite lyric in his cell while awaiting execution, is a type of his race—that four-fifths which is known as “Ireland” in contradistinction to my own province of Ulster—in its power of dissociation, and its extraordinary instinct for the picturesque. In Ulster it runs to theological rhetoric, as when a Unionist M. P. and a K. C. who has taken the oath of allegiance, declared that if England gave Home Rule to Ireland he would turn round and say, “England! I will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh:” the feature of the utterance being, not its untruth, but his unconscious blasphemy in putting into his own mouth words attributed to the Almighty.

Dublin has remained the “cardrivingest city in the world.” Belfast took to hansom cabs and became undistinguished. In Dublin up to August, 1914, it was still possible for the visitor to enjoy the feeling of being a human stone that might be off at a tangent at any sharp corner from the side seat of a “jaunting car.” The tea-drinking had turned to coffee—a sign of Ireland’s continental affinities, and over many a cup, some in a restaurant that stands now as an empty shell in pictures of the ruins of Sackville Street, I have discussed literature and the arts (and our own efforts in the same) with young writers whose names are now known the world over—Colum, Stephens and others, while some leader in extreme nationalism, or a follower of Sir Edward Carson, played chess at neighbouring tables.

That was the joy and ceaseless adventure of Dublin life as I knew it: the collision of pronounced individualities all eager with ideas, and emerging from the collision a lyric that will never die like A.E.’s

“I begin in the grass to be bound again
to the Lord,”

which I can hear now as distinctly as when he spoke it with shining eyes when he found voice again after a space of silence; a book that set two hemisphere’s talking like Stephens’ “Crock of Gold” that he told to me lying in the garden of my

home when the inspiration of its quaint conceit was fresh upon him.

And as it was with the humanity of Dublin, so it was with its very bricks and mortar. You never know where you are touching history made or in the making. You may happen to notice a rather dingy-looking public house in a long street that has obviously seen better days; and if you do, your eye will be carried up to a niche high in the wall holding a beautiful little bust. Anybody will tell you that it is the house where Tom Moore was born. Here his parents retailed groceries, while their son laid the foundations of fame by singing at supper-parties in his own and other people’s houses. It is hardly a stone’s throw from Jacob’s biscuit factory which in the last days of April in this year of grace 1916 was reduced to skeleton by British artillery.

In a quiet side street I once spent the last night of his bachelorhood with a friend in a flat over a school. The school was a transformed dwelling. Its drawing-room and dining-room mantelpieces were removed to prevent children spoiling their beautiful oak carvings. They were sold for seventy pounds each. In 1765 it was the home of John Beresford, son of the Earl of Tyrone later known as “John the Magnificent” when he was the autocrat of the Irish Civil Service, and had the splendid pile of the Custom House built, not omitting a suite of apartments equal to his nickname, where several generations of the Beresford family were born. The Custom House has—or rather had—as *vis à vis* “Liberty Hall,” which apparently became the deciding factor in the recent rebellion.

In Upper O’Connell, (or Sackville), Street just beyond the line of artillery devastation, there is a house at the back of which is a large public hall. In the house there are wall and ceiling decorations that go back beyond our period of machine-produced stuff. It was the home of the last Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. It is almost next door to a hotel where, in the dining room, I have heard John Redmond ask for “Cabinet pudding,” and where the frail and snow-white sister of the late Alfred Webb walked indignantly out of the presence of the Irish leader because, in an interview with representatives of a women’s suffrage society, the aged but spirited lady foresaw the death-blow that

• Mr. Redmond was going to deliver at the hopes of the women.

Everywhere you turn in Dublin, you are in the presence of forces, some of the past calling for fulfilment, some of the future calling also for fulfilment but with less asperity than frustrated history. Myth and legend and the clash and eddy of diverse evolutions are in every street name. The pent energies of lurking eras are ready to pounce on you round any corner. That is why the very stones of Dublin are living and beloved, why the great city of revolution puts on the garb of a living Being. Age may wither her, but Custom cannot stale her infinite variety.

To this variety many eras and races have contributed, as I shall indicate, but something must be said for the natural environment that made the location of the city a centre of convergence. The configuration of Ireland is that of a central plain bordered with mountain groups. On the east coast the Sutrím and Mourne groups in Ulster stand away with almost prophetic aloofness from the Leinster chain. Between them there is an eighty mile stretch of level coast of opening into the heart of the country—the natural gateway of Ireland. This gateway at its southern side directly faces a similar natural gateway in England between the Pennine and Welsh mountain systems: hence Dublin, and history.

The city stands at the mouth of the River Liffey half way on the crescent of Dublin Bay from the Hill of Houth to Dolkey Head. It is backed by the quiet range of the Dublin Mountains in which the river takes its rise. Across the mouth of the river a wicker bridge in ancient times bore the traffic between the rich agricultural lands north of the city, and the wooded and mountainous Wicklow region on the south. Its earliest known name was therefore "the ford of the hurdles." At this time, however, it had hardly attained the dignity of a village. Later, the Danes—working their way towards the famed church treasures of the "Island of Saints" from their Scandinavian home along the fringe of the Scottish islands—discovered at the mouth of the Liffey an excellent landing-place for their galleys. This they called the "black pool," and the name, translated into Irish—*dub*, black, *lin*, a pool—has remained as the name of the Irish metropolis. Beside this pool the

town grew up, a pure Danish settlement, or at least as pure as the mixed racial character of the invaders allowed, for some of them were "fair strangers"—an allusion to their complexion, not their methods—and inhabited Fingal (*fin*, fair, *gall*, stranger), and others were "dark strangers, and settled at Baldoyll (*baill*, a townland.)

For over three centuries the so-called Danes harried Ireland from their bases, desolating religious foundations, and giving almost nothing save a few place names as a memorial of their visitation. In the early eleventh century the High King of Ireland united the forces of the country, and struck the Danes a great blow at Clontarf, now a suburb of the City, to which the coming of the Normans put the final touch. When Henry II, in the late twelfth century, took upon himself the Lordship of Ireland, he made Dublin his capital, and assigned the exploitation of the City to the citizens of Bristol, an era which is remembered in the names of guilds, (merchants, goldsmiths, skimmers) attached to several philanthropic organizations.

In Dublin the Danes had built a church, or, rather, the church had risen through the fusion of the Irish with the Danes. When the Norman Earl of Pembroke, nicknamed Strongbow, established himself in Dublin, he had the church rebuilt; and on the original foundations Christ Church Cathedral arose, with the Danish crypt still preserved intact. Close by the Cathedral the castle stood, and around these symbols of faith in God and want of faith in humanity, Norman Dublin spread out from the ancient Scandinavian centre. Here in 1486 the coronation of the impostor Lambert Simnel took place, and a worm-eaten chapter-house door is still shown with a hole which was cut in it to allow the Earl of Kildare and Earl of Ormonde to shake hands with one another, in token of the settlement of a quarrel, without doing one another bodily injury.

A short distance from Christ Church Cathedral a small Irish Church was dignified into another Cathedral, Saint Patrick's, later the home of the immortal Dean Swift and the immortalised Stella. In the Commonwealth period, Oliver Cromwell stabled his troopers in the Cathedral, and dominated the town with cannon placed on the stout tower. Seated in St. Pat-

rick's Cathedral at an afternoon service, one can hear the bells of Christ Church chiming for a similar service: two large Cathedrals in a Catholic City, each surrounded by slums.

Dublin in the Norman period, though the most important City in Ireland, was not yet its capital. It was the seat of Norman rule, but that rule extended only to less than two counties, a district called "the Pale," because its boundary was marked by a ditch and *paling*. Beyond the Pale was the country of the "mere Irish," whose ancient polity it was the purpose of the Normans to overthrow. This was accomplished, not by the Normans, but by a Scottish King on the English throne, a Celt and a Catholic from whom the persecuted Irish hoped for much, but from whom they got only the forcible infliction of Roman law that England had retained and developed, in place of their ancient Breton laws that, as Maine, the great jurist, has pointed out, are in spirit very close to the Vedic laws of India.

The history of modern Dublin began in the reign of Elizabeth. The alien power had got its grip on practically the whole of the country: the military phase was shading off into the social phase. The foundation of Trinity College is a lasting memorial of the change. Ireland was to be converted to Protestantism, then a new and vigorous movement; and Protestants must be educated for the work. Buildings and lands were assigned for it. Its funds were largely provided from the booty taken from the Irish in the operation ironically called "the pacification of Munster." It is characteristic that a nephew of the founder became immersed in the dangerous enthusiasm of studying Irish archaeology. Twice only in the history of Trinity College has the Catholic mass been celebrated: in 1690 when James II was fleeing before William of Orange, and last month when Irish Catholic troops were quartered in the College to quell the revolt.

But the city had not as yet begun to approximate towards its present form. The buildings were characteristically English, and mainly constructed of timber. At the English Restoration in 1649, modern Dublin began to take shape. A piece of common land a short distance from Trinity College was authorised to be enclosed, and buildings began to gather

around it. A few years ago it was bought by Lord Ardilaun, of the house of Evinness the brewers, turned into a beautiful park, and presented to the city. On one side of it is the residence of Lord Iveagh, brother of Lord Ardilaun, the only peer having a residence within the City. A fine statue of the donor faces the Royal College of Surgeons in which the revolutionary forces placed one of their divisions in April last, and from which Madame de Markievicz, in the uniform of an Irish Volunteer, marched out at the head of several hundred men to surrender. The park itself,—Stephen's Green—had been the scene of sanguinary fighting between the revolutionaries entrenched on its soft swards, and British troops using machine-guns from the roofs of some of the tall houses overlooking the "green," one of which was probably the birthplace of Robert Emmet, the ill-starred revolutionary leader of a century before. At one corner of the Green stands an imposing granite arch to the memory of the Irish soldiers who fell in the Boer war. The arch is known amongst the extreme wing of the Nationalists as "Traitor's Gate." A few yards from it, at the converging point of several streams of traffic, a small area in the middle of the roads protected by pillars a couple or three feet high, marks the spot dedicated with some pomp eighteen years ago as the site for a memorial not yet erected—to Theobald Wolfe Tone, one of the leaders of a former revolutionary movement. The two memorials epitomise the main forces that pass to and fro along the Green weaving the web of Ireland's destiny: one prosperous in material things, and in sympathy with the powers that be; the other straitened in resources, and annually placing a fading wreath on a lamp post in token of allegiance to the spirit of sacrifice for an ideal that had its roots in the past, and took no cognisance—largely because it was debarred from responsibility—of the growing complexities of human relationships.

Outside the city another piece of ground saw history in the making. The Duke of Ormonde, early in the seventeenth century, bought back certain alienated monastery lands, and enclosed two thousand acres of them as a deer-park and public ground. The ground was called Phoenix Park, but it had no connexion with the mythic bird, though a pillar, erected by Lord Chester-

field, bearing a Phoenix, occupies a prominent place on the main road. *Feenishge*, to imitate the Irish original, means sweet water, and relates to a natural feature, not a supernatural monster. In the Phoenix Park stand the Viceregal Lodge and Chief Secretary's Lodge, which have seen the quick retirement of Lord Wimborne and Mr. Birrell as a result of what Mr. Asquith described as "the breakdown of the Irish Executive." The "magazine fort" stands not far from the River Liffey side of the Park. Swift wrote of it:

Behold a proof of Irish sense,
Here Irish wit is seen:
When nothing's left that's worth defence,
They build a magazine.

I have often gazed in awe on the fearsome spikes of its *cheveaux-de frise*, but never with more than archæological interest. It became an object of attack in the recent revolt.

A monument to Wellington, a gigantic obelisk, dominates the Park, and not far from it is a fine equestrian statue of General Rough, both Irishmen by birth. They stand as dramatic and historic contrasts to two spots on the central pathway, within sight of the Viceregal Lodge, that officialism perpetually tries to obliterate, but public sentimentality perpetually keeps in evidence, the spots where two representatives of English rule fell victims to a conspiracy of assassination some thirty years ago. The tragedy was witnessed by Earl Spencer, then Lord Lieutenant, without his realising its purport. He entered upon his duties as an upholder of the policy of repression, but vital contact with the ghastly muddle of Irish administration turned him into a Home Ruler.

Wellington's birth place, a tall flat-faced house of noble dimensions, with the external reserve and internal art of its period (1760), stands not far from Stephen's Green, and is now overlooked by the splendid cupola of the New Royal College of Science. When the future Duke was born, the house belonged to Lord Mornington, who composed some hymns that are still sung in the Church of Ireland services. Later it was occupied by Lord Cloucurry who was tried for treason. (The present earl is a popular country gentleman. One of his daughters—the Hon. Emily Lawless—has achieved fame in literature.) In 1801, at the time of the engineering of the Union, "bloody" Castle-

reagh occupied the house. It is now used as part of the offices of the Irish Land Commission, "that gigantic machinery"—as Mr. Stephen Gwynn, M. P. says in his book "The Famous Cities of Ireland," published by Messrs. Mandel and Co. Ltd., Dublin and London—"which has been occupied for close on twenty years in transferring the land of Ireland from the class which produced Wellington and Castlereagh to the class which produced Michael Davitt."

The Four Courts, the front of Trinity College, and the Customs House stand as other fine examples of the architecture and inferentially of the taste and wealth of the upper class of the time. They are substantial, dignified, simple and commodious. The Four Courts, though made an object of attack in the recent fighting, does not appear to have suffered. Indeed, one of the causes of the rebel leaders' surrender was apparently a desire to save the City from destruction, for it was the artillery of the British army that destroyed Sackville Street: the insurgents had no guns.

The "Old House of Parliament"—the present Bank of Ireland—belongs to the same period, and but for the Act of Union would have given to the world a triumph of art. As it is, the half of the scheme, with its great colonnade of pillars, is a piece of Greece of superb grace and strength. Its neighbour, Trinity College, and itself, provide an architectural group not easily surpassed.

The period of upbuilding of a century ended in 1801 when Ireland's interests became, like her landlords, absentees, resident in Westminster. The fine old streets crumbled into decayed tenements, and others that were fortunate enough to be contiguous to the growth of the business part of the city fell from the powdered wig level to the hustle of commerce. Some came within the influence of the new Ireland, the Ireland of self-effort towards her own social regeneration and of the new impulse to expression in the Arts. Plunkett House on Merrion Square is one such, a couple of minutes' walk from Wellington's birthplace. From it the affairs of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society are directed by Sir Horace Plunkett and his brilliant staff. On an upper floor George W. Russell edits "The Irish Homestead" throwing his encyclopædic intellect, and his

spiritual insight into building up of a future sane social polity. He is AE, the writer of immortal lyrics, one of the world's prophets, and a delightful dispenser of an impromptu cup of tea and copious rivers of conversation.

But there is another Dublin, of dens of misery, and disease, and filth, the product of centuries of calamitous folly in the organisation of a sensitive race. It infests the vitals of the capital, and oozes out

between the dwellings of the high and mighty. It was to it that Bernard Shaw referred when he wrote that the complaint against the artillery was not that it had done so much damage, but that it had not done enough. I am not a native of Dublin, but I can appreciate the earnestness of his regret that he was not in charge of artillery six weeks ago—"how I would have improved my native City." Of it the less said, and the more done, the better.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE

I.

BY BARU LAL SUD, B.A., BAR-AT-LAW, LONDON.

THERE are three ways of getting into Parliament, viz., through (1) wealth and social position, (2) through family name and (3) through ability. A great number of members of Parliament owe their seats solely to their wealth and social position. A greater number of them are returned members of Parliament by virtue of their family name, although some of them show ability worthy of the name. Their family, perhaps for centuries past, have thought of Parliament as their natural place, and as soon as a member of the family is twenty-five or so, he takes to politics as a matter of right and is, without any hitch or trouble or turmoil, returned its member. This class is known by the name of the political caste in England, and cannot stand those members of Parliament whose fathers and grandfathers did not sit in Parliament before them, and whom it calls intruders, upstarts and so on. And there is a number of members in Parliament who owe their seats neither to wealth and social position nor to family name, but to the fact that before entering the House of Commons they strive hard and win for themselves a recognised position in public life. It is this class of members which is looked down upon by the political caste which calls it all sorts of names. Mr. Lloyd George belongs to this third class. He does not come of wealthy parents nor of a family

the members of which sat in the House of Commons for some centuries past. Apart from this he did not have the advantages of Eton and Oxford life which the majority of members have who are neither wealthy nor belong to the political caste, as was the case with the late Mr. Gladstone, and is the case with the present premier Mr. Asquith. Neither of them came of wealthy parents nor belonged to the political caste. But they had this in their favour that they had been to Eton and Oxford. Poor Mr. Lloyd George! When he entered the House of Commons in 1890 his name aroused bitter enmity in "Society." And why? Because he did not come of wealthy parents; he did not belong to a family the members of which had been sitting in the House of Commons for some centuries past, and at the top of it all, he did not go to Eton or Oxford. And Mr. Lloyd George had to fight hard to overcome this prejudice of the political caste against him. The caste system in politics is as rigid in England as the caste system among orthodox Hindus in India. Those who fondly believe that there is no such thing as caste in England, and for the matter of that, among Englishmen, would do well to study the question of political caste in England, and then and then only can they understand that caste plays as important a part in English politics as it does among orthodox Hindus in India, perhaps more. For an

Englishman, with no wealth and social position and without family name and history to back him up in his struggle for life in politics, to come to the fore is no joke. He is tolerated, no doubt, because of his ability. He is acknowledged as a man of stuff. So far people and politicians welcome him. But to see him elevated to one of the highest positions in England is not a thing which his people and friends care to tolerate. He must be possessed of an ability of a very exceptional order, and then he can come to the fore, for, as stated above, he has got to compete not only with the cleverest politicians, but has also to overcome the prejudice of the political caste against him which is so deep-rooted and is so universal that it requires great endurance, tenacity and courage to overcome it. That Mr. Lloyd George overcame this completely, and came to the fore despite so many disadvantages and handicaps with which he started on his political career can be easily judged from the popularity he enjoys and the esteem in which he is held at the present moment.

Mr. Lloyd George was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. The fact is that great men are not generally born rich, and Mr. Lloyd George is no exception. Take Asquith, Gladstone, Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, and others. None of them were born rich. It is quite possible in the majority of cases that the ordinary circumstances in which they are born serve as a filip to their greatness, for who knows that the blare and glare of riches might not infect them with what the French call the grandiose? However, that is by the way. Mr. Lloyd George was born in Manchester—the city of Free Trade—on January 17, 1863. His father David George, who came of yeoman stock from Pembrokeshire, was a teacher in an elementary school in Manchester; and his mother Elizabeth Lloyd, was the daughter of David Lloyd, who, though a shoe-maker by trade, was noted for his learning at Llanystumdwy. Before Mr. Lloyd George was a year old, his father, being unable to bear the irritations and strain of teaching on account of his indifferent health, gave up the teaching profession and moved to Wales to a small farm near Haverfordwest, and took to the pursuit of farming. Thus the accident of Mr. Lloyd George's birthplace in Manchester did not prevent him from being "first, and last, and above

everything a Welshman." Within two years of the family's return to Wales, Mr. Lloyd George's father died of pneumonia at the early age of 44, and his mother was left a widow with two infants, and very shortly afterwards a posthumous son was born to her. Mrs. David George was a business-like and immensely industrious woman. She sold the farm, and went with her young children to share her brother's home in the village of Llanystumdwy in North Wales. Her brother Richard Lloyd, was a shoemaker by trade, and was not rich, and, therefore, Mr. Lloyd George could have none of the luxuries of life in his youth. Recalling those early days Mr. Lloyd George himself says: "We scarcely ate fresh meat, and I remember that our greatest luxury was half an egg for each child on Sunday morning." But from this it should not be inferred that Mr. Lloyd George lived in abject poverty in his young days. The fact is that there was nothing in the way of luxury to be had, but there was no abject poverty. But if Richard Lloyd, Mr. Lloyd George's uncle, was not rich in this world's goods, he was a great scholar and preacher. He belonged to a religious sect known as "The Disciples of Christ", and his shop was not only the field of theological controversies but also an arena of the political life of the village. Such surroundings could not possibly fail to leave their impress on little Lloyd George and shape his career and mould his character both politically as well as morally. There was also the smithy of Hugh Jones at Llanystumdwy which, in conjunction with his uncle's shop, was responsible for shaping Mr. Lloyd George's career, as it was here that the intelligent, educated and enlightened villagers gathered together to thresh out the political, religious and philosophical questions of the day. "Yonder smithy," said Mr. Lloyd George once, "was my first parliament, where night after night, we discussed all the abstruse questions relating to this world and the next, in politics, in theology, in philosophy, and science. There was nothing too wide and comprehensive for us to discuss." Of his academic career very little is recorded. In fact, there is nothing worthy of note excepting one incident which proved that he had the courage of his convictions while even very young. The village school that he attended taught the Church Catechism and Creed

compulsorily, or, in other words, religious instruction was combined with secular education in schools during his schooldays. He led the successful revolt for conscience's sake against this compulsory religious instruction in his school at Llanystumdwy by absenting himself along with a large number of his school fellows from "the regulation Ash Wednesday Church School Parade." The revolt was so successfully organised that it resulted in the abolition of religious instruction in his village school. As a school-boy he accomplished in his own village school what years of political agitation failed to accomplish through Parliament. Mr. Lloyd George is not a university man. In fact he did not have any "education" worth the name. He could not afford to. His uncle's means were not such as to enable him to send Mr. Lloyd George to Eton and thence to Oxford. The only school he attended was his village school where he passed the preliminary examination at the age of fourteen. That was all the education he had, and he has never been ashamed to confess his early educational limitations. He speaks of them thus:—"Personally I should be ungrateful if I did not say that I owe nothing to the University. I owe nothing to secondary schools. Whatever I do owe is to the little Bethel." But since then the universities of Oxford and Wales have conferred upon him honorary degrees.

His uncle soon found out that there were germs of greatness and statesmanship in "little George," as he was then called, and that if properly looked after and educated, he was sure to become a great man one day. Since his infancy Mr. Lloyd George showed signs of oratory and his uncle settled that he should be trained for the legal profession, and for training his nephew for the law he devoted the few pounds which he had saved for his old age. As this money was not sufficient for his nephew's education for the law, he himself, although past youth, set to work to study law and the French language with his nephew so as to save the preliminary cost of preliminary legal education. In this connection Mr. Lloyd George himself thus summarises his uncle's devotion: "My Uncle never married. He set himself the task of educating the children of his sister as a sacred and supreme duty. To that duty he gave his time, energy, and all his

money." He was articled to a solicitor at Portmadoc, and was admitted a solicitor in 1884, at the age of 21, but it was not until he had earned the guineas with which to buy the robes in which to appear in courts that he started practising as a solicitor.

Mr. Lloyd George soon made his name as an able advocate, and his office at Portmadoc soon became the resort of "everyone that was in distress, and everyone that was in debt, and everyone that was discontented." But the majority of his clients belonged to a class "which helped to build up a reputation rather than a bank balance for their advocate." He himself admits that one serious drawback of his as a solicitor was, "I never sent in any bills of cost. The result was I never had any money." It was only when his brother joined the firm that "things improved" so far as money was concerned. The most notable among his earlier cases was the quarrymen case. Four quarrymen were charged before the Carnarvon Magistrates with unlawfully fishing with a net in the Nantle Lower Lake. The point at issue was whether the lake came under the definition of "river" or not. Mr. Lloyd George argued that the Bench had no jurisdiction to try the case, which must be sent to a higher court. The following dialogue which took place between the Bench and Mr. Lloyd George shows how courageous and independent-spirited Mr. Lloyd George was even in his young days:—

Mr. George: Yes, sir, and in a perfectly just and unbiassed court, too.

The Chairman: If that remark of Mr. George's is meant as a reflection upon any magistrate sitting on this bench, I hope that he will name him. A more insulting and ungentlemanly remark to the Bench I have never heard during the course of my experience as a magistrate.

Mr. George: But a more true remark was never made in a court of justice.

The Chairman: Tell me to whom you are referring? I must insist upon knowing whether you are referring to any magistrate or magistrates sitting in this court.

Mr. George: I refer to you in particular, sir.

The Chairman: (rising) Then I retire from the chair. Good-bye, gentlemen. This is the first time I have ever been insulted in a court of justice. (He then left the court).

Another Magistrate: In fairness to the chairman and other magistrates I must say that Mr. George was not justified in making such remarks.

A third Magistrate: I decline to proceed with this case until Mr. George apologises.

Mr. George: I am glad to hear it.

A request for an apology to the Bench elicited the following bold statement :—

I say this : That at least two or three magistrates in this court are bent upon securing a conviction whether there is a fair case or not. I am sorry the chairman has left the court, because I am in a position to prove what I have said. I shall not withdraw anything, because every word I have spoken is true.

Upon this the remaining Magistrates left the Court. They, however, returned after a brief consultation, and the chairman announced that Mr. Lloyd George's remarks were unjustifiable and as such should be withdrawn, and that the case should proceed.

On January 24, 1888, Mr. Lloyd George married Miss Margaret Owen, only daughter of Mr. Richard Owen. Mrs. Lloyd George has been a distinct factor in her husband's life, and with her assistance her husband has accomplished many great things. She has always accompanied her husband in his political tours, and on many occasions has miraculously escaped injury, rather death. In 1892—the year of Mr. Lloyd George's election as member of Parliament—while he was driving through the streets of Bangor with Mrs. Lloyd George at his side, a fireball of tarred tow, dipped in paraffin, was thrown at him, which knocked his hat off and fell on Mrs. Lloyd George's dress. It was only the prompt action on the part of her husband which threw the ball out and extinguished the flames that saved Mrs. Lloyd George. In 1895—the time of another election—she was again saved from serious injury by her husband's prompt action. Three years ago when Mr. Lloyd George was driving through the streets of West End, London, with Mrs. Lloyd George, a suffragette threw something at Mr. Lloyd George which so closely touched Mrs. Lloyd George that it was only luck that saved her. It is said of Mrs. Lloyd George that though she takes her breakfast much earlier than her husband, but to keep him company she again takes her breakfast with her husband at about 9-30 a.m. It is because her husband has to keep late hours in order to attend to his work as Minister of Munitions and as such cannot be expected to take his breakfast early as was his wont before the war.

The idea of entering parliament was suggested to Mr. Lloyd George by Mr. Michael Davitt at a great meeting at Blaenan Festiniog, on February 12, 1886.

At that meeting Mr. Michael Davitt spoke on Home Rule, and Mr. Lloyd George moved a vote of thanks. At the close of the meeting Mr. Michael Davitt strongly advised him to turn his thoughts to a parliamentary career. This encouraging advice enabled him to give the matter serious thought, and the leaders of the new political and spiritual thought in Wales found in Mr. Lloyd George a man after their own heart. "You require a member for Carnarvon Boroughs," said one of them in 1888, "you have him ready at hand in Mr. Lloyd George. Give him his chance, for he is destined to become the leader of Wales in Parliament." Although he had been freely mentioned as one sure to make an ideal member of parliament, there were people among older and more cautious Liberals to whom he appeared a bit "advanced" and who feared that his extreme views "would frighten timid voters." They were not reassured when Mr. S. T. Evans (now Sir Samuel Evans, President of the Admiralty Division), who was then Member for Mid-Glamorgan, gravely told them:—"Don't worry about that. Lloyd George will lose fifty per cent. of his National Radicalism in the House of Commons." It is worthy of record what the "South Wales Daily News" said of his candidature in February 1890:—"We believe that he belongs to that class of young and rising Welshmen who will in a future, and no distant future period, be the pride of the Welsh people." The vacancy occurred in March, 1890, and Mr. Lloyd George was chosen as candidate, and returned a Member of Parliament on April 10th, 1890, with a majority of 18 votes. It was in the 27th year of his age. He made his maiden speech on June 13th, 1890. In his maiden speech he called attention in Committee of Supply to the appointment in the County Courts of Wales of Judges who could not speak Welsh. On this subject he spoke with all the experience gained from his large practice as solicitor which he had built up in Carnarvon and the district. It is said that Gladstone was "exceedingly delighted" with his maiden speech.

When he first came to London it was his intention to read for the Bar. But as the House of Commons absorbed a great share of his attention, he gave up the idea of becoming a Barrister, and continued his practice as a Solicitor. Once inside the

House, he drew the attention of the House to the needs of Wales, and, needless to add, his tireless efforts and untiring activity have brought Wales many desirable and important reforms. In his early days as a Member of Parliament Mr. Lloyd George did quite remarkable things. But they were, to be candid, unnoticed and unrealized. In those early days the House of Commons did not realize Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Lloyd George did not realize the House of Commons. The atmosphere of the House of Commons was alien and antipathetic to him. It is true that he had made his local fame as orator; solicitor and nationalist. But his oratory was not the oratory which suited the House of Commons. He had the "fiery gospel and rhetorical tongue." But this is the exact thing which the House of Commons cannot stand. Moreover, as a speaker in English, he could not carry the members off their feet. His oratory in English was stumbling and ragged, and the House of Commons could not stand it. It was only when he spoke in Welsh, that he could really rouse the Members. But the House of Commons did not care for Welsh. Gladstone may have been "exceedingly delighted" with his maiden speech. But the fact remains that during his early days he was one of those members of the House of Commons who are considered unsuited and uncongenial to it (House of Commons) and its atmosphere. If anybody had told Mr. Lloyd George during those days that he would become one of the foremost figures of the House one day, he would never have believed it. In fact, he would have been startled at such prophecy. It was the Agricultural Land Rating Bill which first made the House of Commons realize him and Mr. Lloyd George realize the House of Commons. It looks curious, rather funny, that a Rating Bill should attract a great orator. But Mr. Lloyd George had studied rating in all its minutest details as solicitor and was more thoroughly familiar with rating than any other member of the House of Commons. Since then "the orator became a Parliamentarian" and "has never looked back since." From that time onward he has become a parliamentarian who has been cradled in the House of Commons. Perhaps it is not generally known that it was in connection with this Rating Bill that on May 22nd, 1896, Mr. Lloyd George was, along with Mr. Herbert

Lewis, Mr. J. Dillon, and some others, suspended from the House for a week. "I decline to go," said Mr. Lloyd George in reply to the speaker; "as a protest against the action of the Government." After his return to the House, he made very able and clever speeches on the Voluntary Schools Bill and the Irish Local Government Bill.

It was the South African War that brought Mr. Lloyd George to the fore, and proved to demonstration that he was a man of courage, convictions and independence. He deemed the Boer War a blunder and "fought as strenuously against the war as the Boers did against the British" to quote Mr. Beriah Evans. His attitude during the war earned for him the epithet "pro-Boer." But he justified the epithet, and "became at once and everywhere, the object of general opprobrium, the aim of every political sniper, the objective of every Tory bombardment and deployed and massed attack." The majority of his Liberal friends, to speak nothing of Conservatives, left him at that time. But being convinced of the righteousness of his policy, he remained undaunted and unwavering, and held on. His life was threatened, but he did not care for his life. In fact it is characteristic of Mr. Lloyd George that when he espouses a cause he gives all he has to that cause, and that is the reason that he can carry his cause always through to a victory. He gave his all to his attitude during the Boer War. His unpopularity reached its climax in the riots which took place in Birmingham in December, 1891, on the occasion of a meeting at which he had to speak. It is said that some men had sworn that Mr. Lloyd George should not leave Birmingham alive. This riot was organised to the tune of

"We'll chuck Lloyd George into the fountain
And he'll never come to Brum any more."

The text of his speech was Lord Rosebery's Chesterfield pronouncement. Mr. Lloyd George being aware of the fact that a band of men were bent upon disturbing the meeting, nay, causing him physical injury, he reached the Town Hall, Birmingham, where he had to make his speech, two hours before the time for delivery of his speech, and utilised this interval in dictating to a shorthand writer the substance of what he intended to say. With the type-written note Lloyd George rose

to speak. The moment he rose stones began to reach through windows, and immediately afterwards there was a big rush for the platform. But luckily Mr. Lloyd George was spirited away to an ante-room and from there escaped in the guise of a constable. But the speech appeared in the morning papers, and Mr. Lloyd George achieved success, rather won the battle. Any other man with a less stout heart and of weak convictions would have been afraid to visit Birmingham and to speak to people mad with rage against him. But Mr. Lloyd George is not a weak man. On the contrary he is a born fighter and loves to be in the thick of the fight, especially when the odds are against him. "He never avoids an issue because it means a fight against great odds. He will attack it the more cheerfully for that fact. He loves to go out against 'ten or twelve of them,' for he likes to see them run," remarks one student of his career. And Mr. Lloyd George was unsparing in his attacks on Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, whom he regarded as the real author of the Boer War. It was his chief delight "to indulge in a tilt against Mr. Chamberlain." He said about him in one of his speeches:—"One of Mr. Chamberlain's speeches does more to jeopardize the Empire than a score of Nicholson's Neks. The New Imperialists will have to procure a revised version of their Scriptures—a Birmingham edition—commencing: 'In the beginning Joseph Chamberlain created heaven and earth.'" His attitude during the Boer War (1899) proved two things, first, that he was a man of courage and convictions, and secondly, that he was a little Englishman, i.e., one opposed to an Imperial policy.

The Education Bill of 1902 found in Mr. Lloyd George one of the cleverest and alertest of critics, and it was through him and his efforts that the principles of Non-conformity were, in a large measure, secured. Mr. Balfour testified to his work in this connection thus:—"There is the Hon. Member for the Carnarvon Boroughs who, through these debates has played, in my opinion, a most distinguished part, and who has shown himself to be an eminent parliamentarian." The Rev. R. J. Campbell, whose weekly articles in the "Illustrated Sunday Herald" are read with great avidity and rapturous eagerness by the public, remarked about his work in connection with the Educational Act of 1892:—"In

the opinion of many, what Mr. Lloyd George has done is small compared with what he will accomplish again."

When the Conservative Government fell at the end of 1905, and the Liberal Government came into power with Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George was appointed to the office of the President of the Board of Trade. This caused general surprise. It was said by many people that Mr. Lloyd George, although possessed of eloquence to sway the masses, lacked business qualities and abilities as an administrator, and as such was not qualified for the position. They further were of opinion that he obtained this high position simply because of his rhetorical powers. His appointment caused great annoyance in the Tory ranks. At the time the "Daily Mail" wrote:—

"Nobody in the country knows less concerning the policy of his Government than Mr. Lloyd George... That he will ever enter a Cabinet again is unlikely, and when his political career comes to a hasty end, it will be found that it was the great moment of his life when, disguised in the respectable uniform of a policeman, he fled before the foolish mob which thought it worth while to silence his traitorous speech."

For some time he was not much heard of. He was busy mastering the details and intricacies of his office, and soon made himself well familiar with the work of the Board of Trade. His predecessors, Mr. Chamberlain and the Marquis of Salisbury, no doubt, did much to improve the commercial life of England during their times of office, but it is doubtful if either of them accomplished so much as did Mr. Lloyd George during his two years at the Board of Trade and during which short time he had placed three great and important measures on the Statute Book, viz., (1) the Merchant Shipping Act, (2) the Patents Act, & (3) the Port of London Bill. While at the Board of Trade it did not take him much time to build up his reputation. He soon became known as "the greatest fighting force in the Ministry," justifying Mr. Winston Churchill's assurance that "Lloyd George is the best fighting general in the Liberal Army." He also proved himself as great a diplomat by averting a great railway strike in 1907, and settling the Manchester Cotton Dispute so satisfactorily and amicably. At the Lord Mayor's Banquet, the Prime Minister, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, paid a warm tribute to "the great gifts of unconquerable

hopefulness, of unfailing courage, and of alert diplomacy, which Mr. Lloyd George possessed.

The Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, tendered his resignation in April 1908, and Mr. Asquith became Prime Minister, and Mr. Lloyd George Chancellor of the Exchequer. *The Times* "was found acquiescing in his appointment to the Chancellorship as the best of possible appointments," and congratulated Mr. Asquith on the formation of the new Cabinet, stating that it was stronger than its predecessor. Even the "Daily Mail" which, two and a half years ago, had strongly criticised the appointment of Mr. Lloyd George to the presidentship of the Board of Trade, acknowledged that Mr. Lloyd George "has proved in office that he possesses in exceptional measure that practical business capacity, self-restraint, initiative, and large open-mindedness, which, allied with the faculty of conciliation, are required of one who will control the national finances." His historic Budget was introduced on April 29th, 1909. Among many other social improvements, it provided for Old Age Pensions. But it should be noted that the foundation of old age pensions had been laid by Mr. Asquith. The Budget caused quite a sensation throughout the whole of Great Britain and was strongly opposed by those "whose interest it is to maintain the present unequal distribution of land." The Tariff Reformers were extremely strong in their condemnation of the author of the scheme. The favourite adjectives applied

to the Budget were "Socialistic," "penal," "vindictive," and "iniquitous," and the author of the Budget was described as "a highwayman preying on the pockets of the rich." The city financiers held a protest meeting in the City under Lord Rothschild's chairmanship. Lord Rosebery described the Budget as a "revolution." The Tory press with one voice denounced it. The House of Lords rejected the Finance Bill, which led to the famous quarrel between the Lords and the Commons and resulted in the triumph of the Commons over the Lords. The attitude which Mr. Lloyd George took up in connection with the Finance Bill can be expressed in his own words:—

"Why should I put burdens on the people? I am one of the children of the people. I was brought up amongst them. I know their trials: and God forbid that I should add one grain of trouble to the anxieties which they bear with such patience and fortitude."

The Budget was, however, passed in due course, and the credit for it is due to Mr. George. The Insurance Act was introduced by him on May 7th, 1910, and was in full working order in July 1912. It was a national scheme of insurance against invalidity and illness. Although the scheme itself met with nothing but praise, the insurance "tax" and the "servant tax" provided material for unnecessary criticism of the scheme and its author. But, anyhow, he won the day. The fact is that Mr. Lloyd George has "not only dreamed dreams of a newer and better England," as one writer remarked "but has translated those dreams into realities."

THE KUTASTHAVADA OF SANKARACHARYA

versus

THE AGNOSTICISM OF HERBERT SPENCER

I.

EVERYTHING in life is double-faced. We live in the midst of correlated phenomena which stand in antithesis to each other,—or what has been called "unity

in difference," or "self-differentiating unity." To every 'upward,' there is a "downward," to every 'inward' there is an "outward," to every 'centrifugal' there is a "centripetal." Things always go in complementary pairs together; the one never merges

into the other, but always stands as the complement of the other. "Every actual thing involves a co-existence of contrary elements" says Hegel. Or "Omnis determinatio est negatio"—says Spinoza. This is also what our ancient seers mean by the term "द्वन्द्व," or obverse couple. In this द्वन्द्व should be included the antithetical complementary ideas of subject and object, or of *ego* and *non-ego* in vogue among the metaphysicians of the west,—which correspond to the complementary antithetical couples ज्ञातृ-ज्ञेय, द्रष्टृ-दृश्य, ग्राहक-ग्राह्य, and विषय-विषयी in vogue among our Vedantists, and perhaps also the antitheses of प्रकृति-पुरुष found among our Sankhyas. The couple always go together, but the one never becomes the other. Sankara thus begins his Preface to the Sariraka Bhashya—"It is apparent that the object or विषय and the subject or विषयी corresponding to the perception of the ego and of the non-ego have opposite natures, like darkness and light,—so that neither of them can become the other."* I see you now, but I did not see you before, and may not see many of you again. The 'I' or 'ego' (अस्मत्) is here the विषयी or subject, and the you or non-ego (युस्मत्) is the object or विषय. The *object* 'you' here stands as the antithesis of its correlative subject 'I,' from which it must always remain different. Whenever you or I know anything, you or I know it as an object or विषय, which must always remain distinct from the knowing subject (विषयी). That being admitted, the question arises—does the subject know the subject, or do I know myself? Herbert Spencer would say at once,—“Impossible,”—for that would amount to the subject (विषयी) becoming the object (विषय), which by the necessary axiom of all thought cannot be. Supposing for the sake of argument, Spencer would say, that the subject can know

itself, that I can be an object of knowledge to myself, what follows? The 'I' that was the subject or विषयी before, now becomes the object or विषय, and in doing so must leave behind it another 'I' as subject to contemplate the first subject as object, for by the necessary axiom of thought subject and object must remain apart. Again to know this second 'I' as an object, a third 'I' would have to be left behind, and so on *ad infinitum*. This is what in Sanskrit is called the fallacy of 'अनवस्था' usually translated into English as 'endless regress.' Thus H. Spencer succeeds in proving by a sort of *reductio ad absurdum* that the Self or Substance of Mind always remains "unknown and unknowable." To quote his own words:

"In brief a thing cannot at the same instant be both subject and object of thought, and yet the Substance of Mind must be this before it can be known."

Would you agree with Spencer? Are you convinced by his argument,—which merely reproduces what we have already quoted—the idea expressed in the first few lines of the preface to Sankara's Sariraka Bhashya. Would you not rather think it ridiculous that the knowing subject that knows all through its own mental modifications—should be unknown to itself, the mere *x* of an unsolved and insoluble equation? Or would you rather go with Descartes and say that the 'I' is self-evident or immediately known,—“Cogito ergo sum”—I cannot doubt that I am, any more than I can doubt that I doubt. It should be remembered that Descartes never meant to prove 'I am' syllogistically from 'I think' merely because he used the word 'therefore.' Or as Hegel observes: "The man who calls 'Cogito ergo sum' a syllogism, must know little more about a syllogism, than that the word 'Ergo' occurs in it. Where shall we look for the middle term?" Logic,—64—Wallace's translation.

Will you not at least suspend judgment till you have heard your Sankaracharya? I am sure you will wait till you have heard what Sankara has to say on the subject. To that let us next turn our attention. Sankara would say that Spencer is right, so far as he goes, but he does not go far enough. In Sankara's opinion too the knowing Self (which he considers to be identical with Brahma) or the subject (विषयी,

* यस्मिन् द्रष्टृप्रत्ययगीचरयो विषय-विषयिनी स्वयः-प्रकाशविशेष स्वभावयोरितरेतरभावानुपपत्तौ सिद्धायामित्यादि-भूमिका to Sutra Bhashya.

or ज्ञात) cannot be the object of an act of cognition or the विषय or ज्ञेय. "नैव ज्ञेयं मयान्यैर्वा परं ब्रह्म कथञ्च" "The great Brahma is never an object of cognition to me or to anybody else." So far Spencer and Sankara are at one. Where then is the difference? According to Sankara it is not at all necessary that the knowing Self should be an object to be known or cognised—for says he "the Self is always known by me"—"ज्ञातं चैव सदा मयः". Sankara says in his Brihadaranyaka Bhashya *:—"There are two kinds of knowing—Phenomenal and real or noumenal,—or speaking more popularly—separable and inseparable. Of these the phenomenal or separable is a mental modification connected with the eye. That is an act done, therefore begins and also ends. But the (real or noumenal) knowing of the Self—which is inseparable from the Self just as heat and light are from fire,—that being the very nature of the knowing Self (द्रष्टुः स्वरूपत्वात्) (and not merely an act done) does not begin, and does not end." Compare, for example, 'I see you' with 'I see myself.' I did not see you before; I see you now, because you have placed yourself in the position of an object or विषय relatively to my sight चक्षुःसंयुक्तान्तःकरणवृत्तिः—to my eye-sight and through it to my mind. As soon as that relation between you and my eye-sight ceases I cease to see you. There is thus a gulf or व्यवधान between you and me, and your placing yourself in the position of an object or विषय relatively to my eye-sight "चक्षुःसंयुक्तान्तःकरणवृत्तिः"—called "seeing" bridges that gulf. But on the other hand, there never was a time when I existed but did not see that I existed, and so long as I exist there never will be a time when I cease to see that I exist. There is thus no gulf (व्यवधान) conceivable between the 'I' that sees, and the 'me' that is seen, to be bridged by an

act of seeing or the mental state connected with the eye-sight, 'चक्षुःसंयुक्तान्तःकरणवृत्तिः'—as when I see you. Again when I see you,—the 'I' that sees, and the 'you' that is seen, not being identical, the seeing is a separable accident to me or, what Sankara calls *Loukiki* or *Upadhi* but when I see me, the 'I' that sees and the 'me' that is seen are identical (स्वरूप),—and the seeing is inseparable from me or what Sankara calls *Paramarthiki*. Again my very nature is a self-illuminating consciousness—(कूटस्थनिव्यात्मज्योतिः),—so that I am by nature always self-known or self-evident and,—the name "object to be known" or ज्ञेय has no application in regard to me and the knowing Self. Lastly my knowing myself is not an inference by means of a middle term from known premisses,—as when we say, here is fire in the hill because it smokes,—"पर्वतो बह्निमार, धूमात्" Describing this real (पारमार्थिकी) or noumenal cognition (दृष्टि) of the Self by the Self, Sankara says in his Upadesa-Sahasri :—"स्वरूपाव्यवधानाभावां ज्ञानात्-कथं भावतः। अन्यज्ञानानपेक्षत्वात् ज्ञातश्चैव सदा मया ॥"—"Consciousness being the very nature of Self,—there being nothing intervening between the Self and himself, consciousness being of the nature of a self-manifesting light, and the Self knowing himself independently of his knowing anything else,—the Self is always known to me." Thus you see when I see you, you are an object of sense to be seen (ज्ञेय) by my *Loukiki* or phenomenal or separable sight, which has a beginning and an end, while when I see myself,—I see myself by that *Paramarthiki* or noumenal sight inseparable from myself, independent of the distinction of subject and object, and unconnected with the organs of sense,—a sight that has no beginning and no end,—but is always present in me as, what Sankara calls, the changeless central self-luminosity of Self—"कूटस्थनिव्यात्मज्योतिः"।

* दृष्टिरिति द्विविधा भवति, लौकिकी पारमार्थिकी च। तत्र लौकिकी चक्षुःसंयुक्तान्तःकरणवृत्तिः। सा क्रियते इति जायते, विनश्यति च। या स्वात्मनो दृष्टिरभ्युपगम्य प्रकाशादिवत्, सा च द्रष्टुः स्वरूपत्वात् न जायते विनश्यति च। (P. 577 Jivananda).

II. THE CHANGELESS CENTRAL, SELF-LUMINOSITY OF SELF, OR कूटस्थनिव्यात्मज्योतिः

न तत्र चक्षुर्गच्छति, न वाग्गच्छति, न मनो, न विद्मः, न विज्ञानीनो यथैतदनुशिष्यात्, अन्यदेव तद्विदितादयो विदिता-

देवि ॥ केन—इ ॥ “There the eye does not go, nor the speech, nor the mind, we know not, we understand not how to teach that, for that is different from the known, and likewise also different from the unknown”: says the Kena Upanishad.

We shall try first to explain what *Kutastha* means. That depends on what *Kuta* means. Referring to the Visvakosha, we find that *Kuta* has many meanings: (1) the apex of a cone,—the metaphor used being that of a conical pencil of light emitted from a luminous centre; or a hill-top; *Kutastha* then means what stands at the apex of all phenomena, or if we may vary the figure a little, the fixed pivot at the centre, round which the world of phenomena revolves, or, what Kant would call, the Ding-an-Sich or Noumenon as opposed to the Erscheining phenomena, or the Absolute as opposed to the Relative. (2) *Kuta* may mean a house. In that case *Kutastha* is that which always stays at home, while all else wander from home, or come and go; or to quote the words of Hegel: “Real infiniteness consists in being at home with itself in its antithesis, or in coming to itself in its other. Logic, 94 (Wallace). (3) *Kuta* may mean an iron rod. In that case *Kutastha* would mean—firm and unchangeable like a rod of solid iron:—“कूटवत् अशोचनवत् निर्विकारो निश्चलः सन् तिष्ठति” “कूटो लोहसुहृदः पञ्चतन्त्रं वा, तद्वन्निरुद्धतया अविकारितया तिष्ठति।” (4) Lastly *Kuta* is taken to mean *Maya*. In that case, the *Kutastha* is the fixed and changeless regulator of Mayic changes. Sankara often uses the expression “कूटस्थनित्यात्मज्योतिः” or the changeless self-luminosity of the *Atma* or Self. Let me explain Sankara's meaning by a few short extracts from Sankara's *Upadesasahasri*:—“चैतन्यस्वरूपस्य च आत्मनः स्वतःसिद्धेः अन्यानपेक्षत्वं न केनचित् वारयितुं शक्यं, अव्यभिचारत्वं”—(91). The *Atma* whose nature is consciousness, and therefore self-evident, nothing can prevent the conclusion that its existence is independent of every other proof,—for the presupposition of the existence of *Atma* underlies every other form of proof, for “स्वबुद्ध्यावदमेव सर्वं” उपलभ्यते अत्र प्रत्याप्रकाशतुल्येन कूटस्थनित्यचैतन्यस्वरूपेण—(73), “for you perceive things only when

presented to your understanding (Buddhi), and that because of the changeless conscious nature of your Self which lies at the apex of all, and to which consciousness is like heat and light to fire.” प्रत्यक्षानां नियमेन अशेषतः उपलब्धं रेव अपरिणामित्वात् कूटस्थत्वसिद्धौ” (75) ! —‘As mental presentations are, under all conditions and without exception, made to the identical Self which perceives them, it follows that the Self being itself changeless is कूटस्थ or lies as the fixed apex of all mental presentations. Lastly “नित्योपलब्धिमात्र एव हि उपलब्धा, न तु अन्या उपलब्धिः अन्य उपलब्धा च” (79)—“The conscious Self is nothing but changeless consciousness. It is not the case that consciousness is one thing, and the conscious Self something different. This is almost exactly what Hegel says (Logic—20 and 24). “We may say ‘I’ and thought are the same, or more definitely ‘I’ is thought as a thinker.” Again “Thought conceived as a subject is a thinker and the subject existing as a thinker is simply denoted by the term ‘I’.” Indeed in this Hegel may be said to have followed the footsteps of Sankara without knowing it. Again to prove the central changeless nature of self-consciousness कूटस्थ नित्यचैतन्य, goes to demonstrate the presence of that changeless central consciousness कूटस्थ चैतन्य—even in sound sleep, by raising that question before an imaginary Purvapaksha or opponent: Says the opponent “न हि कदाचित् सुषुप्ते मया चैतन्यमन्यत्वा किञ्चित् दृष्टं”—“In sound sleep, I never saw consciousness or anything else.” To this Sankara replies:—

“पश्यन्तहि सुषुप्तेषु, यस्मात् दृष्टमेव प्रतिषेधसि, न दृष्टिः। यां तव दृष्टिः तत् चैतन्यं। यथा त्वं वयमानया न किञ्चित् दृष्टं इति प्रतिषेधसि। सा दृष्टिः त्वचैतन्यं। तर्हि सर्वत्र अव्यभिचारात् कूटस्थनित्यत्वं सिद्धं स्वत एव, न प्रमाणापेक्षं। स्वतःसिद्धस्य हि प्रमातुः अन्यस्य प्रमेयस्य परिच्छिन्तिं प्रति प्रमाणापेक्षा। या तु अन्या नित्या परिच्छिन्तिः अपेक्ष्यते अन्यस्य अपरिच्छिन्ति रूपस्य परिच्छेदाय, सा हि नित्यैव कूटस्था स्वयंज्योतिःस्वभावा। आत्मनि प्रमाणत्वे प्रमातृत्वं वा न तां प्रति प्रमानापेक्षा, तत् स्वभावात्। यथा प्रकाशनं चण्डालं वा लोहोदकादिषु परतः अपेक्ष्यते अग्र्यादित्यादिभ्यः अतत्स्वभावत्वात्, न अग्र्यादित्यादीनां तदपेक्षा, सदा तत् स्वभावत्वात्।” (93)—“Then

you are still a seer in sound sleep, for you merely deny the object seen. You do not deny the seeing. That your seeing is the consciousness of Self चैतन्य, that seeing because of the presence of which you are able to deny seeing anything saying 'I saw nothing'—that seeing or दृष्टि itself is your chaitanya or self-consciousness. From the presupposition of this consciousness of Self or चैतन्य—in all mental processes, it necessarily follows, that the fixed central position of this चैतन्य or consciousness of Self is self-evident or immediately known. It therefore needs no proof. The प्रमाता or seeing Self whose existence is self-revealed requires proof for the perception of all other perceivable objects. But that निष्ठा परिक्लिप्तिः fixed central consciousness of Self on whose presence hangs the perception of those other non-perceiving objects, itself is changeless (निष्ठा), central (कूटस्था), and self-luminous (स्वयंज्योतिस्वभावः). That the Self or Atma is really self-conscious, or that it is the conscious subject of all knowing, is not an inference based on other proof, for consciousness or knowing is its very nature. Iron or water depends for light and heat upon something different from themselves,—such as fire or the sun,—for iron and water have not the nature of light or heat. Fire or the sun, on the other hand, does not depend on anything else for light and heat, light and heat being their very nature." This then is the meaning of Sankara's *Kutasthavada*:—The conscious Self or Atma is of the nature of an ever-enduring consciousness (निष्ठा परिक्लिप्तिः), lying at the apex or centre of all phenomena (कूटस्था), or from which as a fixed centre phenomena are evolved as a conical pencil of light from a luminous centre and the Self or Atma is self-revealing known immediately or *a priori*. (स्वयंज्योतिः स्वभावः).

Sankara does not however claim originality for these views. He is a mere interpreter, or champion of the inspired teachings of the Great Seers of the Upanishads, borrows largely from other classical interpreters such as the Yogavasishtha. One remarkable difference however ought not to pass unnoticed: The philosophers

of the West when they speak of the Absolute, or of the so-called Substance of mind seem to grope in the dark;—they syllogise and argue from the known to the unknown. On the other hand although in reference to the knowing subject which all other knowledge presupposes, the syllogistic form of knowledge, which depends upon generalizations and classification, is altogether out of place. But Sankara like the Seers of the Upanishads speaks of what he sees, and with the assurance of direct vision स्वातुभूति. The Absolute as a "कूटस्थनिष्ठात्मज्योतिः" is to him as it was to them a reality seen with the inner eye of yoga, a reality in which he as much as they "lived, moved, and had their being."

III.

THE SCOPE OF THE SELF-REVELATION OF THE CONSCIOUS SELF OR

कूटस्थनिष्ठात्मज्योतिः।

To avoid misunderstanding I should also add here that in speaking of the self-luminosity (आत्मज्योतिः) of the conscious Self Sankara merely means that the existence of that Self or Atma is self-revealed. Sankara admits that the self-illumination of the Self is greater or less according to the degree of spiritual culture or *sadhana*, that there is room for such exercises as the free teaching as "the Self should be seen, heard, reasoned about and meditated upon," imply; that there is room for dispute as to the details of the nature of that doubt and conscious Self or Atma or Brahma whose existence as a self-conscious Self is presupposed in all mental processes. Sankara says in his *Sutra Bhashya*:—"Brahma who is by his very nature ever pure, ever conscious, and ever free, who is All-knowing and Almighty, certainly exists. If the word 'Brahma' is traced to its root, the senses of 'ever pure' &c., follow from the root-meaning of *Brihate*. Brahma being also the Self of all, the existence of Brahma is quite manifest (as the underlying basis of all). Every one perceives that he exists, and not as "I do not exist" (as it would be if the Buddhist nihilism or शून्यवाद were true). If the non-existence of Self were manifest, all people would perceive as "I do not exist." (Note here that to perceive 'I do not exist,' presupposes as the underlying basis of that

perception, the existence of that very perceiving Self—which would be self-contradictory.) The Self is Brahma.

"But if, in this world, Brahma were quite manifest as the Self of all, then Brahma is known already. It then follows that Brahma is not a fit subject for enquiry. Not so. There is room for differences of opinion as regards the particulars (of His nature). Ignorant people and the *Lokayatikas* or the materialists believe that the body alone, possessing the quality of consciousness, is the Self. Others believe that the organs of sense and locomotion possessing consciousness are the Self. Still others believe that the mind is the Self. This refers to the Buddhist *Vijnanavadins* who in their philosophy fully anticipated many centuries ago the position of Hume and his school, to whom Spencer gives great prominence and still others believe that the Self is no other than the perceptions which vary from moment to moment; and still others believe that the Self is nothing but 'vacuity.' (These refer to the different classes of Buddhist philosophers.) Others (such as the *Tarkikas*) believe that there is the *samsara* or worldly Self, distinct from the body, and who is both an active agent and a passive sufferer; others (such as the *Sankhyas*) think that this Self is a passive sufferer only, and not an active doer. Still others (such as the *Patanjala Yogins*) believe that there exists God, All-knowing and Almighty, distinct from the Self. Lastly others (such as the *Vedantins*) believe that the All-knowing and Almighty God is Himself also the Self of the passive sufferer of this worldly life." (Bhumika to the *Sutrashashya*.)

IV. YAGNAVALKYA.

I have said that Sankaracharya stands up as the interpreter of the great Vedantic seers foremost among whom stands Yagnavalkya. Now then a word about Yagnavalkya. Many thousands of years ago here in India, at a congregation of the learned Brahmadvadins of hoary antiquity,—assembled in the palace-hall of King Janaka, Ushasta Chakrayana asked the Great Seer Yagnavalkya saying:—"यत् सोक्षात् अपरोक्षात् तं मे व्याचक्षुः।" Show me directly leaving no room for doubt—(or as Sankara explains,—as one shows an ox

by taking hold of its horns, and saying "This is he.") Show me Brahma, who you say is *Sakshat* (अवहित केनचित्)—not separated (from us) by anything intervening, and *Aparokshat* directly or immediately known and not mediately inferred from premisses (दृष्टुरपरोक्षात् अगौणं),—show me the *Atma* or Self that pervades all. To this Yagnavalkya replied "एष ते आत्मा सर्वान्तरः"—This your *Atma* or Self is that which pervades all—(सर्वस्वाम्बन्तरः). Ushasta again asks: "कतमो वाञ्छन्तु क्व सर्वान्तरः।" Which one is that All-pervading, Yagnavalkya?—meaning as Sankara points out that there are: (1) the *pinde*: or visible body, (2) the *vidyanta* (करणसङ्घातः) the totality of sensory and motor organs, and (3) the third which is the object of Ushasta's doubt, which one among these do you mean? To this Yagnavalkya again replies: "यः प्राणं प्राणिति" etc. He who breathes by the breath, or the air passing into and from the mouth and nostrils ("सुखनासिकासञ्चारिणः &c). Sankara thus explains Yagnavalkya's meaning: The "य ते कार्यकरणस्य आत्मा विज्ञानमयः" i.e., the *Vijnanamaya*, or "that self-conscious thinking Self or person in you is the Self (आत्मा) that directs your acts and organs." But Ushasta takes offence at such an answer; and accuses Yagnavalkya of breaking his promise,—comparing him to one who having promised to show another a horse, forgets his promise, and merely says:—"A horse is that which runs." Thus seemingly cornered Yagnavalkya extricates himself out of the difficulty by his memorable reply "न दृष्टे दृष्टारं पश्ये, न श्रुते श्रोतारं शृण्वतु, न मनोमन्तारं मन्यीया, न विज्ञाने विज्ञातारं विजानीयाः।"—"The subject of seeing cannot be the object of seeing, the subject of hearing cannot be the object of hearing, the subject of a mental state (*manobhuti*) cannot be the object of that mental state, the subject of a thought (*buddhibhuti*) cannot be the object of thoughts. Yagnavalkya means to say that an act of cognition, to borrow the metaphor used by Hegel and common among Hegelians, is like a magnet

having the subject at one end to represent the north pole, and the object at the other end to represent the south pole. As, of the two poles of a magnet, the one never becomes the other, so also the subject of an act of cognition can never become its object. The same point is again urged by Yagnavalkya before his wife Maitreyi "येनेदं सर्वं विजानाति तं केन विजानीयात्? विज्ञातारं अरे केन विजानीयात्?" (470)

"That whereby all this is known, by what is that to be known? How is the knower to be known, O dear?" In other words, every act of knowing presupposes a self-conscious knower or person through whose self-consciousness all other knowing becomes possible.

To know the self-conscious knower in the same way as that knower knows an object is, therefore, not only redundant, but is also open to the fallacy of अनवस्था or endless regress for that would presuppose a knowing subject or knower, behind, and distinct from that knowing subject and likewise another behind that and another and so on *ad infinitum*. Sankara remarks:—"जेन विजानाति, तस्य करणस्य विज्ञेये विनियुक्त्वात्, ज्ञातुश्च ज्ञेये एव हि जिज्ञासा नास्ति। न च अग्रे रिक्ता आत्मा आत्मनो विषयो, न च अविषये ज्ञातुः ज्ञानं उपपद्यते" (472). The

eye, it is well-known, does not see itself; nor the ear hears, nor the nose smells, nor the palate tastes itself. Even the finger-point does not touch itself. Sankara says:—"The sense-organs by which we know, having to deal with the object to be known, the knower's wish to know, also must necessarily be limited to the object of knowledge, and can by no means refer to the knowing Self or Atma. Even as the fire never burns itself, so the Self (आत्मा) too never becomes its own object; thus knowledge on the part of the knower (in the sense of phenomenal knowledge) चक्षुःसंयुक्तात्, करणवृत्तिः is not possible in regard to what does not admit of becoming an object of sense-knowledge." In other words the subject (विषयी) and the object (विषय) standing to each other in the relation of antithesis. It is also true as Spencer says: "A thing cannot at the same instant be both subject and object of thought."

H. SPENCER'S PSYCHOLOGY.

The oft-quoted *Sruti* text "न दृष्टेर्दृष्टारं पश्येः" or "विज्ञातारं अरे केन विजानीयात्" first given ex-

pression to by Yagnavalkya referred to above, enunciates, and in the mere enunciation solves the greatest problem of metaphysics, and if I may be permitted to say so, takes the feather off the caps of some of the greatest metaphysicians of our day. Will you believe me when I say that the greatest triumph of H. Spencer in his day, and one, the glare of which almost dazed our eyes in our younger days,—I mean his agnosticism, appears now to be but a verbose reiteration of what the thrice great Vedantic seer gave us in a nut-shell. One might truly say that H. Spencer in his psychology was quite unconsciously and unintentionally writing a commentary on that sacred *Sruti* text according to his lights,—seeing, as he did, only half the truth. I will not however prejudice him by any remarks of my own, but rather present you with a brief summary of what he himself has got to say in support of his agnosticism and as far as practicable, I will give it in his own very words. Speaking of the substance of mind (Chap. I—Principles of Psychology, Part II) H. Spencer says:—

"If by the phrase 'The Substance of Mind' is to be understood the underlying something of which the distinguishable portions qualitatively separable by introspection, are formed, then we know *nothing* about it, and never can know anything about it."

Quoting Hume, Spencer says,

"If Impressions and Ideas are the only things known to exist, and that Mind is merely a name for the sum of them," "the expression 'Substance of Mind' can have no meaning." If "impressions and ideas are regarded" "as forms or modes of a continually existing something" then "that which persists inspite of all changes and maintains the unity of the aggregate," "is that of which existence in the full sense of the word must be predicated,—that which we must postulate as the Substance of Mind in contradistinction to the varying forms it assumes. But if so, the impossibility of knowing the substance of Mind is manifest. By the definition it is that which undergoes the modification producing a state of Mind. Consequently if every state of Mind is some modification of this Substance of Mind, there can be no state of Mind in which the unmodified Substance of Mind is present."

Again he says:—

"Knowing implies something acted upon and some thing acting upon it. Were it possible for the Substance of Mind to be present in any state of Mind, there would still have to be answered the question—'What is it which then contemplates it, and knows it.' That which in the act of knowing is affected by the thing known, must itself be the substance of Mind. The Substance of Mind escapes into some new form in recognising some form under which it has just existed. Hence could the unmodified substance of Mind be presented in consciousness, it

would still be unknowable, since until there had arisen something different from it, the elements of a cognition would not exist; and as something different would necessarily be some state of Mind, we should have the substance of Mind known in a state of Mind, which is a contradiction. In brief *a thing cannot at the same instant be both subject and object of thought*, and yet the substance of Mind must be this before it can be known."

Again he says—

"To know anything is to distinguish it as such

or such, to class it as of this or that order. The smallest conceivable degree of knowledge implies at least two things between which some community exists. If with the Idealist we say that there exists no other substance, then necessarily it remains unknown. If we hold with the Realist that Being is fundamentally divisible into that which is present to us as Mind, and that which lying outside of it, is not Mind,—then as the proposition itself asserts a difference and not a likeness, it is equally clear that Mind remains unclassable and therefore *unknowable*."

CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT

BY W. PETT RIDGE,

AUTHOR OF "LIGHT REFRESHMENT," "NAME OF GARLAND," &C.

"**B**OOTHS!" he roared, for the second time. His wife, opening the kitchen door, looked in, and surveyed him.

"If I have to order you," said Mr. Baynes, speaking with great distinctness, "to come and take off my boots again, I shall dock half a crown off your weekly allowance to-morrow."

She did not answer.

"My best plan," he went on, "will be to draw it all up in black and white, so that we can have a clear, and proper understanding, one with the other. We must have a proper system of fines, same as they do in every well-regulated business. Fetch the pen and ink and paper."

"How would it be to fetch it for yourself?"

He stared at her amazedly. Searching his pockets he found there a small memorandum book and a short piece of pencil.

"I'm going to keep calm with you," he said deliberately, "because, so far as I can see, you've taken leave, for the present, of your senses. You'll be sorry for it when you come back to 'em. Now then, let's make out a list. For not answering when called, one shilling."

He wrote this carefully on a page, regarding it with satisfaction at the finish. "See what that means? That means, for every time you pretend to be deaf when I shout at you, you'll be docked a bob at the end of the week."

"I see."

"Just as well you do," remarked Mr. Baynes, threateningly. "We will now proceed to the next item. Food not cooked to W. B.'s satisfaction, one and six. How many t's in satisfaction?"

"As many as you like."

"Impudence," he continued, writing as he spoke, "one and three. Wait a bit; I haven't finished yet. Clean collar not ready when required, sixpence."

"There won't be anything left," mentioned his wife, "if you put many more down."

"Rests with you," he said with a careless gesture. "All you've got to do is to see that none of these rules are broken. I shall take the trouble presently of copying out the list, and you'll do well to stick it up on the wall in some prominent position, so that you can be reminded of it several times in the course of the day."

"And when any of my relatives look in, they can see it too!"

"Reminds me," he said, taking his pencil again. "Relations, two a month. All in excess of this number, fourpence per relation. Take the list and read it out to me, and then kneel down and take off my boots as I ordered you to do some considerable time ago."

Mrs. Baynes accepted the list, inspected it; then tore the page into several pieces, and threw these into the fireplace. In the pocket of an underskirt she found a purse,

and from this brought four new bank-notes.

"Have a good look at them, William," she said. "You won't have a chance of seeing them again. I'm just going along to the Post Office to put them away before it closes."

"How—how did you come by them?"

"I'm not bound to answer you," remarked Mrs. Baynes, "but perhaps I may as well. The money has come to me from poor Uncle Ernest, who popped off last month. He's left a sim'lar amount to my two sisters."

"You was his favourite," said Mr. Baynes, "and if he'd got money to leave—and this is the first I've heard of it—he ought to have left it all to you. I must have a glance at his will and see whether we can't dispute it."

"You'll do nothing of the kind."

"In any case," he went on, "there is, I'm bound to admit, a very decent little nest-egg for us."

"Not for us. For me," corrected Mrs. Baynes. "It belongs to me, and only to me. You haven't anything to do with it."

"I've heard," he remarked, "of sudden riches affecting the brain, but this is the first time I've actually come across such an instance." He bent and started to unlace his boots. "We'll talk the matter over again later on. By-the-bye," relacing his boots, "there's no reason why you should go out on a wet night like this and catch your death of cold. I'll trot along to the Post Office for you. I'm more used to handling money than what you are."

"That's been the case hitherto," she admitted, "but I must learn how to do it now. You stay here and enjoy your pipe, and when I come back I'll tell you how you've got to behave to me in the future."

"I suppose," he inquired with some bitterness, "I've got your precious sisters to thank for all this?"

"No," she answered, "poor Uncle Ernest."

Mr. Baynes on the following morning, before proceeding to work, denied himself the luxury of issuing commands to his wife from the front gate in a tone of voice that could be heard by neighbours; instead he blew a kiss in her direction and walked off, whistling in a thoughtful way. Later in the day he brought home the proportion of his weekly wage and placed it on

the mantelpiece, announcing no deductions and giving no warning to make it go as far as possible. He tried to assist his wife in the performance of domestic duties, persisting in this until she begged him to go out into the park and give her a chance of finishing the work. On the following day he accompanied her to chapel in the evening, and borrowed three-pence from her to put into the plate. Meeting two or three friends on the way back, he declined their invitations and went home with her wife, discussing the sermon and the singing. In response to her appeal he agreed to abstain on future occasions from joining in the hymns. The Sunday paper was still on the hat-stand, and on entering the house he asked whether she would mind if he had a look at it during supper, his general habit being to secure the journal and keep it for his own use throughout the day.

"This is very nice and comfortable," he said after the meal. "Somehow, that little legacy of yours, if you'll pardon the expression, my dear, seems to me likely to prove a blessing in disguise."

"No disguise about it."

"You don't quite follow me," he remarked patiently. "What I mean is that it's going to have bigger results than I at first anticipated. Of course, it's a pity there isn't more of it."

"Seeing that I never expected nothing—"

"Quite so, quite so. Only that the Post Office pays such a trifling rate of interest."

"The money's safe there," she interrupted, "that's the great thing."

"I should be the last to recommend anything that wasn't perfectly and absolutely sound," declared Mr. Baynes. "We're on good terms with each other now, and your interests are my interests. We two are one, so to speak. Only that, getting about as I do, I keep my ears open—"

"Listeners never hear any good of themselves."

"But sometimes they hear good about other matters. Two chaps were talking on the tramcar last week, and I was sitting just at the back. Jockeys from the look of 'em. They didn't know I was taking in all they were saying, and they talked quite freely to each other, just as I might to you in this room. Vinolia was what they were chatting about."

"Old Brown Windsor is as good as anything."

"Vinolia, it appears," he continued, "is being kept very dark, but the owner's made an arrangement, so far as I could gather, for it to win the race it's running in next week, and no one except those that are in the stable—. Why, bless my soul, if this isn't the rummiest coincidence I ever come across in all my born days. I'm talking to you about Vinolia, and here my eye lights on the very name. Thirty-three to one. Let's see what it says about it. 'Vinolia appears to stand no earthly chance, and we are at a loss to comprehend why the owner should take the trouble to run him.'"

"What does thirty-three to one mean, William?"

"Thirty-three to one means," he explained, "that if you handed me your money and I placed it for you, and Vinolia came in first, you'd get thirty-three times the amount, together with your original money, back. But the risk is a jolly sight too great, and I recommend you, speaking as a friend, to have nothing whatever to do with it. Besides, with me, it's a matter of principle, I object to gambling in toto. I look on gambling as one of the curses of the country. People win money at it, and it thrice demoralises 'em. They bring off something successful that means they've cleared as much as they could earn by honest labour in six or seven weeks, perhaps more; and the consequence is that they get altogether unhinged. Upsets 'em. Knocks 'em off the main line. So my advice to you, old girl, is to put what I've been saying clean out of your head, and not trouble any further about it. After all, supposing you had thirty-three times as much as you've got at present, it doesn't by any means follow you'd be thirty-three times as happy. That's the way you've got to look at it!"

"But supposing—"

"My dear," he said, putting down the newspaper, "we've been getting on particular well together this last eight hours or so; don't let us begin arguing and spoil it. I've been into the law of the matter, and I find I've got no right to touch your money in any way whatsoever, but it's my positive duty to see that you don't do anything silly and stupid with it."

"It's mine to do what I like with."

"Let's change the subject," urged Mr. Baynes, "and have a nice talk over old times. When do you reckon it was you first felt drawn towards me?"

Mrs. Baynes brought downstairs an

hour later her Post Office book, and announced that she had been giving five minutes of serious thought to the matter. Seemed to her that here was a chance of a lifetime, and to neglect it would only mean perpetual remorse. He pointed out once more the serious risks run by those who backed horses, and submitted a large number of objections. These she brushed aside. On asking how she proposed to set about backing Vinolia, it was admitted that here his help would be required. Mr. Baynes declared he intended to take no share or part in the undertaking.

"Very well, then," she said, "I shall have to make inquiries and see about doing it myself."

"Rather than you should be taken in by a set of rogues," he conceded, "I'll do as you wish. But mind you, I'm acting in entire opposition to my better judgment!"

Mr. Baynes, back from work on the day of the race, found his wife waiting at the front gate, tapping at it impatiently; as he came within six houses of his home, he shook his head. She took up the hem of her apron, and with this to her eyes ran indoors. From the kitchen he roared a command to her to come down and leave off snivelling and make herself useful. Obtaining no reply he took the trouble to go to the foot of the stairs and make the formal announcement that, unless she descended at once, he would break every bone in her body. She came, red-eyed, and, kneeling, unlaced his boots.

"You can't say I didn't warn you," he remarked, sternly. "Every word I uttered has proved to be true. All your money gone, and your poor Uncle Ernest, if he's looking down, or up, as the case may be, must feel sorry—"

"Don't, William, don't!"

"Oh, but I'm going to tell you the truth," he said with determination. "I'm not the man to mince my words. You get no sympathy out of me. There's only yourself to blame, and you've got to recognise the fact. I'm not going to have you going about saying that you was recommended to back the horse by other people. What you did, you did, with your eyes open."

"Where did it come in?"

"Don't interrupt me," shouted Mr. Baynes, "when I'm talking. Been and lost the thread of my argument now. Besides,

what does it matter where it came in? You asked me to back the horse to win; there was nothing said about backing it for a place. As I told you, I couldn't get thirtythree to one; but I did, after a lot of trouble, manage to put your money on at twenty-five. I've behaved straightforward throughout the entire business, and, now that it's over, all I ask is that nothing more shall be said about it. I'm sick and tired of the whole affair. Perhaps another time you'll listen to me when I give you good advice."

"I shall never back a horse again," she declared tearfully.

"You'll never get the chance. Take the jug, and hurry off, and mind you're back here sharp. I shall give you five minutes; if you're a second later there'll be a fine of sixpence. That's an item to be added to the list. 'Loitering and gossiping when sent on errands, six d.' Go!" he ordered, placing his watch on the table.

He was pinning the sheet of notepaper to the wall at the side of the looking-glass when his wife returned. Glancing at the watch, he waited grimly for her explanation.

"Had to wait," she said, "and find a boy selling evening newspapers."

"And what might you want, pray, with evening newspapers! Furthermore, where's the jug?"

"If you want beer, fetch it," she replied. "That was a good joke of yours about the horse, but you'd better not let me catch you being quite so funny again. It upset me, and I don't like being upset."

He snatched the journal from her. She compelled him to give it back and to take it properly. In the stop-press space he read out: "Vinolia, one; Gay Lothario, two; Messenger Boy, three."

Mr. Baynes stood gazing at the fire, making the clicking noises with his tongue which folk adopt when, in disconcerting circumstances, speech fails.

"I've been figuring it out in my head," she went on, "but I can't make it come twice alike. Tear down that bit of paper and sit yourself there and reckon it up for me. Twenty-five times—"

"I can't do it. I can't do it."

"Don't you start being stupid," commanded Mrs. Baynes. "Do as I tell you."

Mr. Baynes had written the figures, and was about to enter on the task of multiplication, with one hand gripping the top of his head, when he suddenly threw away the pencil.

"My dear," he said, "I want you to be so kind as to listen to me, and I must ask you not to be madder than you can possibly help. I admit the case is somewhat trying; but you have to remember that we all have our cross to bear. I never backed that horse!"

A pause of some moments in length

"You mean," said his wife slowly "to look me in the face and to tell me that, after what you overheard on the tramcar—"

"I never overheard nothing of the kind on the tramcar."

"Perhaps, William, you'll kindly tell me what horse you did put the money on."

"I never," he answered, "put no money on any horse whatsoever."

"Then where is the money?"

"In the inside pocket of the jacket I'm wearing at the present moment," he said sulkily.

"But what did you intend to do with it?"

"Hadn't quite made up my mind about that. Idea was to prevent you from ording it over me. You see, my dear, I'd got accustomed to being master, and the sudden change was a bit trying. And in picking out what I thought was the unlkeiest gee-gee, I acted from the purest of motives, and for what I reckoned the best for all parties concerned. If I made a mistake, I'm sorry for it."

"Do you realise, William, that if you obeyed my orders we should have been in a position to buy a nice little house of our own here in Nottenham, and never had to pay a week's rent again? Do you understand how much you owe me! Do you comprehend—"

"My dear," he appealed, putting his hands together, "let me off as light as you can. I won't go lording it about the place any more. In future, I'll only lord it over myself."

"THE ILLUSIONS OF NEW INDIA"*

MR. P. N. Bose needs no introduction to the Indian reader. He has written several well-known books. In his *Epochs of Civilisation*, published in 1913, he laid down the proposition that India had attained the highest, the ethical, stage of civilisation, and that Europe was still in the intellectual stage. In the present book he elaborates the views first enunciated in the earlier volume, and comes to the conclusion that the current conceptions about our ethical, intellectual, social, educational, political, and economic progress are all illusions, and that in every one of these respects we are deteriorating, and deteriorating because, instead of holding fast to the ideals of our ancient civilisation, we are following the will-o-the-wisp of western materialism. That the views here propounded should be regarded as pessimistic, as the author anticipates, is the least that can be said of them. "Vanity of vanities—all is vanity" seems to be the melancholy refrain of every chapter of the book. It is apt to generate in the mind a sense of blank despair, if the writer's doleful prognosis be taken to be literally true, for there can be no retracing our steps at this time of day in quest of that Golden Age of our history which nobody knows when and where to locate. The author has travelled widely in India and Europe, and claims to have mixed much with the people of the country, and he appeals to his personal observation for the truth of the assertion that Hindu Society is still largely pervaded by the ideals of self-abnegation and benevolence. In fact, in spite of depreciatory remarks here and there in regard to conditions of our life which cannot be ignored or passed over, he minimises their evil effects and suggests that they are due more to our ill-conceived efforts at reform on western lines than to any inherent defect in the system itself. So thoroughgoing an advocate of the *status quo ante* can only be characterised

as a reactionary, however liberal his education and eminent his abilities. We doubt if, in spite of all the claim he makes, he really knows the masses of the country dwelling in the heart of the villages, so intimately as he professes. Mr. Bose, if we mistake not, has spent the best part of his life in a highly artificial society—that of England—returned Indians—where one's advance in civilisation is often measured by the degree to which he has assimilated European culture and specially its outward symbols, in manners, customs, food, dress, style and language. That a thoughtful, patriotic, and talented man like our author should revolt against the cant and insincerity and hollowness that must prevail in such a society, and should declaim against its imitative Anglomania, is not at all surprising. 'Back to Nature and our old ideals' would be his cry of protest against it, and idealising the simple virtues of the indigenous mode of life, he would pass on to the other extreme of blind admiration of the past. Human nature is unfortunately too weak to hold steadfastly to the golden mean; like the pendulum of the clock, it swings from one extreme to the other, gathering momentum with every move, either forward or backward. However much Mr. Bose may sympathise with Hindus of the old type in their village homes, he is by his foreign education, environments, association and general mode of living too far removed from them to meet them on a common platform and on equal terms; there is a great social gulf fixed between him and them, and if they do not actually fight shy of people of his class, they only approach the latter in their best holiday looks, which effectually mask the real man within and serve as an impassable barrier to genuine human intercourse. Those of us who have never been to England or adopted the European style of living or gone out of the pale of caste and orthodoxy, and live, move and have our being in the villages which are the social units of India, are in a better position to judge of the merits of the indigenous culture as it exists at present,

* By Pramatha Nath Bose, 'B. Sc. (Lond). Calcutta, Newman & Co. Price Rupees three. 1916. Pp. 259.

as distinguished from what can be gleaned of it from ancient Hindu literature. And the first thing that strikes us with regard to that culture is that simplicity of manners and plain living do not necessarily connote absence of guile or greed. There may be as much low cunning and love of money in the simple village folk that charm us at first sight as in a more luxurious, prosperous, and complexly organised community; only the object aimed at would be petty and parochial in the first case, and the distinction between the two types in this respect would lie in the meanness of proportions of the lower type. If it is a mistake to identify the outer trappings of civilisation with the fact itself, it is equally a mistake to take the absence of any trappings as the highest virtue. There may be and often is, as much vanity in the *Sannyasin* in his sect marks and the scanty insignia of his order, as in the rich householder in his fine clothes. We fear that a book like the one under review, written by so able a member of the advanced community of Hindus, will be productive of much mischief among the orthodox reactionaries. It will be a sort of Bible in their hands. Unable to discriminate between exaggeration and truth, they will read into it a plenary justification for their wholesale condemnation of western ideals and institutions, and they will attach all the greater weight to the opinions here expressed on account of the European experience and training of the author. However much Mr. Bose may admire 'our modest and happy old home', as he calls it, he will not go back to it in the sense in which the dwellers in cottages in orthodox society have to do. Consequently, in reading his condemnation of Western and appreciation of Oriental civilisation, it is necessary to dot his i's and cross his t's, and interpret his ideals in a qualified sense, laying stress more on the spirit than on the letter of his animadversions. This is precisely what those who will make much of the book will never do, and it is therefore necessary to record our protest against some of the views herein set forth. In doing so, we will only premise that there is no human institution in the world which is either absolutely good or absolutely bad. Even when society is moved by an evil impulse, among the bye-products of the forces which are thus set in motion are to be found some which are distinctly salutary.

But to take hold of these and ignore the resultant predominant evil consequences is to misinterpret the lessons of history and deceive ourselves.

Mr. Bose begins by refuting the view set forth by a distinguished author in a popular work on Indian economics that no advance in civilisation is possible without the rise to a higher standard of living. Such a high standard prevailed in Ayodhya and Lanka and Hastinapur, as every reader of the great Indian Epics is aware. And Mr. Bose himself admits that "it cannot be gainsaid, that a rise to a higher standard of living is the necessary concomitant of advance in civilisation." What he objects to, it would seem, is 'the exchange of the indigenous standard of decency, cleanliness, comfort, and luxury for an exotic one.' So far as the Indian standard is good and wholesome, it is wholly worthy of preservation. We all know that in personal cleanliness, the Hindus are hard to beat; nor in the height of summer, is it necessary, like the Europeanised Hindu, to sit swathed in a multiplicity of cumbersome apparel. But surely the walls and floor of a Hindu house, and its immediate environments, would be all the better for a little imitation of the western standard of cleanliness. "Hygienic rules," the author admits in another place, "have in many cases crystallised into superstitious practices among the vast majority of the Hindus." Mr. Vincent Smith has said that "human societies with a low standard of comfort and a simple scheme of life are, like individual organisms of a lowly structure, hard to kill," and to this he attributes the rapid recovery of Indian village communities from the effects of destructive conquest. These village communities are Mr. Bose's ideal of self-government; he extols these 'little republics' to the skies, forgetting that they were, to quote Sir Henry Maine, primitive social organisms to which the Hindus owed some rudimentary administration of justice when no government existed outside the village capable of giving authority to court or judge. Mr. Bose avers that patriotism is a virtue of lower order than the cosmopolitanism of the Hindus. But to attain the ideal of universal humanity we must pass through the stage of nationality. The course of evolution lies through the family, the clan, the race and the nation, each

succeeding stage comprising and transcending the one preceding it. The Hindus, says Mr. Bose, are a nation, though not in the narrow western sense. Had it been so India would not have been thus described by one of her best friends:

"India occupies a position among the countries of the world to which there is no parallel. She is absolutely alone in her experience. Look the globe over, there is no other land with which to make a comparison..... elsewhere, whatever the form of Government may be, the national aims, desires, aspirations, ideals, receive consideration..... And India? There are none so poor as to do India reverence."

Nor is Mr. Digby alone in thinking so untypingly of India. "There is only one India!" exclaims Mark Twain:

"It is the only country which has a monopoly of grand and imposing spectacles...There is the Plague, the Black Death: India invented it; India is the cradle of that mighty birth.....Famine is India's specialty. Elsewhere famines are small inconsequential incidents—in India they are devastating cataclysms; in the one case they annihilate hundreds, in the other thousands.....With her, everything is on a gigantic scale, even her poverty; no other country can show anything to compare with it."

The pathetic humour of the American and the thoughtful observation of the Englishman are at one regarding the uniqueness of India's political and material condition. This unenviable distinction extends also to her social institutions. 'Between India on the one hand,' says G. Lowes Dickinson, "and China or Japan, or the other; there is as great a difference as between India and any western country. The contrast that has struck me is that between India and the rest of the world. There I do feel a profound gulf." The idea of patriotism was unknown in the Indian villages, and patriotism is the soul of nationalism. The so-called cosmopolitanism of the Hindus was neither more nor less than their utter indifference to their political condition. Sir Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington, knew the Indians well, for he wrote:

"As for the wishes of the people, particularly in this country, I put them out of the question. They are the only philosophers about their Governors that I have ever met with—if indifference constitutes that character."

The village communities 'let the legions thunder past,' and 'plunged in thought again.' And for the most part, it was not thinking of a very high order, judging by the Smriti commentaries, which were engaged in elaborating penances and forging fresh chains of ceremonial ablution

for crushing Hindu intellect and enterprise. Mr. Bose says:

"Knowing full well how very poorly the reasoning faculty is developed among the mass of the people, and how very strong is the disinclination to exercise that faculty even when it is developed, they [the Hindus] prescribed rules of conduct so that the people had but little need to exercise that faculty in various matters of vital importance to them individually and socially."

But has this been for the good of India? Let the author himself answer:

"Hindu civilisation has since then been exuberantly encrusted with thick parasitic outgrowths of ignorance and superstition, the products of stagnation."

Again:

"The thick wall of prejudice and superstition which surrounds Hindu society gets continually overgrown with thick, rank jungle and adventitious excrescences, and their clearance from time to time is, no doubt, highly beneficial."

Mr. Bose even recognises that "the increased sense of individuality developed under western influence has certainly led to considerable mental expansion which is reflected in the growing vernacular literatures." The great war now raging in Europe should, in the opinion of Mr. Bose, serve to disillusion New India. But is that really so? Have we not had our own Kurukshetra which practically annihilated the warrior caste? Was it not due to land-hunger on the part of the Kauravas? Did not the Lord himself exhort Arjuna to fight to the bitter end for his just rights? Is there no lesson for us in the marvellous heroism, self-sacrifice, national solidarity and patriotic ardour which the war has evoked in all the belligerent countries, if not in the wonderful scientific skill, brain-power, intellectual and moral resources and organising genius which are being displayed by the western nations on so vast a scale? It is a war of brains more than of muscles, and of spiritual as much as of material forces. The love of liberty which impelled the weaker nations to sacrifice their all for the sake of something surely not material, ought to command our admiration. As to the seamy side of war, we do not think, that any war in the ancient or modern world has been altogether free from barbarities just as there has been no war without the display of a magnificent spirit of chivalry in some of the combatants. To be unable to appreciate the moral qualities which lie behind the nations now in the grip of war—nations whom we have so long regarded

as bent upon luxury, and ease, and money-making alone—argues a blind conceit and self-sufficiency which is a sure sign of decay. Just as the heat at the centre of the earth, by causing seismic disturbances on its crust, leads to fresh readjustments of its surface, so also the present world-conflagration is sure to lead to a better readjustment of the political divisions of Europe. To vary the metaphor, these electrical discharges and thunderstorms will restore the equilibrium and clear the atmosphere and result in a more satisfactory reconciliation between conflicting social, moral and political forces, making for the greater happiness of mankind. The stable equilibrium of our society of which Mr. Bose boasts, is only another name for the stagnation which he deplors. So long as there is life, there is movement; the peace of death, like a melancholy pall, envelops us and we call it the ripe wisdom and immobility of age. In fact, a race need not necessarily be immobile because it has a long history, for the analogy between the individual and the race in respect of birth, growth and decay is fundamentally incorrect, as the recent rejuvenescence of China shows. (*Vide* also '*Darwinism and Race Progress*' by Professor Haycraft). It is only those nations which cut themselves off from all commerce with the world, both in the intellectual and the material spheres, and are shut up within their own shell, that attain the immobility of the *Tamasic* state.

In the author's opinion, the diffusion of literacy on modern lines does not imply diffusion of right knowledge, and the Pandits are not less narrowminded and illiberal than the scholars of the new learning. But it can hardly be denied that the diffusion of literacy is in these days of cheap print, the best means of putting the masses in the way of acquiring right knowledge. That most people whose education has not gone beyond the elementary stage abuse it by reading cheap novels and 'penny dreadfuls' does not lessen the value of the instrument as a power for good. Mr. Bose says that "Education has not made the cultivators better cultivators, nor the artisans and tradesmen more efficient artisans and tradesmen than before." The reply to this common argument is to be found in Dr. Marshall's *Principles of Economics*, where that sober and careful thinker says :

"It is true that there are many kinds of work which can be done as efficiently by an uneducated as by an educated workman.....But a good education confers great indirect benefits even on the ordinary workman. It stimulates his mental activity ; it fosters in him a habit of wise inquisitiveness ; it makes him more intelligent, more ready, more trustworthy in his ordinary work ; it raises the tone of his life in working hours and out of working hours ; it is thus an important means towards the production of material wealth ; at the same time that, regarded as an end in itself, it is inferior to none of those which the production of material wealth can be made to subserve."

A child in learning to walk has his limbs bruised by falls, but we do not prevent him from learning to walk on that account. Because learning may be misapplied and put to wrong uses, ignorance cannot surely be preferred. Grey's dictum, 'where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise' is true, if at all, within well-defined limits. 'A fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised and unbreathed,' scarcely stands the test of trial. Knowledge is power, and to be weak, that is ignorant, as the Hindus at present are, is miserable, doing or suffering. The author himself admits that "education of the right sort, which would secure to them [the masses] material and moral welfare, would certainly be desirable." If the present curriculum in our elementary schools be found unsuitable, let it be changed, but let us not argue that mass education is wrong. Mr. Bose repeats that "a certain amount of education is undoubtedly beneficial to the agricultural, manufacturing and trading classes" and prefers the indigenous system, as among the Marwaris. But does this rich and prosperous community wield the same influence as the Parsis, whose commercial training follows western lines? A rich merchant need not necessarily lead a stunted life, shut out from the joys and power which a liberal culture gives. The munificence of the rich Indian trader would flow in a more fructifying channel than hitherto, had he been equipped with a more liberal education, and this is in a manner admitted by the author, who concedes that corporate charity and corporate service exist now to an extent never seen before, and that modern philanthropy is more discriminating, and public spirit has a much wider range. This is indeed only what might be expected, for the value of education lies chiefly in this, that it develops all the faculties of man, and makes him worthier of his high destiny. As for the

liberalism of the Pandit, who can deny that it is confined to his philosophical speculations merely, and that as soon as he approaches the region of practical politics, in most cases blind Pharisaism becomes the sole guide of his conduct? The thoroughness and profundity of the Pandits, which all admit, would however be all the better for a broader outlook and the introduction among them of the historic and comparative method of study. It would quicken them into new life and vigour, and enable them to produce original works which would help forward our social and intellectual regeneration, and not merely unprofitable *rechauffes* of thrice-digested commentaries. The Pandits know what the word 'frog-in-the well' stands for, for it was coined in their own mint; and it is a sad irony of fate that the best illustration of the idea should, at the present day, be furnished by themselves.

The chapter on technical education is the most illuminating in the whole book. Here the author speaks with intimate personal knowledge, and we are able to agree with almost everything that he says. For he recognises that the modernisation of our industries is to a certain extent inevitable and that "though something may be done by improved manual methods, they must to a large extent be supplanted by labour-saving appliances and machinery." He calls this the positive method of regenerating our industries. He also appeals to us to set our face "against the so-called 'rise' in the standard of living after the European fashion." He speaks of this as the Negative Method.

"The adoption of this method would serve a double purpose. It would by saving annually the thirty-five crores or so at present spent upon imported articles furnish the capital for indigenous ventures, and would at the same time, save a good number of our industries from extinction. The two methods must work hand in hand; one would be quite ineffective without the other. . . . Modern western culture with its highly developed system of scientific and technical education is as indispensable for the positive method, as ancient Hindu culture with its high ethical and spiritual ideals is for the negative method."

Every patriotic Indian will feel the force of this appeal, and recognise its truth.

Mr. Bose holds that the moral progress of India is an illusion, for keenness of competition has resulted in the lowering of the moral standard in even the learned professions, and the 'elevation' of the

proletariat is 'fraught with grave danger to Hindu Society,' inasmuch as it has led, not so much to the levelling up of the lower classes, as to the levelling down of the upper classes, by tending to swell the ranks of penurious aspirants for government service. This is to take too narrow and selfish a view of the uplift movement among the socially depressed classes. There is no law of Nature ordaining that all who belong to these classes must follow agricultural pursuits. If some of them, by seeking 'fresh fields and pastures new,' relieve the pressure on the soil, there is no cause for alarm in it, nor is there any reason why the government services should for ever remain a monopoly of the higher classes. Dr. Marshall shows that fundamental characteristic of modern industrial life is not a beggar-thy-neighbour competition, but economic freedom, that is, growth of free activity and enterprise, emancipation from custom, self-reliance, deliberate choice and forethought, and a recognition of the dignity of man as man. The hard struggle for existence is no doubt responsible for the low moral tone in some of the professions, but it is an evil which will cure itself, when the instinct of self-preservation will lead our youngmen more and more into other fields of activity where, as in commerce and industry, they have still to take the place which is their due. Moreover, what little we know of the moral condition of the people in the days immediately preceding the British rule, or even the establishment of the Indian universities, does not justify the confident assertion that our morals were better in those days. Religion was then identified with formalism, and the divorce between ethics and religion was complete. The life and teachings of Christ, and the revived interest in Buddhism, with their ethical emphasis, together with the high moral tone of western literature, caused an ethical revival in India which forms one of the happiest auguries for her future. The sense of manly independence and self-respect, and the tendency to discriminate between the letter that killeth and the spirit that giveth life are all due to this moral regeneration; and to deny the salutary effect of this ethical transformation in our everyday life would be to ignore the self-evident. Even our revived interest in the spiritual element in our ancient literature, such as the *Upanisads*,

is due, to no small extent, to the researches of western scholars.

The caste system, says Mr. Bose, "does credit to the head no less than to the heart of the Aryan sages of ancient India who conceived and constructed it. It is firmly based upon the principle of heredity and anticipated the modern science of Eugenics." In the first place, Eugenics can hardly yet be dignified with the name of science. Dr. Saleeby in his works on eugenics has exposed the unscientific character of the prevalent notions on heredity on which the caste system is supposed to be based. Professor Ritchie in his 'Darwinism and Politics' discussing this subject says :

"It is instructive to notice the way in which half understood scientific theories are misapplied to practical matters."

We are inclined to agree with the author that the caste system has in the past helped to some extent to preserve the integrity of the Hindu race, but its utility at the present day is by no means obvious, and indeed its condemnation by western thinkers as "the most disastrous and blighting of human institutions" seems to us to possess considerable justification now; and in spite of his enthusiastic approbation of the system, Mr. Bose himself has to admit that "without it, the Hindus might possibly have risen higher than they did," and that "in course of time, the caste system became largely overlaid by a thick crust of prejudice and superstition owing to the peculiar attitude of Hinduism toward Hindu society and other causes." But the subject is too vast for summary treatment, and we pass on to other topics.

Mr. Bose considers the toleration of the Hindus to be an important cause of the stability of Hinduism, and adds: "Mahomedanism has made but few converts except among the Hinduised aborigines. Nor has Christianity been more successful than Mahomedanism." The tolerant spirit of Hinduism is no doubt a praiseworthy feature, but that is a virtue which Hinduism shares with all ethnic religions, and the disastrous consequences of 'the loose and careless temper of polytheism' and 'its soft and yielding substance' to quote Gibbon, have been eloquently depicted in the twenty-eighth chapter of his immortal history. Toleration is indifference. When Mahmud of Ghazni broke with his

own hand the head of the idol in the temple of Somnath, there were few, if any, Mahomedans in India. But the nine centuries which have elapsed since his time have seen a gradually increasing Islamic population claiming India as their mother-country, and this steady increase being maintained even now, when there is no Mahomedan emperor to add prestige to the religion of the prophet. To say that this immense Moslem population consists wholly or even largely, of the descendants of Mogul, Afgan, Pathan, Persian or Arabic immigrants, would be absurd; and the only alternative supposition, supported by history, is that they are mostly converts, usually from the lower ranks of Hinduism. Nor can it be denied that Christianity is making heavy inroads upon Hinduism, specially in the South of India, as the census statistics go to prove. Between 1881 to 1911, the Hindus have increased at the rate of 15.3 per cent, the Muslims at the rate of 33 per cent, and the Christians at the rate of 108.1 per cent. In 1881, 7,432 of every ten thousand people in India professed the Hindu faith, whereas the corresponding figure in 1911 was only 6,939. The apathy of the Hindus has led to this alarming decline in their relative strength, and has greatly increased the complexity of the political situation; it has divided and weakened the Hindus to an extent unknown among the followers of other religions in India. "But Hinduism," says Mr. Bose, "has been as intolerant and illiberal in matters of social conduct as it has been tolerant and liberal in matters of religious belief. And the efforts of the religious reformers of old India from the remotest antiquity to the present day have been directed mainly against the evil consequences of this despotic sway of Hinduism in social matters specially in regard to caste." These militant and reforming movements, according to Mr. Bose, are however devoid of the great importance which is claimed for them. In India, says Sister Nivedita, social rules and etiquette in regard to the minute details of everyday life have been elaborated through centuries, but in the West, where a certain standard of personal refinement is exacted as rigidly as in India itself, these matters are taught in the nursery by women, and relegated, at most, to the first ten years of a child's upbringing. She therefore appealed to Hin-

Hinduism to be dynamic, no longer as the preserver of Hindu custom, but as the creator of Hindu character. "Since the year 1858 onwards, there has been no possible goal for the Indian people but a complete assimilation of the modern consciousness." Sister Nivedita loved India well, and she considered such a dynamic transformation not only not devoid of importance, but the most paramount necessity for Hinduism.

After the illusion of social progress, comes the myth of political progress. "If," says Mr. Bose, "instead of pursuing the chimera of Western civilisation, new India had remained contented with the simple life and the simple joys of the village, and endeavoured to maintain the simple system of indigenous self-government, the social crisis with which India is threatened to-day might have been averted." But simple joys of this kind are more compatible with a vegetative existence not disturbed by high endeavour or deep thought, which however unpleasant, bring in their own reward in the development of a higher manhood. From homogeneity to heterogeneity, from simplicity to complexity of structure and organisation, is the order of evolution. Even if we wanted to lead a bucolic existence, the invaders from beyond our borders or from over the seas would not let us live in peace in our Sleepy Hollow. "India is probably further off the goal of real self-government now than she was three generations ago" is another of Mr. Bose's gloomy prognostications for which we see no justification. Three generations ago, we expected to have self-government merely on the strength of our ability to quote Burke and Mill; now we have gained greater insight into the actualities of the situation, consequently our politics is becoming saner and deeper, and at the same time we are proving by our achievements in many directions our fitness for self-government. The force of enlightened public opinion has generated a large fund of ideas in our favour both here and in other foreign countries which is sure to make its effect felt in diverse ways. It is the first steps in the struggle which are the most difficult to climb, and pessimism in face of the difficulties in our way can only lead to disaster, since to go back is impossible. The one fundamental gain to India in the political sphere is the development in the Indian character of a previously unknown virtue—patriotism. The national-

istic impulse has within the last ten years given a correct orientation to this virtue, which was manifesting a tendency to lose itself in an amorphous universalism; it has contributed immensely to our growing sense of self-respect and made us more self-reliant and reverential towards the traditions and culture of our own race and country. Mr. Bose's book is itself a strong proof of this fact, and if we are not thrown off our balance by his lugubrious half-truths, it will help the efforts of the nationalists to prevent the denationalisation of the Hindu race. The intense love and admiration for the traditions of our indigenous civilisation which is evident in every page of the volume before us would be impossible to associate with a man in Mr. Bose's position even a decade or two ago.

Mr. Bose is nothing if not thorough, and he will not even allow us to rest under the comfortable belief that though the evils he has pointed out are inseparable from a transitional stage, they will cure themselves in course of time. Indeed, the last chapter, in which he discusses the matter, is the most mournful in the whole book. Here he sums up his views, and deliberately opines that the present world war may prove to be the beginning of the end of western civilisation. "It is unquestionable," says Mr. Bose, "that there are features of Hindu society which are also lamentable but not to the extent those of western society are." The movement towards western civilization is in his opinion, 'not progress but regress, not ascent but descent.' The history of any idea or movement may be divided into three stages—that of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Our wholesale admiration for western civilisation corresponded to the first stage; the reaction against it—of which Mr. Bose's book is an extreme example—fostered by the nationalist impulse, corresponds to the second stage; and we have already entered on the third stage of reconciliation of the two opposing movements into a higher synthesis in which all that is great and good in occidental civilisation will be added to and assimilated by oriental civilisation.

Mr. Bose recognises that "as in this world the soul cannot remain without a body, material progress up to a certain point is the necessary antecedent to ethical and spiritual development." Yet, he is never tired of declaiming against the mate-

realistic tendencies of western civilisation. At the same time he considers that the real condition of the masses in the west is extremely deplorable, and that there is much more degradation among them than among the corresponding classes in India. The drink evil and the factory system are no doubt responsible for a great deal of squalor and misery among the European peoples, but to describe the material condition of the people in India as in any way better, is to be guilty of cruel insensibility to the appalling misery of their lives. The socialists and labourites are already a power in the West, and they as well as the governing classes are quite alive to the condition of the masses, and are doing a good deal by social and industrial legislation and in other ways to ameliorate the conditions of the working classes. A single case of cholera in a remote provincial town in the backwoods of Germany is flashed across the wires by Reuter from one end of the continent to the other. Here in India, when the sun dries up all the available sources of drinking water, cholera sweeps off millions annually, and nobody knows. The premature death of a score of men by accident or from any preventible cause gives rise to animated debates in Parliament and leads to the appointment of Royal Commissions of Enquiry. Famine has been banished from Europe and America. 'In England now want of food is scarcely ever the direct cause of death' says Dr. Marshall. The yearly death-roll from malarial fever in India exceeds the ravages of the present world-war. Mr. Bose himself bears ample testimony to the 'monumental poverty' of India, where a fifth of the population, according to Sir William Hunter, live on the brink of starvation. Human life is not held so cheap in the west as in India. There it was that the political equality of every man—the right to live and to grow freely—was first recognised. In looking over the pages of the *American Sociological Review*, we came across a series of articles on 'Chicago Housing Conditions,' in which there are some photographic reproductions of the poor with their belongings, living in the slums and the back tenements. The houses, apartments, clothes and furniture of these 'poor' people are an eloquent commentary on the comfortable theory that they are more miserable than our Indian poor, nor do they look like the wretched

starvelings with whom we are so familiar. The masses in India cannot simply dream of these luxuries. The fact that a married couple have to live with 3, 4 or 5 children in the same room (of which the dimensions are given) is repeatedly represented in the articles as a great grievance. The rented house in the Moffusil town where the present writer lives has only one sleeping room, occupied by a married couple and four children, the dimensions of which are smaller than those of many of the apartments mentioned in the articles of Chicago; nor is the room so well furnished as most of the apartments of these slum-dwellers, though the head of the family would refer to has, with one or two exceptions, the largest income in the town. And yet how unceasing, vigilant, and wide-spread the movement and how steady the stream of public benevolence for the amelioration of these poorer classes in the 'materialistic west, and what a sad contrast they present to the apathy of 'spiritualistic' India in these respects! In fact, the very success of the agitation on behalf of the poor, and the glowing descriptions of their miserable condition by philanthropists in western lands, make us imagine that they are worse off than they are.

Anyone who is well-read in English fiction must have observed that the characters depicted in the novels often act from motives which seem to us to be highly sentimental and stake their all for interests which appears in our eyes little short of the quixotic. The fact is that man does not live by bread alone, and when his material wants are fairly satisfied, he cannot but be actuated in the ordinary play and interaction of life by abstract desires, ideals and aspirations which bear no relation to mere physical necessities, and are more or less spiritual in character. The morality of peasants has been characterised by C. H. Pearson as "an absolute concentration of the mind upon small economics, or it may be, small pilferings, and a thorough deadening of the moral sense." The cultivators form the vast majority of the masses in India, but how few are there among the prosperous peasantry of East Bengal who can resist the temptation of watering their jute and how many in all Bengal who do not readily swallow the bait of the village tout? Galdos, the Spanish novelist, seems to us to have struck the true note in the

following passage, which is borne out by our intimate experience of rural society:

"There has been much declamation against the materialism of cities.....but there is a more terrible plague in the materialism of villages which petrifies millions of human beings, killing all noble ambition in them, and confining them within the circle of a mechanical, brutal and gloomy existence.....Under his [the villager's] hypocritical frankness is concealed a sombre arithmetic, which for acuteness and perspicacity, surpasses all that the cleverest mathematicians have desired."

Dr. Marshall makes a similar observation with regard to the petty traders, shopkeepers and bankers, who flourish in our villages:

"Among races whose intellectual capacity seems not to have developed in any other direction, and who have none of the originating power of the modern business man, there will be found, many who show an evil sagacity in driving a hard bargain in a market even with their neighbours. No traders are more unscrupulous in taking advantage of the necessities of the unfortunate than are the corn dealers and money lenders of the East."

The deserted villages of Bengal bear eloquent testimony not to the ravages of malaria alone, but also to the atmosphere of low cunning and pestilential intrigue which pervades them, though the people are generally innocent of an English education. Only inward grace can give the highest things in life, but money can give us the means of using them to the best advantage, as the Sanskrit poets, who have so many fine passages on the deleterious effects of chill penury on the genial current of the soul, knew well enough. In the Western desire to increase the comforts and the facilities of life Mr. G. L. Dickinson sees 'a great impulse which may fairly be called spiritual.' "The West," he adds, "is doing more than it knows it is doing; it is endeavouring to lift the general level of material life in order that there may be more leisure, more education, more capacity and opportunity for that impassioned reflection on life which is the essence of what I mean by culture." And he concludes his essay on the civilisation of the East thus:

"I expect the East to follow us, into all excesses, and to go right through, not round, all that we have been through, on its way to a higher phase of civilisation. In short, I believe that.....the East will.....become as "materialistic" (to use the word) as the West, before it can recover a new and genuine spiritual life."

India was not oppressed by the *taedium vitæ* and keenly appreciated the good things of the world in the days of the

Rig-veda and the Mahabharata; the age represented by the immortal Kalidasa tingled with the joy of life in every vein; the beauty of living form and inanimate nature threw him into raptures and inspired him into finest expression: it was only the philosophers—the followers of Kapila and Buddha who were obsessed by the weariness of existence, but Madhava Acharya in the fourteenth century wrote in his *Sarva-Darshana-Samgraha* that the masses of men, considering wealth and desire the only ends of life, and denying the existence of any object belonging to a future world, only follow the doctrine of Charvaka the atheist, whose teachings are therefore hard to eradicate. Nor is the cry of materialism confined to the East. Guizot dealt with it nearly a century ago in his *History of Civilisation in Europe*. Progress, according to him, was the fundamental idea conveyed by the word 'civilisation.' This progress consists of two factors—the development of society and the development of humanity. An increasing production and a more equitable distribution of the means of giving strength and happiness to society constitutes the first factor. But is it all? he asks. And he answers:

"It is almost as if we asked: is the human species after all a mere ant-hill, a society in which all that is required is order and physical happiness, in which the greater the amount of labour, and the more equitable the division of the fruits of labour, the more surely is the object attained, the progress accomplished? Our instinct at once feels repugnant to so narrow a definition of human destiny."

Besides the development of the social state, there is thus another and an equally necessary element of civilisation, viz., the development of the individual man. And the association between these two elements is intimate.

"When a great change is accomplished in the state of a country, when there is operated in it a large development of wealth and power, a revolution in the distribution of the social means, this new fact encounters adversaries, undergoes opposition; this is inevitable. What is the general cry of the adversaries of the change? They say that this progress of the social state does not ameliorate, does not regenerate, in like manner, in a like degree, the moral, the internal state of man; that it is a false, delusive progress, the result of which is detrimental to morality, to man. The friends of social development energetically repel this attack; they maintain, on the contrary, that the progress of society necessarily involves and carries with it the progress of morality; that when the external life is better regulated, the internal life is refined and purified."

But history teaches that

"All the great developments of the internal man have turned to the profit of society; all the great developments of the social state to the profit of individual man. We find the one or the other of the two facts predominating, manifesting itself with striking effect, and impressing upon the movement in progress a distinctive character." "A revolution is accomplished in the state of society; it is better regulated, rights and property are more equitably distributed, amongst members—that is to say, the aspect of the world becomes purer and more beautiful, the action of government, the conduct of men in their mutual relations, more just, more benevolent. Do you suppose that this improved aspect of the world, this amelioration of external facts, does not react upon the interior of man, upon humanity?"

And Guizot answers that a world better regulated and more just renders man himself more just, that the inward is reformed by the outward, as the outward by the inward, and that the two elements of civilisation are closely connected the one with the other. If the spiritual element in civilisation had been so prominent in modern India—and it is with Modern India, and not with the India of our sacred literature, that we have to deal—its counterpart and complement, social progress, would have flowed from it sooner or later and there would have been no necessity to bewail the stagnation in the social state. That Hindu society is what it is to-day proves that our much-vaunted spiritual progress is the greatest of all our illusions, and all the illusions of New India which Mr. Bose has taken such pains to expose, pale into insignificance before it. "In every stage of civilisation," says Dr. Marshall, the leading authority on economics in England, "in which the power of money has been prominent, poets in verse and prose have delighted to depict a past truly 'Golden Age,' before the pressure of mere material gold had been felt.

Their idyllic pictures have been beautiful and have stimulated noble imaginations and resolves; but they have had very little historic truth. Small communities with simple wants for which the bounty of nature has made abundant provision, have indeed sometimes been nearly free from care about their material needs, and have not been tempted to sordid ambitions. But whenever we can penetrate to the inner life of a crowded population under primitive conditions in our own time, we find more want, more narrowness, and more hardness, than was manifest at a distance and we never find a more widely diffused comfort alloyed by less suffering than exists in the western world today."

Dr. Marshall says that the artisan classes in England now outnumber the unskilled labourers, and "some of them already lead a more refined and noble life than did the majority of the upper classes even a century ago" and adds:

"This progress has done more than anything else to give practical interest to the question whether it is really impossible that all should start in the world with a fair chance of leading a cultured life free from the pains of poverty and the stagnating influences of excessive mechanical toil; and this question is pressed to the front by the growing earnestness of the age."

We hope this is not the type of western materialism which are asked to renounce. To say this, however, is not to deny the high spiritual value of some of our ancient religious ideals and social institutions and practices, but their influence on our present-day life has been reduced to a minimum, and it is sheer cant to dwell on the *Sattvic* character of our village life. We are steeped in *Tamasic* inactivity, and the sooner we recognise this the greater is our chance of recovering our glorious ancient heritage by assimilating the best that the west has to teach us with the highest elements of our indigenous culture and civilisation.

POLITICUS.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

1. ENGLISH POETS AND THE NATIONAL IDEAL: by E. de Selincourt, Professor of English in the University of Birmingham. Oxford University Press. 1915. Price 2-6d net.

Under the above heading are collected together four lectures delivered before the University of

Birmingham. They are intended to furnish ideas and inspiration in these times of stress, by drawing upon the spiritual resources of English poetry. The author says that the idea of patriotism has developed with the growth of civilisation. Shakespeare's whole reading of history, for instance, is aristocratic. He concentrates the history of the nation in the deeds of its leaders and the people are of small account to him. "And the first lesson that he read in pas

history was the imperative need for national unity. The house divided against itself cannot stand."

"This England never did, nor ever shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
But when it first did help to wound itself—
Nought shall make us rue
If England to herself do rest but true."

"In the roll of heroic Englishmen, there is no sublimer figure, no more inspiring example, than John Milton." The one passionate belief of Milton's life was the necessity of liberty as the essential preliminary of all development, both personal and national. He hated nothing so much as 'ignoble ease and painful sloth':

"What more oft in nations grown corrupt
Than to love bondage more than liberty,
Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty?"

In his best known prose pamphlet, *Areopagitica*, Milton stands out as the grandest advocate of ideal freedom. The favourite claptrap of modern Jingoism of the East and the West being fundamentally dissimilar did not commend itself to him, for he wrote: "Who knows not that there is a mutual bond of amity and brotherhood between man and man all over the world, neither is it the English sea that can sever us from that duty and relation." He has also the insight to perceive that one cannot be free at home and a despot elsewhere, "for such is the nature of things, that he who entrenches on the liberty of others, is the first to lose his own and become a slave." Wordsworth's intense patriotism is reflected in the following lines:

"We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held."

And yet he did not forget that

"By the soul
Only, the nations shall be great and free"

Into the cause of oppressed peoples Byron flung himself with a noble ardour. He gave to Greece not only the noblest of his songs ('The Isles of Greece'), but his life. He and Shelley kept the ideal of liberty alive in England.

Tennyson believed, and rightly, that

"The song that nerves a nation's heart
Is in itself a deed,"

and laid down the ideal of cultured patriotism thus:

"Love thou thy land, with love far-brought
From out the storied past, and used
Within the present, but transfused
Thro' future time by power of thought."

But "the freedom that he extols is the freedom of a cultured middle class. She is 'sober-suited,' and can be trusted not to soil her clothes. He had no real love of the people, and no sympathy with the modern movement towards democracy. . . . His advocacy of law and precedent has just that half-truth which has given plausibility to all the obstruction of all the ages." "He never admitted the immense debt of the whole civilised world to the genius of France, to her lucidity of mind, her generous impulses, her idealism, to the sacrifices that she has made for the cause of freedom." It was reserved for George Meredith to give eloquent expression in verse to what the world owes to France. "One of the brightest aspects of the present situation is that

now, though late, England is learning something of the true nobility of France." For those who felt deeply the claims of nationality, the most inspiring event in the nineteenth century, perhaps in the history of the world, was the heroic struggle of Italy for national unity and independence. To Landor, Clough, Rossetti, the two Brownings, Meredith, Italy became a symbol of the noblest conceptions of patriotism. But of all English singers Swinburne was stirred by Italy to noblest poetic utterance. His *Songs before Sunrise*, which form the most impassioned collection of hymns to liberty in the English language, have Italy as their main inspiring theme. England, in taking up the cause of Belgium, has fulfilled Mrs. Browning's ideal:

"Happy are all free nations,
too strong to be dispossessed,
But blessed are they among nations,
that dare to be strong for the rest."

Let us hope that the generous impulse which is said to have actuated England in the present war will not exhaust itself in the effort to restore Belgium, but will manifest its beneficent activity in the cause of her great Dependency, which has given of its best for her sake at this critical juncture of her history.

II.—NATIONALITY AND EMPIRE: by *Bepin Chandra Pal*. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co. 1916.

The book purports to be 'a running study of some current Indian problems.' It is a collection of essays first published in this and other reviews. The author admits that some fundamental ideas occur again and again in these essays. They are shortly these: An isolated sovereign and independent India was hitherto the goal of the Indian nationalist. But this ideal is impossible of realisation, regard being had to the Chinese rejuvenescence and the Pan-Islamic ferment. "The sixty millions of Mahomedans in India, if inspired with Pan-Islamic aspirations, joined to the Islamic principalities and powers that stand both to our west and our north-west, may easily put an end to all our nationalist aspirations, almost at any moment, if the present British connection be severed. The four hundred millions of the Chinese Empire can not only gain an easy footing in India, but once that footing is gained, they are the only people under the sun who can hold us down by sheer superior physical force." The Pan-Islamist, according to their own leading exponents, are Mo lems first and Indians afterwards, which means that, in case of any conflict between non-Moslem India and any Islamic power, the Indian Mahomedans would sympathise with and support their Moslem co-religionists outside India. This is a serious menace to Hindus, and so also is the Pan-Mongol awakening. Mr. Pal claims the fullest freedom and right of development for the Mahomedan states of Europe and Asia and Africa, but he would have the Mahomedans of India abandon their 'extra-territorial patriotism', and while maintaining the fullest right of expansion for their special cultural needs, they should, in his opinion, combine with the Hindus to form a composite Indian nationality. If Pan-Mongolism and Pan-Islamism are a menace to Indian nationality, they are no less a danger to the British rule in India, so long as the people of India remain weak and helpless, unable to resist any outside attack or lend any strength to the British arms. The only way to avert this danger which is looming on the horizon is for England to combine with India and the colonies on a Federal basis, and accept India

as a co-partner and an equal among equals in a great scheme of Imperial federation. The 'Empire-idea' is superior to the nation-idea, because it is a step nearer to the ultimate goal of the universal federation of humanity. The federal idea is an old one in India, and quite familiar to the social system of the Hindus. India is too vast and diversified to form one political unit. The only conceivable principle of union for the various provinces of India is federalism. A federated India in a federated Empire is the line of political evolution indicated for the Nationalists. The British are a notoriously practical people, and Mr. Pal sees in the creation of an enclave at Delhi and the promise of provincial autonomy sure signs that British statesmen are quite alive to the new situation created by the Pan-Mongol and the Pan-Islamic menace in world-politics. The Boy Scout movement should be encouraged by the Government so that the people may feel that the Government is not afraid to arm them for purposes of self-defence, and in order to afford a legitimate outlet for the self-sacrificing enthusiasm and the desire for self-assertion and self-expansion which is natural to youth. Loyalty should not be divorced from patriotism, as in case of a conflict between these two sentiments the latter is sure to prevail. Anarchism is fostered by the conviction that there is an irreconcilable and hopeless antagonism between the interests of the people and of the foreign government that rules over them. The Government should identify itself completely with the cause of the people. The idealism of the political criminals should be given scope for achievement at the same time that their crimes are punished. The Executive Council of the Viceroy should not be manned by permanent officials, however experienced. This is never done in England, and for good reason. The chief function of the Council is to initiate policy, to formulate the principles which must govern the state, and to adopt such changes in the machinery and working of the government as the evolving conditions of the country must from time to time call for. And long official training, instead of being a help is inevitably a very serious hindrance to this work.

Mr. Pal has a grasp of the basic facts of Hindu civilisation and culture, and seems to be well read in political philosophy. All his arguments are cast in a philosophic mould, and contain ample food for serious thinking. He has also a good knowledge of European politics derived from intimate personal contact. He has, however, all his life been a keen fighter, and some of the blows which he aims at the 'moderates' and others who do not think in all matters with him seem to us rather uncharitable and uncalled for. He poses as a candid friend of India, and is never slow to point out wherein he differs from the average Congress politician. But divested of its philosophical trappings, there seems to be about as much difference between his goal and that of the moderates as, to use a colloquialism, between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. His own special contribution to Indian political thought in this volume is that Great Britain must come down from her pedestal of the dominant arbiter to the position of an equal partner in order to satisfy the sober section of Nationalists who do not desire sovereign independence for India, and that in view of the Pan-Islamic and Pan-Mongol menace, England will be forced to do so. "The Government of India must gradually cease to be autocratic, and become more and more truly representative of the highest thought and culture of India, controlled and worked by the composite Indian people, through their accredited

spokesmen and officers, just as the Colonial Governments are—before it will be able to completely reconcile itself to the legitimate requirements of the Nationalist ideal." It is not easy to perceive the difference between this ideal and the colonial form of self-government which is the ideal of the 'moderates'. Mr. Pal seems to find a pleasure in upsetting all current political convictions in his desire to be original, and the reaction against the extravagant claims of western civilisation has sometimes led him to reject western ideas in rather too wholesale fashion. His condemnation of those who habitually 'nag' at the government will certainly surprise the bureaucrats who were not accustomed to count him among their friends. Some of the topics dealt with belong so entirely to the domain of contemporary politics that they might well have been avoided in a work which may justly claim a high level of merit and the book might with advantage be compressed and condensed to nearly half its size. The real value of the volume before us lies in our opinion in the subtle analysis of the nationalist problem and its true relation to Indian conditions, and in the thoughtful suggestions and masterly generalisations not always relevant to the main theme, with which it is interspersed. One or two such passages may be quoted to show how finely Mr. Pal can express himself. Discussing what the people have gained by the Partition agitation, he says: "A new self-consciousness is the most important of these—and a new sense of power, a new ambition for adequate achievement, a new desire to find their legitimate place among the makers of modern history and humanity, and above all, they have gained a new sensitiveness and a new idealism. To shape, to direct, to develop and help such promising elements of a nation's rejuvenated life and their true and legitimate fulfilment is a task that might lure the gods. It is an achievement for which no labour and no sacrifice would count too hard and too costly. But our sun-dried bureaucrat is no idealist." Again, "The Indian Nationalist has yet to learn the supreme truth that the highest and truest fulfilment of Nationalism is not really inside, but beyond itself [in universal federation]. Indeed, this unceasing call of the Beyond is the soul of all idealism. It is the incentive of the devotee, the inspiration of the poet, the intoxication of the martyr, and the dynamic element in all human evolution. The man or woman who is not impelled by this call of the Beyond, even in the midst of the pursuit of his or her immediate objects of life, does not live, but simply vegetates. This call of the Beyond is the sign and the covenant of our Divine origin and destiny. The individual who hears not this call, is killed by the deadweight of his own individualism. A nation that sees and seeks nothing beyond its own isolated and narrow national interests and pursues only these with deathless determination, is destined to be consumed to ashes by its own heat." Yes; but a Nation must fully realise itself before it can think of usefulness abroad. Why will strong units federate with a weak one instead of keeping it down?

The book is neatly printed and strongly bound, and covers nearly 400 pages, and is furnished with a useful index. We are confident that this book will help to clear the minds of Indian and British politicians alike of many of the cobwebs which confuse the ultimate issues before them and will thus render a highly patriotic service to the country.

Sarkar. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8. 1916.

This volume contains chapters on the Imperial family and court, moral and religious regulations, relations with the outer Muslim world, the Islamic State Church, and Hindu (Sikh) reaction. There are also chapters on the invasion of Rajputana and Assam, Mirjuma, Saista Khan and the Feringis of Chittagong, and the Afgan war. No one is more punctilious in verifying his facts than Mr. Sarkar, but his history is not merely a catalogue of dates and facts. Chapters like that on the Islamic State Church are well worth study by the philosophic student of history. The author writes in a simple, perspicuous style. His deep scholarship, critical acumen and infinite capacity for taking pains and diving into unexplored regions of original research are evident at every page. A chronology and bibliography enhance the value of the book. We are glad to learn from the preface that the fourth volume will soon be published. Mr. Sarkar has set up a new standard of historical scholarship in India, and the flourishing school of Bengali historians owe no little of their inspiration to his high example. The printing, paper, binding, and the general get up are in the best possible style. The history, when completed, is sure to be the standard work on Aurangzib's life and times.

IV. SELECTED WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF K. T. TELANG. *Manoranjana Press, Girgaum, Bombay. 1916.*

Nearly one hundred pages are taken up by a scholarly article in which the late Justice Telang refuted Weber's absurd theory, that the Ramayana of Valmiki was copied from Homer. This is followed by an Essay on Free-trade and Protection, and extracts from some political speeches. The volume ends with two social papers, one being a reply to the late B. M. Malabari's Note on infant marriage and enforced widowhood, and the other on "Must social reform precede political reform in India?" The latter is in the form of a lecture, and well worth perusal. Political work teaches us the value of compromise and conciliation, which, according to Justice Telang, are very salutary lessons to learn in the sphere of social reform. He then refers to the Peshwa regime and quotes instances to show that "there was a liberalising process going on, which, if I may be permitted to use that figure, makes one's mouth water in these days. . . . I confess I am strongly inclined to draw the inference that if Peshwa rule had continued a little longer, several of the social reforms which are now giving us and the British Government so much trouble, would have been secured with immensely greater ease." The book is neatly got up, and contains well-executed portraits of some of the prominent leaders of the Bombay presidency, and an introduction from the facile and able pen of Mr. D. E. Wacha gives us the salient features of Mr. Telang's life and public activities.

V. PRINCIPLES OF THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN INDIA: by the Rev. William Miller, C. I. E., D. D., LL. D. *The Christian Literature Society for India. 1916. Price 2 annas.*

This pamphlet is intended to be a reply to one in which the Hon'ble Mr. Sriivasa Sastri maintains that no aid from public funds should be given to schools and colleges which make instruction in the Christian (or any other) religion an integral part of the education they afford.

—POL.

IMPROVEMENT OF TOBACCO CROP.—In his small pamphlet "How to Improve the Tobacco Crop of India" Mr. I. B. De Mazumdar, B.A., M.Sc. (Cornell), has described some aspects in which the improvement of the tobacco crop in India may be effected. He has mainly dealt with the following points :—

1. Improvement of the crop by breeding and selection—The best and selected plants should be bagged for seeds to prevent cross-fertilisation. The lighter seeds should be separated and the stouter and heavier seeds should be used. This may insure heavier yield and uniform crop. Selection of the best seeds is a point which is very essential for tobacco.

2. Adoption of up-to-date methods of curing :—The quality of tobacco depends much on curing. Experience is necessary to find out the stage at which harvesting should be done. Though Mr. Mazumdar has dwelt upon some theories on curing and the methods of harvesting, he has not said anything on the practical method of improving the cultivation and the curing of the Indian tobaccos. The theories will not be of any help to the practical tobacco-growers unless a definite system of curing can be suggested suitable to the soil and climate. Most of the improvements effected in America have been for cigar and cigarette tobaccos such as shade-curing and flue-curing. These tobaccos are very little grown in India. We are at present mainly interested in the tobaccos used for "Hukka" and for Burmese trade. No suggestion has been made about improving these tobaccos.

3. Introduction of Superior Varieties from other countries :—Introduction and acclimatisation of foreign tobaccos is a difficult business. Mr. Mazumdar refers only to the Cuban and Sumatra tobaccos. He has also referred to the close planting for Sumatra and heavy rate of manures but does not show any practical method by which the crop can be successfully grown and cured. It will no doubt be a good plan if the exotic varieties can be introduced with success. For this we shall have to look to the experimental results of the Government Burirhat Farm, Rungpur. Flue-curing of cigarette tobacco has been tried there but no market has yet been created. Sumatra for cigar wrapper has been grown with some success.

Tobacco is a very sensitive crop; its cultivation and curing require very careful and intelligent supervision. Good results cannot be obtained by the use of good seeds only. The best crop is grown on sandy soil; tobacco which grows on light clay loam grows large but is not of good quality.

The following points should be remembered in the cultivation of tobaccos (Vide Pusa Bulletin No. 50 of 1915 by Howards of Pusa).

1. The small size of the tobacco seed and the fact that it contains a small amount of reserve material necessitate great care in the preparation and manuring of the seed beds.

2. The rate of growth of seedlings is increased by frequently breaking the surface of the beds, by the addition of fresh earth and by thinning.

3. There is no danger of the seedlings damping off provided the seed beds have been properly prepared. If this disease appears in improperly prepared beds, it can be checked by cultivation and mulching with ordinary earth.

4. The spacing of the seedlings in the seed beds is most important so that strong, stocky plants may be obtained. Weak, crowded and drawn

seedlings do not stand the transplanting process well.

5. In transplanting the plants should be taken up with balls of earth, and for this purpose the time and method of watering the seed beds are important.

6. The real object of cultivation in the case of tobacco is to supply the roots with abundant air in such a manner that the moisture is not lost.

7. Organic matter in sufficient amount is essential for the tobacco crop.

8. Cross-fertilisation is common in tobacco so that the seed of any improved variety will have to be raised under bag.

9. Large heavy seeds give better results than light, badly grown seeds.

Anyone interested in this crop may derive much help from the above bulletin and also from a Bengali book "Tamakur Chas" by Babu Jamini Kumar Biswas, B.A., Supdt. Burihat Farm.

DEBENDRA NATH MITRA, L. Ag.
Agricultural Officer, Faridpur.

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT.

The Library of Jaina Literature (1.) Vol. II. THE NYAYAVATARA : The earliest Jaina work on Pure Logic by Siddhasena Divakara (The celebrated Kshapanaka of Vikramaditya's Court) with Sanskrit text and commentary edited for the first time with notes and English translation by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan, Siddhanta-Mahodadhi, M. A., Ph. D., F. I. R. S., Principal, Sanskrit College Calcutta, Author of the Medieval School of Indian Logic, etc., etc., Pp. 49. Price Re. 1 or 1s. 6d.

(2) Vol. III. THE NYAYAKARNIKA, A work on Jaina Logic by Sri Vinaya Vijaya Maharaj, edited with Introduction, English Translation and Critical Notes by Mohanlal D. Desai, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, Bombay High Court, and Hon. Editor, The Jaina Svetambara Conference Herald, etc. Pp. 58. Price Re. 1. or 1s. 6d.

Publisher Kumar Devendra Prasad, The Central Publishing House, Arrah (India).

Mr. Kumar Devendra Prasad of the Central Jaina Publishing House of Arrah whose unflinching enthusiasm for the sacred cause of Jainism is being daily evinced in several cases is to be rightly congratulated upon his organising the various series of useful books on Jainism in which "The Library of Jaina Literature" is included.

Now it must be admitted on all hands that the Jaina Logic has contributed to a great extent to the development of Indian Logic in general. And so the "Nyayavatara" which is believed to be the first work on the subject by a celebrated ancient author like Siddhasena Divakara rightly deserves to be read with profit by those who take any interest in it. The book is a very little one consisting only of twenty-three stanzas in Sanskrit. The commentary as published in extracts seems to be very useful. It is not known why the editor has not published this commentary in its entirety.

It appears that more care should have been taken in editing both the books under notice. There are several inaccuracies in them. As for instance, in the "Nyayavatara" p. 46. ll. 3, 6, 18, and p. 47, l. 5 the readings are to be, we think, प्रमाचयकारित्वात्, not

प्रमाच—, वैषयिकसुखातीत— not वैषयिकं सुखा— ; कृति-
प्रतैक— not साभिप्रे— ; and परस्पर विश्ववर्तितौ सामान-
विशेषै, not विश्वकलितौ—विश्वपरै respectively. The reading of the fourth line of the Stanza 26 as adopted seems to be doubtful and likewise that of the first line of the next Stanza 27 can hardly be defended. The former runs as follows :—वाद्युक्ते सुगुणे प्रोक्तदोषाणामु-
भावनम्. Here according to the grammar उ द भा व न म् of which the correct form is उ द्भा व न म् as has also been taken by the commentator, cannot be admitted, but the metre requires a word like this. The editor is naturally expected here to give vent to his own view regarding it, but he has said nothing. Similarly the Stanza 27 is a defective one. The adopted reading is सकलावरणमुक्तात्मकेव यत् प्रकाशते. Here the first line though grammatically correct and accepted and explained by the commentator cannot obviously be regarded owing to the metre as a genuine one, for it contains nine letters instead of eight. The original reading may have been something like सकलावरणे-
न्युक्तम् the word आत्म (आत्मन्) in the adopted reading being a superfluous one.

In the "Nayakarnika," too, there are some very simple errors both in the text and Padapathas. See verses 12, 13, and 19. The reading of the first half of the verse 18 seems not to be original.

According to the mention as made by the commentator of the "Nayavatara" Dharmottara and Archatu, both Buddhists, appear to have been other two commentators of the said work. Samtanka who is twice mentioned in the commentary (pp. 31, 32) has not been noticed by the editor in his introduction. Evidently he was a renowned logician.

The explanation in English made by the learned editor is worthy of his name. He has tried his best to make the text very easy.

The "Nayakarnika" describes 'nyayas' or the stand-points of the Jaina Metaphysicians. "Nayavada" or the Philosophy of standpoints is a special and unique feature of Jaina Logic on which volumes have been devoted by the ancient teachers. Our author Vinayavijaya (17th century A. D.) has, however, dealt with the subject only in twenty-three verses which are very simple and free of all technicalities and cover together with translation etc., only 21 pages of the present volume. The book has been edited following the line adopted in the 'Sacred Books of Hindus' Series, giving Padapathas, notes, etc.

Both the books seem to have been very highly priced.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT.

TARKASARA (An Easy Treatise on Tarkashashtra for Beginners) by P. S. Anantha Narayana Shastri. Printers and Publishers : The Mangalodayam Co. Ltd., Trichur, Cochin State. Pp. 64., Price As. 6.

The books on the Hindu Logic in Sanskrit are generally very difficult owing to their technicality and phraseology. Pandit Anantha Narayana with the object of obviating this difficulty daily experienced by beginners has made the categories enumerated in the "Vaiseshika Darshana" very easy by entirely

avoiding or in some cases clearly explaining the obstacles alluded to. The book deserves to be widely circulated among the student class.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

BENGALI.

GHARE BAIRE (*At Home and in the Outer World*), a n. v. l. by Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore. iv—294. (Indian Press, Aichabad.) Re. 1. 4 as.

Rabindranath's four novels, *Chokher Bali*, *Nauka Udai*, *Gora* and *Ghare Baire*, form a class apart. Their literary method is the same as that of Jane Austen. There is in them hardly any action in the plot, no deed of romantic importance, no sudden or striking change in scene or incident (except in the last two of the quartette, and that too in a limited degree). The dramatis personæ live at the same place; they practically go through the prosaic incidents of our everyday life. But their lives are anything but humdrum, and the plot is anything but simple. The change in their inner world, the development of their character through these seemingly prosaic incidents, is marvellous, and extorts our supreme admiration for the author. His analysis of character is as deep as it is clever; but, with the highest literary art, it is never obtruded on our attention. By gentle and subtle touches, which we almost ignore when we first read them, but which persistently continue, he unfolds the changes in the characters of his figures till at last we are startled by their cumulative effect. The man who has read only the first and the last chapters, is shocked by the change in the heart of the hero or heroine and is tempted to cry out that it is unnatural, incredible. But the reader who has gone through the whole story, never detects the contrast, never feels a shock, unless he harks back to the very beginning,—the transition has been so gradual, so artistically unfolded, and the logic of incidents is so pitilessly true. There has been nothing like it in Bengali literature and not many in English fiction.

Ghare Baire is richer in incident and warmth of colour than the other three novels of Rabindranath, but that does not alter our view of its proper genre as a work of art. It deals with the Swadeshi movement which swept like a cyclone over Bengal, ten years ago, working untold havoc no doubt, but also, let us hope, scattering the seeds of a new and nobler life in many places and sending a fresh and purifying flood through many a stagnant pool of self-centred existence. Its moral is that taught long long ago by our poet:

*Jaya, jaya, Satyer jaya !
Jaya, jaya, Mangalmaya !*

"Triumph Truth, triumph Goodness!" He here shows that not by violence and fraud, not by the deliberate concealment or ignoring of the unpleasant truths about our countrymen, not by sinful excess, not by a wild orgy of unbridled passion, can national freedom be won; he shows that corporate ethics is not different from individual ethics, that righteousness exalteth nations no less truly than individuals.

Herein he agrees with Bankim Chandra, whose *Anandamath* is a long plea for a moral rebirth of all individuals, before the nation can truly rise. He agrees with Milton who sings—

Love virtue, she alone is free !

JADUNATH SARKAR.

HINDI.

MAHARAJ BARODA KA JIWAN CHARITRA, by B. Shivan-dhan Prasad Sinha, Editor of the *Arunodaya*, Benares City and published by him. Crown 8vo. pp. 42. Price—as. 6.

This seems to be a translation from some English book. The language is not good, but all the same the book will be found useful. The author has not been careful in using idiomatic Hindi. The book gives a satisfactory sketch of the life of the great Prince and so far it has to be commended.

MAIRI KAILASH YATRA, by Shree Swami Satyadeva and published by the Satyagrantha-Mala Office, Prayag. Crown 8vo. pp. 140. Price—as. 8.

Proceeding as it does from the pen of Swami Satyadeva, the book could not but be interesting. The adventurous author has made the tale of his adventures really interesting and the interest is added to by the characteristic manner of treatment which the author has made his own. The language is simple as usual and the book no doubt is a valuable publication on travel,—so rare in the Hindi Literature.

COLLEGE HOSTEL by Kunwar Chandkaran Sharada, B.A., LL.B., Ajmere and printed at the Vaidic Press, Ajmere. Foolscap 8vo. pp. 109. Price—as. 4.

This book, though in the form of a novel, is mainly instructive. The different features of hostel life are carefully portrayed, and the value of truthful independence (which resulted in a member of a College hostel becoming a pioneer of industrial pursuits) is pointed out. With all this, the book is singularly interesting. The author seems to have made a specialty in describing the playful and sometimes naughty tricks of certain students upon their fellow-students. The latter part of the book seems to smack of allegory, but even this has been so carefully handled, as to make this part no less interesting than the other. The printing is nice and the get-up excellent. The book will no doubt repay perusal. The frontispiece is adorned by a block of His Majesty the King Emperor.

MANI BASANT NATAK by Pandit Gopal Sharma, B.A. Published by Pandit Lakshmidhar Bajpaiya, Bagh Muzaffar Khan, Agra. Crown 8vo. pp. 175. Price—as. 10.

The author's aim seems to be to lay bare some social abuses in this country and he seems to have met with considerable success. But he has at times gone into much detail and this has marred the worth and interest of his book. The drama does not contain any poetry and is in the form of dialogues, which are sometimes very interesting. But the author has occasionally forgotten the dictates of proportion and carried his plot into what may not unfairly be termed extremes. On the whole, the book will be an interesting reading, but its price seems to be a little higher than what it deserves.

UDAY SAROJ by Pandit Rameshwar Prasad Sharma and to be had of the author at the Charitmala Office, Jubbulpore. Crown 8vo. pp. 186. Price—as. 10.

This is a historical novel and its plot has all the grandeur of the best historical novels hitherto published in Hindi. The hero is Uday Singh, Maharana of Chittore. The plot has been very carefully laid out and is not of a monotonous sort, being enlivened by variegated episodes. The style is good and the language correct. But the use of such words as सायत

(for perhaps) and वख्त in certain places is objectionable. On the whole, however, we commend the book strongly.

ALU KI KASHT published by Pandit Balaram Upadhyay, Raipur Grant, Dehradun and printed at the Garhwali Press, Dehradun. Demy 8vo. pp. 38. Price—as. 4.

This is a very useful publication on the cultivation of potatoes. All the scientific inferences on the subject have been got together in a practical way and the best methods of cultivating potatoes, in all their aspects, (viz., preparing the field, selecting seeds, giving manures and so forth) have been very carefully pointed out. Similar practical books should be widely read by the rural agriculturists.

SIRAJUDDOULA—by Pandit Gulzarilal Chaturvedi and published by Messrs. Haridas & Co., at the Narsinha Press, 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 467. Price Re. 1-12-0.

This is another adventure of Messrs. Haridas & Co., and the translation from the Bengali novel has been idiomatic and interesting. It gives a very lively picture of the life of Sirajuddoula—shrewd yet brave, politic yet wholly depraved through the indulgence of his grandfather. The plot is very dexterously laid and the book is interesting. The get-up has all the beauties with which the publications of the enterprising publishers are associated.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

(1) **ATMONNATI**, by Vihari, Printed at the Gondal Town Printing Press, Gondal, Kathiawad. Cloth bound, pp. 80. Price Re. 0-4-0. (1916).

(2) **BHAGAVAT PUSHPANJALI**, by Vihari, Printed at the Gondal Town Printing Press, Gondal, Kathiawad. Cloth bound, pp. 104. Price Re. 0-2-6 (1913).

Both these small books from the pen of one and the same author consist of verses. The first one contains verses on various subjects such as agriculture, language, play, devotion to God, loyalty, presenting more the features of a jumble-sale than anything else. The second is a "sama-shloki" translation of several portions of the Sanskrit Bhagvat. The author seems to be of opinion that he has achieved something out of the ordinary run, as he condemns almost all the present verse literature of Gujarat in his preface to the first book, but very few people will agree with him as to his complacent opinions about his work, which is as good or as bad as the other poems—of a kind allied to his—being turned out, at present.

BHAMINI VILAS, by Purushottam Jagibhai Bhatt, B. A., LL. B., of Rander, near Surat, printed at the Jain Vijaya Printing Press, Surat. Cloth bound, pp. 214. Price Re. 1. (1915).

This is a "Sama Shloki" translation into Gujarati of Pandit Jagannath's Bhamini Vilas. It is preceded by a preface in which the translator sets out his object, and says that he had done this work while still young and a student. He gives some particulars of the life of the famous Pandit, and has annotated in great

detail his work to explain its beauties. He has thus tried to render it useful and interesting.

DRAUPADI NI FARIYAD OR HAD DRAUPADI FIVE HUSBANDS ? by Maganlal Maniklal Jhaveri, printed at the Arya Sudharak Printing Press, Baroda, Paper Cover, Pp. 112. Price As. 8. (1916).

This writer has with commendable zeal undertaken to prove that Draupadi had only one husband and not five, as is the common belief. He has cast his thesis in the form of an address to a jury and he stands before the jury men as the counsel of the complainant Draupadi. Being still an amateur and a layman in addition, he has been unable to keep up the role of an advocate, and much of his address sounds as so much bombast. But he has worked up the thesis on sound lines. He follows the methods of Bankim Chandra Chatterji in his Krishna Charitra, and adopts his method of historical analysis, rejecting portions of the Mahabharat which appears to be spurious, when tested by certain common sense tests. By a study of the portion of the great work bearing on his subject, he has been able to make out a case shewing that Draupadi could have been married only to Arjuna and to no one else. Much of the work is imperfect, and as said above, strikes one as being that of an amateur, if not imitator. But after all it is spade work, and spade work is necessarily rough, and imperfect. It is enough if the book sets others thinking.

HINDIO ANE FIJI BET, by Kuberbhai Jhaverbhai Patel, printed at the Digvijayasinhji Printing Press, Limbdi. Paper cover, pp. 133. Price Re. 0-6-0 (1916).

Pandit Totaram Sanadhya has written his experiences in Fiji for twenty years in Hindi. These have been translated into Gujarati. We have all been made familiar with the horrors of the Emigration Camps, here as well as in the Colonies, by Mr. C. F. Andrews and others in the pages of the Modern Review. This book presents them in an equally realistic form.

LAGHU LEKHA SANGRAHA, PART II by Kallianji Vithalbhai Mehta, and Ratnasinh Dipsinh Parmar, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad and published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. Cloth bound, pp. 327. Price Re. 0-9-0 (1916).

This very readable book consists of three parts. The first is the story of a German spy's life, the second is the story told by Totaram Sanadhya (just noticed above) of life in Fiji, and the third contains narrations of several big battles on land and sea. One wonders whether there was room for two translations in Gujarati of Totaram's work, which seems to have exercised a strange fascination over translators.

• **VIDYARTHI BANDHU**, published by Shravak Bhimey Manek of Bombay, printed at the Anand Printing Press, Bhavnagar. Paper cover, pp. 52. Unpriced. (1916.)

John Tod's Students' Guide has furnished a model for this pamphlet-like book. Its object is to impress on students by precept and example several good habits in the early part of their life. We wonder whether the language would assist the writer in achieving his object with children. K. M. J.

GLEANINGS

Tokens of Belgian Gratitude.

It is still an arduous task to feed the Belgians—arduous, that is, in a sense different from enduring the trying sight of starving and suffering women and children. Every one in Belgium gets enough to eat now, but the Americans who work there distributing food and clothing find the task wearing on their self-control. The eyes fill and speech is made difficult by the efforts of the people to demonstrate their appreciation. Some of the ways this people take to show their gratitude to America are given below.—

Some months ago a motor-car belonging to the Commission for Relief in Belgium, through which has been distributed the vast quantity of food and provisions which America sent across the seas to the stricken nation, drove slowly through the streets of Louvain. The car flew the American flag, this being before the Germans prohibited such a thing on the theory, perhaps, that one flag, the German, was enough for a country. A woman, evidently of goodly station, well dressed, and refined, stepped in front of the machine, holding up her hand in signal to the American driver to stop. He did so, and the woman advanced toward the car. Paying not the

it. But the initials 'C. R. B.—Commission for Relief in Belgium—are known in every hamlet and village, at every crossing of the roads. One of these cars, whether it is laden with grain or if it is occupied only by officials traveling from one point to another, is speedily surrounded whenever it stops. Sometimes there are outward manifestation of welcome, men making speech with the travelers, and maybe a



A FLIGHT OF LIGHTER FANCY.

America, depicted on a flour-sack as a fairy god-mother, riding a swan guided by white doves, with train borne by gnomes, hastening to bring from her plenty for Belgium's relief.

cheer as the car moves on. But often the people stand simply silent, gazing, while the children hover about and gently touch the hems of the coats of these foreign benefactors.

Streets, squares, boulevards, and parks have been named after America. There are places named after President Wilson and Brand Whitlock, the American Minister to Belgium. Thus will their names be remembered in Belgium long after they and all others concerned are dead. In Liege there is an Avenue Sperry, after one of the Americans who superintended the distribution of food in that district.

When the "C. R. B." men come to leave, after their term of service has expired, the Belgians are enthusiastic in their demonstrations. Rhodes scholars and other college students, as well as business men who volunteer for limited time, are among those so favored. There are luncheons and dinners, speeches and farewell prayers.

The municipal fathers get together. Sometimes a watch is bought and formally presented, some of these have been most beautiful. Then there are cigaret-cases, medals of bronze, commemorating the work that has been done. And illuminated addresses, done on parchment—of these there are always a few, extolling the work of the individual, praising to the highest the country across the water whence he came. These are the intrinsically finer things. The finer still, in another way, are the offerings of the poor—bits of embroidery or lace, sometimes atrocious things artistically, perhaps, but all the more valued and valuable because of it.



AMERICA FEEDING BELGIAN CHILDREN.

An empty flour-sack, painted by the Belgian artist, Joseph Diericks, showing the bruised figure of Belgium offering the young for America to feed, while kissing the flag of that country.

slightest attention to either driver or his companions who looked curiously on, she approached the forward part of the car, from the engine-hood of which rose the American flag. Simply she lifted one of the folds of the tiny emblem, bent over and kissed it. Then turned without a word and walked on. And as the car resumed its journey there wasn't much conversation there either.

The American flag flies no more on motor-cars distributing food in Belgium—the Germans won't have

Lately the Belgians have struck upon a new idea of showing their appreciation. Thousands upon thousands of sacks of flour have been sent into the country, from America, from Canada, from all parts of the earth, except that lying immediately eastward. The sacks have been found useful. They have been made into underclothes for the children, but now some are being turned to a more picturesque use. Belgium is a nation of artistry, of painters, embroiderers, and workers in lace. These have now taken these flour-sacks and made use of them to set forth appreciations of their gratitude. Scores are pouring into the head offices of the relief commission in London. Sometimes the brands of the American millers are embroidered with silk, in brilliant blues, greens and reds. Often a genuine artist sets to work, making the poor texture of the sacking his canvas, and there with his brush interprets the feelings of his people. Many, most in fact, have little artistic merit, which does not matter in the least, but others have decided 'class.'

Quite recently, Mr. Hoover, chairman of the commission, received a beautiful model of a small sailing-vessel, with sails of silk and with decks laden with small silk sacks, labeled 'Flour.' The ship flew the American flag. And there was an enormous wooden shoe, useful as a jardiniere, patterned after the sabot of the peasant. It came from some commune in Belgium and was genuinely a work of art, with painted scenes and with scallops and beading of brass. One scene depicted a Belgian family standing on the seashore, with two children dancing their delight at the approach of two steamers from the setting sun which formed the background for a shadowy Statue of Liberty.

A sort of museum has been started for all these things at the Commission headquarters. Among many other things are several volumes, each containing illuminated memorials of thanks and gratitude, or perhaps some painting, etching, or other work of the artist.—*The Literary Digest*.

Self-Healing Tree-Wounds.

Nature's apparatus for healing wounds is more perfect the lower the organism. A semiliquid amoeba heals a cut scarcely more than a glass of water does; a crab is incommoded by the loss of its claw, but not

years, but it is at all events a live one, which from the arboreal point of view is doubtless the thing that matters. Says a writer in *La Nature*, translated in *The Scientific American Supplement* (New York, January 22):

"Vegetables have remarkable powers of recovery from injury; some of which seem to work to the benefit of the plant as a whole. This fact is of value to florists and gardeners, who take advantage of it by cutting back certain groups.

"It is well known that vegetables have 'dormant buds,' which, so long as the growth is normal and regular, remain absolutely quiescent even for years. But if, on the contrary, a branch be cut and the growth of the plant be slowed locally for a while, such buds come immediately into action. They wake and grow and expand into little branches which cover themselves with leaves and replace as nearly as may be the branches that have been lost.

"Another mode of healing wounds in vegetables, at least the injuries that are superficial, is by the change of some of the cells into cork. The impermeability of this substance to liquids and gases need not here be discussed. The modification is easy of accomplishment, the cell-walls become impregnated with suberine, the technical name for the cellulose of cork, the cell contents disappear, and their place is taken by air. It is such a structure which accounts for the lightness of cork. Protective layers of cells changed in this way serve to shield injured places.

"More often than this there ensues active cell-division at the wounded place, proliferation being the medical word, and a swelling is to be seen at the place of injury. The scar is often covered by later growths and by bark, and oftentimes bullets are covered and held where only future wood-workers will find them.

"All this has to do in general with superficial wounds. When they are deeper, when the ball traverses the bark and enters into the wood of the tree, the process is somewhat more complicated. In the linear ducts of the tree, vesicles or droplets begin to form, the result of a stimulated cell-making consequent on injury. The cells of the walls of the duct take part in this, and the result is the checking of the flow of sap. This prevents bleeding or loss of tree-liquids.



HOW PLANTS ADMINISTER FIRST AID TO THEMSELVES WHEN WOUNDED.

"Trees are well equipped with first-aid devices." Three cross-sections of a wounded branch in which an injury gradually heals. The fourth shows the healing process around a deeply embedded foreign matter

for long, as it proceeds at once to grow a new one. A man, on the other hand, looks in vain for a new arm when his old one has been removed. The processes of self-healing are particularly interesting in the vegetable world. A tree must be pretty badly wounded not to put at work its self-repairing machinery with success. It may not be a pretty tree in later

"But in order that such results follow, it is necessary that the wound be not a permanent source of sickness or injury to the plant, and it is necessary for it to heal as quickly as possible so as to prevent the entrance of harmful microorganisms and injurious insect life, or at the very least to arrest the consequent flow of plant liquids the loss of which

will very quickly result in the crying up of the plant.

"Trees are in general well equipped with first-aid devices to heal their wounds. More fortunate than humans, they are able to apply automatically an antiseptic bandage to the injured place. As soon as the hurt is received the tree reacts at the damaged place. The local functions of the organism accelerate, and at the same time proteid solutions flow toward the wound. The result is for a while, at least, an increase in vitality and in resistance toward weakening influences."

The writer notes that many species of trees are provided with a system of channels filled with mucilaginous secretions, which spread over the surface and protect a wound as soon as it is made. This instantaneous efficient first aid is particularly noticeable in the pines, spruces, larches, and other conifers, in which the resins flow quickly. They form an impermeable protection above the injury. In possessing such qualities vegetables are superior to man. We read further:

"This cicatrizing substance is particularly to be found in the longitudinal ducts of plants, and has been closely studied by Mangin and other botanists. It forms in droplets on the inner walls of the broken canals, growing little by little and finally establishing the complete closure of the duct. The process is analogous to that of the surgeon who applies his hemostatic pincers to stop the bleeding of veins in humans."

"Other species and families of trees, not equipped in this way, help themselves by another process. The wounded places change color, first to yellow and then to brown. This is caused by the appearance of what may be termed 'wound-gum,' which is composed of various gums with tannins."

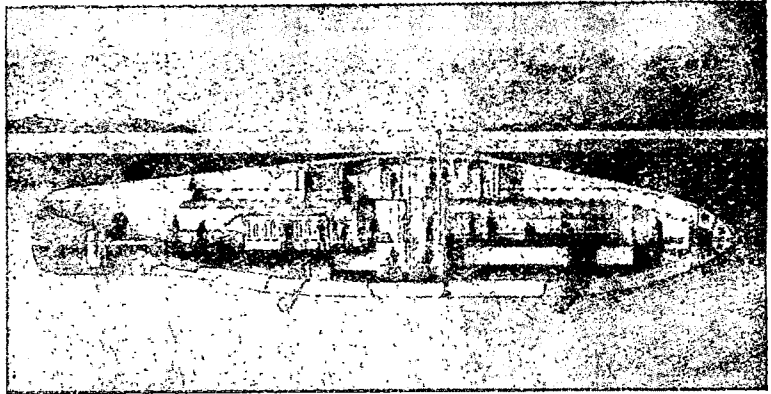
"At the same time the bark is changing into cork to protect the wound. Then the cambium, or cells between the bark and the wood by which the new wood is formed, goes actively into cell-making, and not only is there new wood through which the sap can circulate, but additions to the inner bark."

"Out of such complicated processes there will result one of two things: when the wound is not serious, all the new tissues join and help in the recovery of the injured part so that the wound is covered, or else recovery is effected without completely re-establishing the injured parts."

"In the first case the branch may become quite normal... In the second case, where the wound is large and there remain more or less dead tissues and the tough plaque of wound-gum, the new wood and the new bark together form a large swelling, always more developed above than below. Such trees may have a long life after cure, altho often much injured from the esthetic point of view."—*The Literary Digest*.

Poleward by Submarine.

The submarine is proposed as an efficient vehicle for arctic exploration by Simon Lake, the well-known American inventor and builder of various craft of this type. In an article in *International Marine Engineering* (New York, January) he reminds us of the difficulty of attempting to break through



The "Sea-Mole"—a Submersible for an under-ice Route to the Poles.

ice-fields, which requires a ship of tremendous power and great weight. The vessel shown in the illustration was designed by the author in 1903 for navigation in ice-covered waters, and a boat of this type was first proposed by him in 1899 for exploration in arctic seas. In 1903, experiments were made with the *Protector* in order to demonstrate the practicability of navigating in ice-covered waters. Says Mr. Lake,

"Professor Nansen, in his North-Polar explorations, has stated in his book that his average rate of progress during eighteen months, in attempting to reach the North Pole, was only three-quarters of a mile per day, and that the thickest ice he found during these months of endeavor was 14 feet. His progress was delayed by open waters, slush, ice, and in the winter by the intense cold, which compelled him to 'hibernate' for a considerable period of time."

"An under-ice submarine as illustrated, with large storage-battery capacity, could navigate underneath the ice in perfect comfort and safety. The temperature surrounding the vessel, even in the most severe winter weather, would not exceed the temperature of the sea-water. The vessel above illustrated is designed to make a continuous submerged voyage of 150 miles on one charge of the storage battery. After such a run, it would be necessary to stop and recharge the batteries. If open water should be encountered, this recharging process would be done by bringing the vessel to the surface. If the ice was not too thick, then by blowing out the water-ballast the ice would be broken, since it is very much easier to lift the ice and break it, rather than to force it apart or downward, as surface vessels are compelled to do."

"Provision is made for boring a hole up through the ice so as to permit the drawing in of sufficient air to run the engines and to recharge the batteries. Provision has also been made for putting out small mines underneath the ice to blow an opening to permit the submarine to come to the surface. A telescopic conning-tower arranged to cut its way up through ice 12 or 14 feet thick is also provided to enable the boat to remain under the ice and still permit the crew to reach the surface."

"In navigating in an ice-pack, the method of procedure would be to reduce the buoyancy of the vessel to, perhaps, a couple of tons, and then steam ahead, and it will be observed that the forward portion of the boat extends downward a considerable distance under the water, so that when the

forward portion of the boat contacts with heavy ice the reserve buoyancy will not be sufficient to lift or push the ice out of the way, and the vessel will then be automatically pushed under the ice and run along in contact with the under surface of the ice. A toothed recording wheel would give the exact distance traveled, and of course the compass will give the direction. Progress could be made in perfect comfort and safety under the ice at a rate exceeding 100 miles per day.

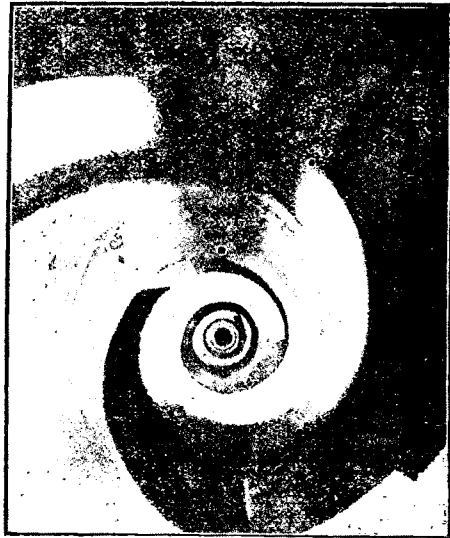
"[The figure] shows the vessel fitted with torpedo-tubes, and an athwartship propeller in the stern for training the vessel, and also with bottom wheels to permit navigation on the waterbed. This combination would permit vessels of this type to enter ice-bound ports or harbors and destroy the enemies' shipping while the same lies 'frozen in' and helpless."

While ice is a deterrent to surface-navigation, Mr. Lake regards it as actually an aid to under-water navigation, provided the submarine boat is especially equipped with guide wheels or "runners" on top of the hull to enable her to "slide" underneath the smooth ice-surface. If an under-ice submarine of the type illustrated will, as he thinks, make about a hundred miles a day under the ice, then taking Nansen's data he calculates that the round trip to the Pole ought to be made from his base in about ten days' time. Mr. Lake tells us that an under-ice submarine for mail-transportation in Vancouver Harbor has actually been in contemplation by the Canadian authorities.—*The Literary Digest*.

A "Snail-Shell" Stair.

The only spiral concrete staircase of its kind in the world has just been placed in the tower of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, Cal. Similar stairways exist elsewhere, as in the tower of St. Paul's and the tower of the cathedral in the City of Mexico, but they were built before the age of concrete. When viewed from above, its resemblance to the shell of a snail at once gave it a name.

"It is, for its purpose here, an improvement over Sir Christopher Wren's masterpiece—the spiral stairway ascending the interior wall in the tower of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. The Southwest Museum helical staircase is built inside a well in the center of the tower, thus not only preserving for shelves or mounted objects the entire interior wall-space of the tower but also supplying on its own exterior wall additional space which may be employed for museum-purposes. ...The tower containing the stairway is seven stories in height, with three mezzanine balconies in the three upper stories, giving the equivalent of ten stories. The tower is 35 feet square, and is supported by twelve columns and external walls 8 inches thick, reinforced with steel. It rests on a solid concrete slab or raft 3 feet 6 inches thick. The total height is 125 feet and the weight is 1,000 tons. The construction was carried on continuously, a story being poured at a time. The staircase well is 9 feet 2 inches in external diameter and is supported by four corner columns with 8 inch walls between them, with light- and ventilation-openings at each story. The stair is known as a caracole, on account of the likeness to a snail-shell presented by a vertical view, as shown in the photograph. With one exception it is the only helical staircase in America having a hollow center, the other one being an ancient stone staircase in the tower of the cathedral in the City of Mexico. The stairway contains 160 steps with 7½-inch rise each, and was built around a galvanized-iron form in the shape of a pipe, while wooden forms were placed



A "SNAIL-SHELL" STAIR.

for the stairs. Material was prepared at a special rock-crushing and sand plant located about one mile from the building, in a dry river-bed."

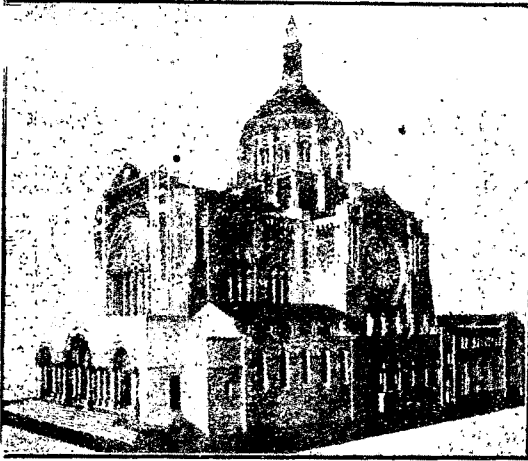
—*The Literary Digest*.

The Costliest Parish Church in the World.

The Churches of New York, like the business edifices, do not escape the tendency to tear down and build bigger. What is announced as likely to be "the costliest parish church in the world" is the new St. Bartholomew's to be built at Park Avenue and Fiftieth Street. This site is not far from the recently completed St. Thomas's Episcopal Church, which, with its site on Fifth Avenue, cost \$4,000,000. Near by also is the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, and the parishes of these three number many of these multi-millionaire names of America on their rolls. So, for those who like to estimate the wealth of the churches of the Man of Sorrows there is probably justification for calling this section "the finest and costliest church area in America, if not in the world." An article in the Boston *Transcript* shows that outward splendor is not the only thing sought by these congregations:

"To indicate that New York's Christianity is building for usefulness and not for show, and that while erecting such edifices the work of others does not suffer, it remains to be pointed out that the great Fifth Avenue Churches familiar to all visitors to New York, cost to maintain from \$40,000 to \$60,000 a year each. The maintenance of St. Thomas's, St. Bartholomew's, the Brick and Fifth Avenue Presbyterian, St. Nicholas Reformed, and others falls between these figures, but nearer to \$40,000 than to \$60,000. During the last five or ten years the incomes of these famous churches have enormously increased, but the congregations have hardly increased their local expenses at all.

"The churches here that spend these large sums for buildings and maintenance give from \$2 to \$5 to missions in America, to missions in the world at large, and to charities and education for every dollar they spend on their own maintenance. The



"THE DESIGN IS LARGE AND FREE": THE NEW ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S.

Planned by Bertram G. Goodhue, it will be one of the costliest of New York's church edifices.

record they keep up while paying also the millions for new edifices. In years when St. Thomas's or the Fifth Avenue congregation spend \$50,000 to maintain their Fifth Avenue plants, they give to missions and other causes beyond their own borders \$200,000 to \$400,000. Investigation shows that such a record is made by the churches of no other city in the world. Episcopal parishes of the Fifth and Madison Avenue districts alone give \$250,000 a year to religious work on New York's East Side."

The "Transcript" writer declares that the new St. Bartholomew's edifice is "the outcome of a spirit determined to build a handsome structure for public worship, to see to it that it is of the best architecture, and that it fittingly represents New York's Christian spirit and progress." An idea of what the new church will be may be gained from the model made from the design of the architect, Bertram G. Goodhue, which is one of the main features of the exhibition of the architectural League. It is said that Mr. Goodhue received his cue from the beautiful portals of the present structure, designed by McKim, Mead & White, and erected by the Vanderbilt family as a memorial to the late Cornelius Vanderbilt. These are to be preserved in the new structure, says Mr. Royal Cortissoz in the New York "Tribune," from them flows, of course, the necessity of a Romanesque motive throughout." We read further:

"But the architect has gone to Italian rather than to Provençal sources for his inspiration, and what is more to the point, he has used them with originality. The photograph of the model which we reproduce enables us to dispense with description of the fabric and to speak simply of its broad character. It is an organic composition. The facades are exactly expressive of the plan. And their successive stages are united with a fine sense of proportion, a fine sense of architectural values. Let the reader explore, one by one, the different passages in the design, the relation of the portal to the nave and that of both to the dome, the placing of the columns and arches just below the roof-line, the adjustment of the chapel and Sunday-school building on the street side to the mass of the main structure. These later episodes, it is true, constitute stubborn elements in the problem, and we could wish them otherwise. But since they have to be there, they are remarkably well handled. Consider, finally, the effect of the whole, the warm picturesqueness of the conception, combined with its essentially massy character, and the rich play of light and shade secured, the qualities of relief, of texture, developed without fussiness. It is Romanesque, yes; but is it so with any implications of pedantic borrowing? The design is large and free; in the impression of living architecture that it conveys it makes us think of that other fine example of style individually exploited—that Westminster cathedral which was founded on Byzantine ideas, but embodies the genius of a modern artist.

"This church is so good as it stands that we hope it may be built along certain lines promising to give it even greater significance. As shown in the model, it will occupy only part of the property owned by St. Bartholomew's, the rest of the block on Park Avenue being given to some other structure, a secular building, which would, of course, crowd it on the north, and even, possibly, rise to a height greater than that of the nave. We have seen a drawing worked out on the hypothesis of employing all the space from street to street, and it raises a noble scheme to an even higher power. Incidentally, it lengthens the nave, giving it another bay, which is by itself a precious improvement, and it permits a more satisfactory disposition of the chapel and Sunday-school, bringing in cloisters and open, turfed spaces, which would immediately set the whole affair in a better perspective. It would be a profoundly comforting thing if this larger, more monumental plan could be adopted. A building like this needs all the setting, all the air, it can get. Thus provided, it would make one of the most impressive adornments of the city. A decision to that end will be awaited with solicitude by all who are interested in the architectural development of New York."—*The Literary Digest*.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Building a Nation.

We are indebted to the *Vedic Magazine* for the pregnant speech of Mr. Gandhi which he delivered at the anniversary of the *Gurukula*. Talking to those present he said:

We are living in a state of perpetual fear. We fear the temporal as well as the spiritual authority. We dare not speak out our minds before our priests and our Pundits. We stand in awe of the temporal power. I am sure that in so doing we do a disservice to them and us. Fearlessness is the first thing indispensable before we could achieve anything permanent and real. This quality is unattainable

without religious consciousness. Let us fear God and we shall cease to fear man. If we grasp the fact that there is a divinity within us which witnesses everything we think or do and which protects us and guides us along the true path, it is clear that we shall cease to have any other fear on the face of the earth save the fear of God.

Mr. Gandhi wants true *Swadeshi*, not the *Swadeshi* which can be conveniently put off. For him *Swadeshi* has a deeper meaning. He is perfectly right when he goes on to say :

We commit a breach of the *Swadeshi* spirit certainly if we wear foreign made cloth but we do so also if we adopt the foreign cut. Surely the style of our dress has some correspondence with our environment. In elegance and tastefulness it is immeasurably superior to the trousers and the jacket. An Indian wearing a shirt flowing over his pyjamas with a waist coat on it without a necktie and its flaps hanging loose behind him is not a very graceful spectacle. *Swadeshi* in religion teaches one to measure the glorious past and re-enact it in the present generation.

In concluding he offered the following suggestions, which may conveniently be accepted by other educational institutions as well :

The Gurukula boys need a thorough industrial training if they are to become self-reliant and self-supporting. It seems to me that in our country in which 85 per cent. of the population is agricultural and perhaps 10 per cent. occupied in supplying the wants of the peasantry, it must be part of the training of every youth that he has a fair practical knowledge of agriculture and hand weaving. He will lose nothing if he knows a proper use of tools, can saw a piece of board straight and build a wall that will not come down through a faulty handling of the plumber's line. A boy who is thus equipped will never feel helpless in battling with the world and never be in want of employment. A knowledge of the laws of hygiene and sanitation as well as the art of rearing children should also form a necessary part of the training of the Gurukula lads.

Last but not least let the parents and the committee not spoil their lads by making them ape European dress or modern luxuries. These will hinder them in their after-life.

The Hindu Drama

forms the subject of an interesting and well-written article in the pages of the *Vedic Magazine* for May, penned by T. L. Vaswani.

"To speak of the Indian Drama is to speak of the Hindu (Buddhist) Drama," so says Mr. Vaswani. Sometime ago it was believed that India borrowed the Drama from Greece. But the writer holds that

There was contact between India and Greece but this does not mean that either imitated the other.

Genius does not imitate; Genius assimilates. India has not borrowed from Greece; Greece has not borrowed from India; each developed literature of obedience to the law of its own genius; and the more we study, the more we understand that there were important differences between the classical drama of Greece and the romantic drama of the Hindus; for as we shall understand presently the Hindu drama disregarded Greek 'unities' and pure tragedy.

The following lines amply show what an extensive influence the Hindu Drama wielded in olden times :

The Vidushaka of the Hindu dramatists is the runner of the 'fool and clown' of the Roman and Elizabethan plays; and Piechel in his book on *Home of Puppet-Play* has done well in pointing out that Vidushaka is the original of the buffoon who appears in the plays of mediaeval Europe.

The *Palm-Leaf Manuscript* discovered in Central Asia shows that the Hindu Drama was developed even so long as the Kusan Age when Central Asia was a part of the Indian Empire; the Hindu emigrated to Java so early as the sixth century, and the Shadow-plays of Java are a witness to the influence of the Hindu Drama: In Burma, in Siam, in Cambodia, the plays brought upon the stage were the Rama and Buddha Dramas; the Rama cycle was played even in Malay Archipelago and in China.

The Hindu's attitude to the Drama was in great contrast to the then prevailing attitude of Europe and China.

The Hindu attitude to the Drama accounts for the importance attached to it in Life. In Christian Europe, the conflict between the Theatre and the Church has appeared again and again. Chrysostom said:—"All dramatic arts come from the devil: laughter and gaiety come not from God but the devil." In Rome, an actor was despised; in China, the descendants of an actor were prohibited from competing in Public Examinations for 3 generations. The Hindu spoke of the *natyasastra* as the *fifth Veda*. It is regarded that the sage Bharata—the sage-manager of the gods as having received a revelation concerning Theatre direct from Brahma who entered into meditation and out of the depths of Divine Thought brought out the *Natyasastra* for the joy of the universe.

The characteristics of the Hindu Drama are thus set forth :

The unity of action and the unity of ideas are scrupulously observed by the Hindu dramatist: his perception of the Law of Karma links all things in the drama in a single chain of cause and effect: every Drama has one 'Internal centre' and the dramatic action is one complete.

The accepted classification of dramas into the tragic and comic will not be found in Sanskrit books: a drama, from the Hindu standpoint, may be comic addressing itself to the sense of the ridiculous; it often, is a blend of the tragic and comic; it never is purely tragic; violent action and highly sensational incidents must not be represented on the stage, for their effect on the nervous system and the mind would be not purification but depression; suffering is not ignored; but the truth is recognised that suffering must be challenged in the spirit of

resignation; for the world is one of law, and the law is good.

Every Hindu drama opens and closes with a benediction (Bandi): the plots are often taken from religious books, and the introduction of supernatural characters is allowed.

Another characteristic of Hindu Drama is true love. The Greek dramatists, the great German poets like Goethe, Schiller and Kaufmann, above all Shakespeare show marvellous art in "character drawing": their interest is concentrated on man; the Hindu dramatist shows his art in interpretation of "nature life". Nature is to him the teacher, the superior of man. So it is you find that dramas were usually performed on the occasions of nature-festivals, frequently spring festivals which celebrated the rebirth of nature. The Hindu God of Love—Kama is represented as the "flower winged" archer boy; and in the great dramas of Kalidasa, you have passage after passage charged with lyrical nature-love.

There is no purification except through suffering, no self-enrichment except through self-renunciation. The Hindu dramatists recognise this as a law of the visible order and illustrate it over and over again in the stories of their heroes and heroines.

The writer in urging the need of a people's drama says:

We need national Dramas which may embody the wealth of India's literature and India's age-long experiences. We need a new theatre to present in national form the new Ideal for the uplift of India's masses, we need new yatras, new Bharatkathas for India's youngmen and women so that they may be loyal to the truth and the law of love. Shelley wrote words of wisdom in his *Defence of Poetry*;—"the connection of poetry and social good" as he pointed out, is more observable in the drama than in any other form, and it is indisputable that the highest perfection of human society has ever corresponded with the highest dramatic excellence and that the corruption or extinction of the drama in a nation where it has once flourished marks a corruption of manners which sustain the soul of social life; for the end of social corruption is to destroy all sensibility to pleasure.

Medical Research in War

is the title of an informing article contributed to the *Indian Review* for May by Capt. A. J. H. Russel, in which the writer considers the work which is being done by the medical men attached to the armies in the field.

Says the writer:

The "army surgeon" appears for the first time, in history about the year 1312, when war was more common than peace.

Many surgeons of today find their whole time occupied in watchful supervision of food supplies and billets, prevention of parasitic infections, treatment of sore feet, diarrhoea, or muscular rheumatism, and the thousand and one things which help to keep the soldier an efficient fighting man. The work, though monotonous, is nevertheless of the utmost importance.

The altered conditions of life must influence the health of both Army and Navy, where war, by

massing large numbers of men together in close quarters, facilitates the spread of infections and fevers. This is counteracted to some extent by the improvement of physique and health of recruits, resulting from their physical training in fresh air and sunshine. The universal experience of war, however, has been the outbreak of epidemic disease, as shown in the case of typhoid fever in the South African War and of typhus in Serbia and, to a lesser extent, of cerebro-spinal fever among our own men during the present war. In France and Belgium there has been no violent epidemic of any kind, and this has been largely due to the efforts of the trained bacteriologists and sanitarians who have been investigating the best methods for prevention of disease.

The exigencies of war, by exposing large numbers of men to adverse conditions, also lead to outbreaks of other diseases which in normal circumstances are unheard of. These include "trench frost-bite," "trench shin," "trench nephritis," and "trench fever," all of which are caused by the conditions of life in the trenches.

Even aviation has diseases peculiar to itself. Workers in aeroplane factories have been found to suffer from a new form of jaundice which puzzled their medical attendants until it was discovered that it was caused by exposure to the fumes of tetrachlor-ethane used for painting the wings of aeroplanes. Some aviation pupils also are found on trial to lack the nerve and that co-ordination of hand and eye which are indispensable. The name suggested for this condition is "aerasthenia," and it is held to be an absolute disqualification.

During the early days of the war a large number of cases of tetanus occurred among the wounded. The wounds were invariably infected with the muddy soil of Flanders a soil which has for centuries undergone intensive cultivation, and in which the tetanus germs were always to be found.

In the field of surgery an enormous amount of new work has been done. Injuries to nerves, to the spinal chord and to the brain have all been studied by expert investigators, and have resulted in interesting additions to our knowledge. Most ingenious apparatus have been invented for treatments of fractures, etc.

Civic Ideals in Ancient India.

K. S. Ramaswami Sastri contributes to the *Local Self-Government Gazette* for May a deeply interesting article based on Kautilya's *Artha-Sastra* as translated by Shama Sastri and Narendra Nath Law.

There is no doubt that the civic authorities in ancient India were wide-awake as regards the preservation of the health of the citizens. This is amply borne out by the following:

From each house a water-course of sufficient slope and 3 padas or $1\frac{1}{2}$ aratnis long shall be so constructed that water shall flow from it in a continuous line and fall from it into the drain. Violation of this rule shall be punished with a fine of 54 panas. Between any two houses or between the extended portions of any two houses, the intervening space shall be 4 padas, or 3 padas. The roofs of adjoining houses may either be 4 angulas apart, or any of them may

cover the other. The owners of houses may construct their houses in any other way they collectively like, but they shall avoid whatever is injurious. With a view to ward off the evil consequences of rain, the top of the roof shall be covered over with a broad mat, not blowable by the wind.

If a pit, steps, water-course, ladder, dung-hill, or any other parts of a house offer or cause annoyance to outsiders, or any other parts of a house offer or cause annoyance to outsiders, or in any other way obstruct the enjoyment of others, or cause water to collect and thereby injure the wall of a neighbouring house, the owner shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas. If the annoyance is due to faeces and urine the fine shall be double the above. The water-course or gutter shall offer free passage for water; otherwise the fine shall be 12 panas.

There were ample wise provisions for the prevention and cure of diseases and the municipal authorities had a sharp look out for those who did anything to undermine the public health. We read :

"There were hospitals with store-rooms (अश्रजगार) containing medicines in such large quantities as could not be exhausted by years of use..... To the old store fresh supplies were constantly added. In the Artha Sastra there are references to four classes of medical experts, viz., भिषज् or चिकित्सकाः, i. e., ordinary physicians ; जाड्वौविद्: i. e., those who could readily detect poison ; गर्भ्याधि संस्था: or स्तिका-चिकित्सकाः, i. e., midwives ; and army: surgeons and nurses. The army surgeons with surgic instruments (अस्त्र) and appliances (यन्त्र), remedial oils (अगदस्त्रेह) and bandages (बन्ध) and nurses with appropriate food and beverage, accompanied the army, and encouraged the soldiers. For the treatment of the diseases of animals, there were veterinary surgeons..... Several steps were taken for the plantation and growth of medicinal plants and herbs. Portions of fields cultivated directly under Government supervision were set apart and used for this purpose..... The State controlled and regulated medical practice in the land."

"Measures were also taken for prevention of diseases. Thus, adulteration of all kinds was punished, e. g., adulteration of grains, oils, alkalies, salts, scents, and medicines. The health of the people in cities or crowded places was secured by sanitary measures. Throwing dirt, or causing mire or water to collect in roads and highways was punishable. Committing nuisance near temples, royal buildings and places of pilgrimage, or in reservoirs of water, was penalised, but exceptions were made when this was due to disease or the effect of medicine. Throwing inside the city the carcasses of animals, or human corpses, was also visited with fines. Carrying dead bodies through the gates or along paths not meant for the purpose, as well as the interring or cremation of dead bodies beyond the limits of the prescribed burial places and crematories, was also a violation of the sanitary regulations."

We are further informed that not only was post-mortem examination not un-

known in ancient India but it was a common procedure.

For this purpose, the corpse was smeared with oil to prevent putrefaction. All cases of violent death caused, for instance, by suffocation, hanging or drowning, etc., or by poisoning, were at once brought to the morgue, and the medical officers in charge had to find out as far as possible the exact cause of death from an examination of the symptom, several of which are enumerated in the Artha Sastra. The whole affair was subjected to a careful scrutiny and if foul play was suspected, evidence was taken and the matter left to be disposed of in the law courts.

In those days the duties of citizens were well-defined. Here is an instance in point :

If a house-owner is not found to have ready with him five water pots, a *kumbha* (a water vessel of that name), a *drona* (a water tub made of wood), a ladder, an axe (to cut off beams), a winnowing basket (to blow off smoke), a hook (to pull down the opening door panels), pincers (to remove nails), and a leather bag, he shall be fined $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a pana. They shall also remove thatched roofs. Those who work by fire (blacksmith) shall all together live in a single locality. Each house-owner shall ever be present at the door of his own house. Vessels filled with water shall be kept in thousands in a row without confusion not only in big streets and at places where the roads meet but also in front of the royal buildings. Any house-owner who does not run to give his help in extinguishing the fire of whatever is burning shall be fined 12 panas; but a renter is not.

Ignorance is the enemy of all progress. The patriotic and progressive ruler of Baroda has introduced many modern innovations in his state to remove the ignorance of his people. The establishment of

Free Libraries in Baroda

is one such laudable enterprise, which has produced marvellous results. From an account published in the *Local Self-Government Gazette* for May we learn that

While in 1910 there were only about 188 subscription libraries in the State, with next to no readers and not any vitality to speak of, we find towards the end of July 1915, a total of 385 village libraries, 35 town libraries, 3 district libraries and a handsome central library in the City of Baroda itself, having a total stock of over 2,10,000 books and a total circulation in the preceding year of over 2,20,000 books. To understand the full significance of these figures, it should be borne in mind that the total population of Baroda State is only two millions, that the number of towns in it with a population exceeding 4,000 is only 39 and the number of villages exceeding 1,000 inhabitants is reckoned at 426.

The chief lines of work have been made clear in the following lines :

"The library is not going to be a mere store-house of books. It will use every means to make it book those who want them and to see

that those who need them realise that need and act accordingly. The duties of a modern library extend to the entire community, instead of being limited to those who voluntarily enter its doors. It believes that it should find a reader for every book in its shelves and provide a book for every reader in the community; and that in all cases it should do the actual work of bringing book and reader together. This requires great multiplication of facilities, such as lending books for home use, free access to shelves, cheerful and homelike library building, rooms for children and women, co-operation with schools, inter-library loans, longer hours of opening, more useful catalogues and lists, the extension of branch library systems, and of travelling and home libraries, and co-ordination of work through lectures, exhibits, and translations into vernaculars."

The following account of the working of the Central Library at Baroda would give the readers a correct idea of a free library in Baroda :

Here each and every citizen of Baroda is a member of the library. He can go there, select his own books direct from the shelves, and either read them there or take them home to read at his leisure. If you are not personally known to the librarian or any responsible member of the library staff, you have only to give a reference to some respectable person living in the State and give your exact address and occupation. Any State employee drawing a salary of Rs. 40 or more, any one owning landed property in the State, any income-tax payer, or inamdar, in short, any person of such position and standing in the State as gives confidence to the librarian, can stand as guarantee for you, that you will not damage the books; and that is all that is necessary to enable you to take home any books from the library. Of course reference books and specially valuable and rare works of art are not in any circumstance allowed out of the library. There is always a reasonable margin allowed for the wear and tear of books and strict and meticulous attention is not paid to trifling damages done to them by a not unreasonable handling of books by the readers. And the general experience of this policy of trust has been that there have been very few losses of books, thus proving that the number of black sheep in any large community—even though it be the reading community—is very small.

We further read :

All the libraries started under the new scheme in Baroda are free in the sense already described. They are classified as village, town, district and central libraries. The Central Library is the guide, philosopher and friend of all the other libraries. The District Library is entrusted with the supervision of all the minor libraries in the district. Some Town Libraries are deputed to look after the concerns of a few of the adjacent village libraries. Every library has to send in a quarterly report of its working to the Curator of the Central Library. In places which have not yet started a library of their own, the Curator is prepared to send down a set of travelling libraries, if the villagers express a desire for them. These travelling libraries consist of about 30 books, packed in well-made boxes and carefully selected so as to meet the needs and suit the taste of the villager. The books are allowed a period of 90 days and should the

the Central Library with a short statement showing the number and kind of books issued to and used by the villagers. This return serves to indicate in what direction the tastes and tendencies of the villagers lie.

All these libraries are in part supported by the State, by private subscriptions and by contributions from the local bodies. The rule is that whatever is the amount raised annually by the villagers, an equivalent sum is contributed by the local panchayat and the State separately. To form a village library, it is enough for the villagers to raise a sum of Rs. 50 per annum from among themselves. That will give them an income of Rs. 150. Out of this they are empowered to spend a maximum of 25 per cent on books, 30 per cent on periodicals, not more than 25 per cent being allowed to be spent on rent and furnishing of the library. And in the matter of purchasing of books the Central Library comes to their aid by providing books worth Rs. 100 for every sum of Rs. 25 handed over to it by the village library. Each village library is managed generally by a small committee appointed by the subscribers from among themselves, the village schoolmaster being the librarian.

To form the Town Library, similarly, the townsmen have to raise a maximum of Rs. 300 a year, which will be trebled by the contributions from the Government and the local municipality. The maximum will have to be raised to Rs. 700 if the townsmen are ambitious of raising their library to the status of a District Library. The same rule of part contribution applies to the construction of library buildings, provided that the design and estimate for the buildings are in each case passed as suitable by the Central Library Department. The minimum cost of a village library building comes to Rs. 1,500, while the cost of the town library building varies between Rs. 3,000 and 7,500. It may be noted that about fifteen town libraries and nine village libraries have been so far built, while six town and six village libraries are in course of erection.

Denmark is famous for its many Co-operative institutions. An interesting and informing account of

Co-operative Dairies in Denmark

has been published in the *Bengal Co-operative Journal* for May.

We are told that "most of the Co-operative Dairies in Denmark were founded between 1886 and 1890. In 1909, 1157 Co-operative Dairies were at work in Denmark, and they treated about 77 p.c. of the total milk production of the country."

A co-operative dairy is generally founded for a definite period of time, varying from 10 to 15 years. During this period, the farmers engage to supply all the milk they produce, except what is consumed on their farms or sold retail to their neighbours. They recognise themselves also as jointly and severally liable for the engagements of the society, in proportion to the number of cows they each possess.

The funds required are generally raised by means of a loan from a bank or savings bank, so that the members need pay no contribution. Interest

and sinking fund are paid out of the profits of the business. The initial capital is generally from about 30 to 40 crs. per cow.

The members can only be relieved of their joint and several liability before the expiration of the term fixed for dissolution of the society, in case of death or the sale of their holdings, or by vote of the General Meeting. At the end of the period fixed, a new society may be formed for a new period, to include all the old members or only such as desire it. For the purchase of the dairy from the former members, a new loan is contracted, the amount being distributed among the producers in proportion to the quantity of milk supplied by each, in the whole period of working.

The supreme authority in the business of the society is the General Meeting, which is, as a rule, only called once in six months. The rules often provide that the decisions of the General Meeting cannot be impugned in a court of law, a provision which has the force of law. The members have almost always the same voting rights, irrespective of the number of cows they possess. For this reason the large landholders long hesitated before entering the co-operative societies; but now they feel no difficulty about entering, and independent dairies on gentlemen's estates are becoming rarer and rarer.

The Board of Management of the Society deals with the daily business, the book-keeping, the cash, the administrative supervision etc.; it is generally appointed for two years, and is often rather numerous, for it is usual for each member of the Board to make the monthly payments to the members of his district. The Board appoints the Technical Manager (Mejeeristen) who is entrusted with the direction of the daily work of the dairy, and the keeping of the accounts. The technical manager now receives a fixed amount with which he must provide himself with the assistance he requires; this system has proved the best possible.

The dairy undertakes the collection of the milk and its return to the producers. In this way the producers who live further away do not pay more for the carriage of the milk than those near at hand, which contributes greatly to the maintenance of good relations between the various members.

As a rule, the dairy only supplies and keeps in good order vehicles suited for the transport of milk; tenders are invited for the contract for transport itself, for periods of one year or six months. In this way, the dairy has not to keep horses.

The vehicles generally make one journey a day and only in certain localities two, keeping to a fixed itinerary, and the producers are bound to bring their milk early to the road, so that they may go on again without delay. Producers who do not live on the road followed by the vehicle generally receive a certain sum in compensation for every 1,000 kg. of milk they supply. However, the route is so arranged as to serve the large producers directly. The vehicles must reach the dairy in a fixed order, at hours established so that the milk may be weighed and separated as rapidly as possible, without interruption and useless delay, and each, as the work proceeds, must be ready to start again to return the separated milk and whey to the producers. When the profits are divided, it is a fundamental rule that the division shall be in proportion to the amount of milk supplied. At first this division was made after a very imperfect fashion, and in some places this continued for a long time; it

was based only on weight and not on the amount of butter fat in the milk.

This problem was promptly solved, by the construction of an apparatus which allowed of the amount of cream in a large number of samples of milk being determined by means of a single observation. Most of the dairies then began to calculate the value of the whole milk supplied in accordance with the amount of cream or butter, on the basis of the current price of butter. This method, very good and reasonable in itself, which possesses the advantage of preventing any adulteration has also a great merit which will only be greater in the future, as it draws attention to the advisability of only rearing cows which give rich milk, and of exercising quite special care in the selection of good bulls. This method has also inspired the constitution of "control" societies, which, in their turn, have favoured the change to the new system of distribution of profits. The latter system is in use in almost all the co-operative dairies, whilst most of the old dairies worked in common have remained faithful to the old system.

The calculation of the value of the milk is based on the regular control of the milk of the various producers, generally tested twice a week. The simplest process, which has fairly recently been introduced and has become widespread on account of its simplicity, is to multiply the weight in pounds of the milk by the percentage of cream ascertained, and distribute the price of the butter in direct proportion to the number of what it has been agreed to call "cream unit" thus arrived at.

In this way, it is only necessary to divide the amount the whole milk has yielded in butter produced and milk sold; payment is made once a month. As regards the separated milk and whey the dairy does not sell, and does not use for cheese making, the producers are bound to take back, but the value is ascertained quite differently. The milk is returned in proportion (up to a certain point) to the whole milk supplied, at a given price, which is very low, and which while in some degree corresponding with its value as food for cattle, does not take special account of that, and is calculated so as amply to cover the working expenses of the dairy. Generally, the price is calculated so as to leave a large margin of profit.

The separated milk and whey are paid for by means of deductions from the monthly contributions. Deductions are also made for butter and cheese bought by the producers at the dairy, as well as for expenses the dairy has been put to for the account of the producers as, for example, the tinning of the cans used for carrying the milk. In dairies which also engage in the co-operative sale of cattle foods, there is a further provision that the department for co-operative sale of cattle foods may, if the producers of the society are debtors up to a certain amount for the purchase of cattle foods, keep back the whole or part of the price of the milk or the surplus profit.

The rules of the dairy provide that its members shall only supply pure and natural milk and never supply milk from sick cows or from those that have too lately calved. Often also the employment of certain kinds of cattle foods, known to have a deleterious effect on the quality of the milk, is forbidden. In several districts the milk supplied by each farmer is analysed at regular dates, for example, once a week or once a fortnight. The "Societies for the estimation of the value of the milk" have shown great activity in extending this system.

As regards the co-operative sale of dairy pro-

duce, there is a series of societies for the export of butter, formed among federated dairies engaging to sell the butter they wish to export through the medium of the society in question, and to accept joint and several liability in regard to the production of butter. In general non-co-operative dairies may also be members of these societies. The first such society was founded in 1888. Now there are six, in various districts of the country; they associate 275 dairies and the total annual business done by them is about 45,000,000 crs.

As regards the co-operative purchase of dairy machinery and other industrial apparatus, 175 dairies united in 1901 to form the "Co-operative Society for Purchase and Manufacture of Machinery for Danish Dairies". The society has 20 sections, and 851 dairies are now affiliated to it. The total annual business done by it is about 2,200,000 crs., half in connection with the manufacture of machines and half in connection with co-operative purchase. The members of the society are in no way obliged to make purchases.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Lajpat Rai's Message to Indian Students in the U. S. A.

The editor of the *Hindusthane Student*, which is the official monthly organ of the Hindusthan Association of America, having asked Lala Lajpat Rai for a short message of advice to Indian students in America, he has written the following paragraphs, which we take from the journal named above:

IGNORANCE OF INDIAN HISTORY.

1. I say in no spirit of carping criticism that the first thing which has struck me about the Indian students in foreign countries is their lack of knowledge of the history of their country and of the origin and development of Indian institutions and Indian thought. Their knowledge of the present condition of the country is also lacking in exactness. This is an age of facts and figures, and every young man ought to develop the faculty of appreciating facts and figures and being exact and scrupulous in his thoughts as well as statements. I would advise every Indian student to reserve three hours a week at least to the study of Indian literature or literature relating to India. This does not include newspapers. Every Indian student in this country should read the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), and it should be the business of the different chapters of the Hindustanee Students' Association to supply it to the members.

LEARNING TO THINK NATIONALLY.

2. It is gratifying to see that Indians are now thinking nationally. It will take time for this habit to grow in perfection, and there is no reason to feel discouraged or depressed by the outburst of provincialism and sectarian feelings that now and then introduce disharmony and discord. What is wanted is that every provincial and sectarian movement should be interpreted in national terms. What does it contribute to the national cause and how it can be used to increase its quota. Run down the sectarian, provincial and narrowing tendencies, but not the movements themselves. Acknowledge their contribution to the growth and development of nationhood, and do not expect the whole country to think, to

feel, to move and to act, in one plane and in one groove. It would be a poor world if everything was reduced to one dead level of monotony and similarity. The world is rich in variety. We have no reason to be ashamed of the multiplicity of varieties in India. That is only another proof of our being rich in spirit though poor in material wealth. Only let not these varieties produce disharmony and discord. They are all more or less contributories to the same cause, different paths to the same destination, different means to the same goal. There are some that have mischievous tendencies, have possibly been started with bad motives. Try to understand them and find out how they can be used for national purposes. That may perhaps be a better employment of our energy than in working out their destruction. At least that is how I am at present inclined to think. But I have no desire to be dogmatic. You can think and decide for yourself.

CO-OPERATION INSPIRE OF DIFFERENCES.

3. One thing, however, I have no doubt of, in my mind, viz., that we have to learn to agree to differ, in non-essentials, and in methods. Every sincere and honest worker in the national cause has his own place in the national machine. No one has a right to run down another unless he is positive about his motives. Honest, candid criticism, more often outspoken than not, is the sine qua non of progress. But criticism, to be effectual, to be convincing, to be assuring, need not be expressed in vulgar, acrimonious language. At times it is a duty to strike hard. No one should shrink from doing it when necessary. But even when striking hard one should not forget that he is a gentleman. Even when criticising and condemning opinions, beliefs, modes of action, one should study to find out points of agreement, rather than emphasize the points of disagreement. Indians of all classes and opinions must learn to co-operate in spite of differences—differences in ideals, in opinions, and in methods of work. Co-operate with one another as far as you consider you can go together, and then separate without ill-will. I can not sufficiently impress upon you the desirability, nay, the necessity of this course. Take it from me that I say so, after thirty-three years' experience of public life in India. We have too often frittered away our energies and resources, in fighting against supposed enemies and in carrying on fruitless controversies. The time for controversy has passed. It is time to act—to act like men, each in his own sphere, according to the light of his conscience. As long as you are

students I do not urge you to act, but to develop the spirit of co-operation and of united action, in spite of and in face of differences.

NEVER FORGET THAT WE ARE "HINDUS."

4. Never forget that we are Hindus (using the term in the sense in which it is used in America, i.e., Indian). Our people have a name for grace—in bearing, in expression, in language and in manners. In these matters every nation has a method of expression peculiar to itself. Living in Rome, we have to change it temporarily only so far as to make ourselves agreeable to those among whom we live and move, but that does not necessitate our forgetting ourselves. In any case, it will not do to exchange our grace with their slang. They have many good things to teach us. Learn the spirit of their manliness, their self-reliance, their intolerance of snobbishness, their dislike of being patted, and so on, but do not imitate the ways in which they sometimes express their manliness and independence. What in them may look admirable may be outlandish in you. Take their spirit, robe it with your own gracefulness, and remember that you are, and shall be, a Hindu first and a Hindu last, whatever you may choose to learn from others and wherever the circumstances may throw you in the course of your life's journey.

Though the message is addressed to students, we, their elders, have much to learn from it.

Mr. Lajpat Rai on Education in America.

Indian universities do not afford sufficient educational facilities. Hence those Indians who can go abroad earnestly desire to be educated in some foreign university. Such students naturally ask the question: "Where should I go? To England, Germany, Japan, or America?" Mr. Lajpat Rai has travelled extensively and has observed the conditions of education in many countries. Hence, what he said to a representative group of the members of the faculty of the University of California in February last, ought to prove instructive. We take some passages from his address from *The Hindustanee Student*.

"In my humble person and in the persons of other Hindus who come to this country as visitors, the friends of humanity in America see some slight reflection of an India struggling to improve her lot and to regain her proper place among the nations of the world. Possibly she has not yet put forth her very best in the effort, but she is honestly striving to probe into the causes of her fall and to remove them. It is in this pursuit that her young sons come to your shores to gain that knowledge which is a sine qua non of progress in this age. They attach great value to what learned and up-to-date America can teach them in science, in politics, in philosophy, and in the arts. But what they need even more, and what they hanker after even more earnestly, is the inspiration

which America, and America alone, can give to them. There are certain things which cannot be learned in lecture rooms and laboratories; there are certain others from which one cannot fully profit unless they are taught in environments which illustrate their practical application to life; last, but not least, there are certain things which can only be effectively taught by teachers who practise them in their life. There are also certain things which can only be inhaled from the atmosphere of the place or the country where the young aspirant for knowledge lives or resides. No teaching can bring about the best results unless it is done in a spirit and atmosphere of absolute sincerity, frankness and truthfulness, and where the relationship between the teacher and the pupil is not of absolute frankness and friendliness."

AN ATMOSPHERE OF EQUALITY,
FRATERNITY AND LOVE.

"Throughout the West, the atmosphere of educational institutions is generally free from limitations, but not so in the East, at least, at present. What the Indian student mostly needs is stimulation unhampered by conditions of race and color. What he wants is an atmosphere of equality, fraternity and love, an environment where he may feel that he is as good as anybody else; where he may have the fullest liberty of expression; where no one looks down upon him as inferior by virtue of his being a native of his country; last but not the least, where he has a chance of building up his character and making a career for himself by his own effort, unaided by patronage or charity, or even the help of parents and guardians. This he can get in America, and perhaps nowhere else."

Mr. Lajpat Rai is conscious of the difficulties that are to be faced by the students who intend to go to America for education. He says:

"Those who are financially dependent upon their parents have to accept their decision, about the place of their education, but those who feel that they have sufficient strength of mind and body to work up their way start for America, even in defiance of the wishes of their parents. Here they find what they have been seeking for—an opportunity for self-development and self-expression. Some of them have to put up an awful fight. Angry parents refuse to send remittances; for a time it is difficult to get work; nobody knows them and no one can stand for them. Sometimes the season is slack and no work is to be had, or it is not regular or well paid to meet all their requirements. Again, even in democratic America they have to face a certain amount of race and color prejudice. Some succumb and wreck themselves, but the vast bulk of them win the fight and learn a lesson which is the most precious for them personally and for the country of their birth."

Speaking of the general advantages which one is sure to enjoy in an American university, Mr. Lajpat Rai says:

"Besides American conditions of life, physical, Social and Political are such as to afford him more practical lessons for their application to life in India. Here for the first time he comes into contact with all the representatives of the races of mankind, with all the languages

of the globe, with their different points of view, their different cultures, and their different habits and manners. He sees how under the influence of democratic institutions and a government of the people formed by the people for themselves, all these differences disappear in the course of a short time and melt away in the sunshine of American life to produce a united American nation. This is an object lesson which he can learn nowhere else. American experience fills him with new possibilities for his country, lofty ambitions and high ideas. The blood in his veins begins to course more swiftly and with noble emulation, after he has been in this country for some time. It is rather distressing to see that your immigration authorities should be so hard in admitting Indians to this country. Some of them are sent back without sufficient reason, on suspicion of being adventurers seeking admission to compete with your labour population. But once they are in, they are accepted as equals, and treated with kindness and consideration. The American university is the most democratic of all institutions in the world. Here prince and peasant, the son of a millionaire and the youngster who earns his bread and lodging by washing dishes, are treated alike. On the campus he is an equal among equals, with nobody looking down on him on account of the poverty of his dress or the color of his skin. The American professor is as a rule represented to me by Hindu students as an ideal teacher who makes no distinction of race, color or creed; who gives away what he knows freely, equally and earnestly; who is most friendly, outspoken and comradelike. It has been my privilege during my travels in this country to visit several universities in the East, in the Midwest, in California. Everywhere I have had the good fortune of coming in touch with a group of professors who, nobly backed by their wives, take paternal interest in Hindu students, make them feel at home, and treat them as their children. Specially did I notice it at Urbana, Illinois."

India's Duty to Java and Bali.

In an interesting article in the *Hindustanee Student* on "Hindusthanes in Java" Mr. H. K. Rakshit describes how the islands of Java and Bali owe their culture and civilization to India. He says:

Bali is the only stronghold of Hinduism in the entire archipelago.

The people of Bali are the followers of Siva. At the dawn of day in their solemn invocation the Hindus in Bali prefix their sayings with the all-embracing sound "Aum Siva chatur-bhuj." Some day the echo of that sacred sound from the lips of Balinese is sure to touch our idle ear. Some day we must heartily respond to that thrilling call even tho we lose our social position for crossing the water to attend a call of duty. The Hindus there are sincerely eager to know about their mother country. They complain of the loss of religious literature, and make anxious inquiry respecting their existence in India.*

Today Java is under the domination of Holland—

* Mr. Crawford, the historian and late British resident at the court of the Sultan of Java, on his visit to Bali was asked by the Hindus about the availability of religious scriptures in India.

Holland whose colonial policy has always been actuated by economic greed. The so-called "Cultural Movements" in Java by the Dutch has no real meaning; it is a bombastic nothing. The education of the Javanese should not exceed certain limits, lest they be a hindrance to the brutal but scientific exploitation of their country and person as well by the Dutch. "The Dutch do not profess to study the well-being of their Javanese subjects. . . . It receives as pure tribute more than one-third of her colony's income. Holland of set purpose keeps its eastern subjects as stupid and ignorant as possible." So declares Dr. Boys in his admirable little book "Some Notes on Java."

Such is the fate of Java to-day. Holland is guilty of not ruling her in her own interest. India is guilty of deserting her in her time of distress. We gave them our civilization, but we apparently refused to safeguard and nourish it.

And now our moral sense demands action. Not half-hearted or desultory action. What is needed is a systematic, thoroughgoing and persistent propaganda of Hinduism.*

WHAT THE HINDU UNIVERSITY SHOULD DO. . .

The Hindu University is just going to be established in India, which will mark the turning point in the history of our country. Can the Hindu University do something for the Hindus in Java? I do not know. But I venture a suggestion. If one of the prime purposes of the Hindu University is to interpret Hinduism in its noblest aspects; if the purpose of the Hindu University is to inculcate in our mind the true significance of our civilization, then surely it is the duty of such an university to prop the interest of Hinduism whenever and wherever occasion demands to do so. Unless you first aim at self-preservation, how dare you think of bestowing the greatness that is yours to others? Let our Hindu University establish scholarship for the Hindus in Java; let them come here and study Hinduism in the place where it was born. A healthy atmosphere will then be created again between us and much of the past indifference will thus be atoned. The glorious days of Hindustan were those when Taxila, Nalanda and Odantapuri, shining in the world in their own light, threw open their gates to which flocked thousands of students from the four corners of the globe. Is not the Hindu University a sequel to these? Should we not then invite all the world, not to speak of our kinsmen in Java and elsewhere, to come there and study at all cost?

Hinduism believes in persuasion, and scornfully discards force. To spread our "Kultur" we will never draw the sword from our sheath. To accomplish our purpose thru persuasion we need thousands

* I would be the last man to maintain that the whole world should be Hinduised, Mohammedanized or Christianised. For the sake of world-progress this should not be. In many cases uniformity, good or bad, is not a healthy sign; it may mean inaction at the end. The key-note of progress is competition, and only freedom and variety of situation can bring competition into force. "East is East and West is West, God forbid it should be otherwise, but the twain shall meet in amity," says Rabindranath. Different we are and different we shall remain. But we must exhibit our ideas and thoughts, i.e., Civilization in the competitive market for proper valuation. That is what I mean by "propaganda."

of missionaries. We shall be gathering these missionaries, from her colonies, from everywhere. But, alas, will the colonies respond to the call of the mother country? Again the momentous question comes; "What have we done for them?" It is not too late yet; we can win them if we only will. Why does the prestige of the British Empire today loom so large in the political and moral horizon? The support of the colonies when the mother country is in action is a tremendous asset. A renovated India needs the moral help of her colonies during the process of her re-birth, as she will need it afterwards. We cannot afford to lose them, and especially the one—Java—our last stronghold in the mighty Pacific. Let our countrymen not forget it.

THE DUTY OF INDIAN MUSALMANS.

The Mohammedans in India have also an equal duty toward their coreligionists in Java. By the influence of educational institutions like the Aligar College, by establishing scholarships they can do much to give a new impetus to the helpless Mohammedans in Java. Here we find a common cause worth developing. In our formation of nobler and greater India we must feel a bounden duty on us to supply the spiritual needs of our people abroad, be he a Hindu or a Mohammedan or a Christian; according to their desires, and it is only thus that we can expect to maintain the integrity of the spiritual relation of India with her colonies abroad.

Our Duty to other Indian Colonies.

There are large Indian populations in Mauritius, Natal, Cape Colony and the Fiji Islands. There are Indians in Canada, U. S. A., British Guiana, British East Africa, Australia, &c., also. It is our duty to send to these places educators, physicians, and lawyers.

The State of Things in China.

Rev. Robert E. Speer has contributed a very informing article to the *International Review of Missions* on "the present Missionary environment in China," from which a good deal can be learnt about the political, industrial, educational, and religious conditions of that country. Regarding China's material advancement the writer says:

It will suffice to mention as a single illustration the Hanyehping Iron and Coal Company whose manager, Mr. K. S. Wang, told us that they employed now five thousand labourers, that the whole great Plant both at the mines and the furnaces was conducted by Chinese, that there were no Japanese whatever in their works and only a few and diminishing number of foreign expert advisers. The immense capacities of the country for production and progress have been only in the slightest degree released, but the young men of China and their friends ought not to be discouraged at the beginnings which have been made.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

As we have gone on in China we have found in each department of life, the need of balancing the ground of discouragement and of hope. It is so in the case of the government and of political administration. The young men generally, and indeed all the Chinese with whom we have talked with the exception of a few officials, have been greatly cast down over the monarchical movement. They have recognized that republican government did not exist, but they hoped that the form might be preserved, knowing that it would be easier to develop the reality within the form than to recover the form later if it should be destroyed now. They believed that the change was probably inevitable and they thought that it would be made without disorder, as the president controlled the army and had successfully distributed it and had reorganized the police so as to have every section of the nation in hand, and also because the merchant class deprecated any further disturbance. If it is said and admitted, as it will be, that a great deal of the old graft and corruption has come back into the public service, it must be recognized also that a large number of young and efficient and honest men who found their way into the government service at the time of the revolution have been retained by the old element which has returned, but which recognizes that a new day has come and that some men must be kept in the public service who can deal with the new problems. It may be said generally that while in governmental administration there has been a reaction, it does not mean all the ground gained by the forces of progress has been lost, and the general conviction is that Yuan Shi-kai is doing the best he can for the country and is sincerely desirous of promoting its progress at a deliberate pace and without rupture with the past. Whoever studies the Asiatic nations will realize that this is a real problem, and that it requires a very high degree of statesmanship to know what of the old to cut away and what to leave that the new may be grafted on.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

In the social conditions of China, also, the element of depression and hope are mingled to-day. On the rail road train from Tientsin to Peking we fell in with the well-known philanthropist and social reformer, Mr. Yung Tao, who was not a Christian. After an interesting conversation he dictated the following statement of his views and endeavours:

"The most dangerous point of China is that, most people look only after pleasures. In order to get a pleasure they must secure some money either by squeezing or by gambling. When by chance they get money, their first thought is to marry a concubine. The more money they have won the more concubines they will marry. The Chinese can do business as well as others, but they are so engaged with the system of concubinage that they are always satisfied with a little because they want all the time they can have with their concubines. This concubine system has existed in China for thousands of years, but in the olden times only the higher classes of people could have concubines. Now however this thing has spread so widely that it has gone to nearly all classes. If China stood alone such a system would not be bothered about, but now China is open to all countries. She can depend only upon the rich people and the people in power. Now the powerful people and the rich people are nearly all engaged in the concubine system. That is why China is going

constantly down every day because the high class people and the rich people want to get money very quickly by squeezing in order to have their private pleasures. China is hopeless unless this system is prohibited. Instead of prohibiting, however, about four months ago the Chinese government passed a new law allowing people to marry more wives, a thing which has never been allowed in the old law. They think that they deserve to marry so many wives. They never think that this is the weakness of China. Why do they squeeze? Because they want to support their young wives.

"A country is made up of families. The principle of the family is the husband and the wife. The Chinese families of the high class have so many wives kicking each other, being jealous of each other, holding each other down. Why do the girls wish to become a second wife? Because they want to wear good clothes. The poor husband has to support them. That is why when anything comes to their hand they grasp the money or squeeze it out of others. I have looked into this very minutely and every business that is in the hands of people having many wives is never successful. These people have no far-sighted ideas. They only care for the young girls. The concubines and the gambling are the weakness of China.

Ninety per cent. of the Chinese are poor people. These people are good people. Ten per cent are rich people and the people in power. Of this ten per cent, ninety per cent have these bad habits. These poor people are good workers, they are honest, they are diligent, they are economical, they can live in a very poor state. Most of the rich behave so badly that they deserve to have a bad result come upon them. But if anything happens to these rich people, the poor people will have to suffer also.

Such an evil can be stopped, for the rich people and those in power always listen to law. Take opium for example. Once get into the habit and it was very hard to give it up. But when the government prohibits it, then the people give it up at once. The system of concubinage could also be given up easily if the government wished to have it so.

INDUSTRIAL LIFE.

Industrially China has been and in the main is still an agricultural nation. Agriculture has been supplemented, however, by household trades and these are now beginning to feel the effects of the increasing import of factory-made products from Japan and the West. And the factory system itself has begun in many centres in China and it is already far developed in Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow and other cities. It is heart-breaking to go into the great cotton factories and see the men and women and children, chiefly women and children of eight years old and upward, working in long twelve-hour shifts seven days in the week and every week of the year. If there are too many lives in China the present factory system will bring a murderous relief. It may well be that the killing strain of the factory life is after all not much greater than the ordinary struggle for existence and that the prohibition of child labour might bring more suffering than its permission entails.

A new industrial order in China is inevitable and it will come with consequences both to China and to the rest of the world which no one can foresee. When the cheapest, steadiest, most efficient labour in the world, representing more than a fourth of the working power of humanity, is employed in its own

mills working up its own raw materials and with the product enters into competition with the West, a new chapter of economic history will begin and a new day for China as well.

EDUCATION.

Dr. Fong See and Mr. H. K. Tong, who are probably as well informed as any men with regard to general educational conditions, while recognizing that all figures are only approximate and that there are few statistics in China at present which can be relied upon, state that 'China has nearly doubled the number of schools since the first revolution. In 1911 there were approximately 39,000 schools, which included high schools, colleges and universities, but exclusive of missionary institutions. At the end of 1914 the number of schools had increased to 59,796, an increase of more than two-fifths in less than four years. Of 60,000 schools, 37,000 were private. Peking has more than 700 schools.'

Whatever the statistics may show, however, there can be no doubt about the deep general interest in education and the realization of its importance to the state. On January 1st, 1915, President Yuan began the year with a presidential mandate on national education, significant for its recognition of the necessity of establishing an adequate national system, its emphasis on the moral qualities which seemed to the president most essential, and its assurance with regard to private schools. The mandate was as follows:

"We are now in a transition period and our educational policy has not yet been definitely shaped. . . The matter of governing a country, it is to be remembered, is similar to that of governing a family. The poorer the family the more important it is that the education of its children should not be neglected, and the weaker the nation the more important it is that its people should seek knowledge. . .

"Now that there is no more turmoil in the country and the foundation of the State has been laid, I, the President, intend to carry out educational reforms without further vacillation. The ancient fundamental principles will be retained and upon them will be built a new system into which the results of modern scientific researches will be introduced. In order to make our people a race of great virtue, wisdom and courage we will first build their character on a basis of loyalty, filial piety, unselfish devotion and uprightness, and then teach them modern arts and sciences. A martial spirit shall be cultivated in them in order to prepare them for military service; and emphasis must also be laid to make them all practical men and discourage degenerate frivolity. Their honesty should be enkindled and they are to be taught to exalt patriotism before every other virtue: they are to be trained to endure hardships and despise the practice of hunting for offices. They should learn to rebuke themselves and consider it a shame whenever they are behind others in their literary pursuits. The discipline in the schools shall be as strict as that which a general exercises in commanding his troops, but the relation between the master and pupil shall be as cordial as that between a father and a son.

"We are now aiming at establishing a system of universal education so as to enable every one of our people to rely on himself and get rid of the habit of depending on others. Private schools, if satisfactorily conducted, will be treated in the same manner as public institutions. The Ministry of Education should also compile lectures on the principles of free education to be delivered to the people. Then, as

soon as the finance of the country is in a more healthy state, the different grades of schools will be gradually established.

A CONFERENCE WITH CHINESE LEADERS.

We laid this whole question of the present political, social, educational and religious situation in China before a large group of the ablest and most influential younger Chinese leaders who were together in one city, and asked them whether the general view which I have stated here is correct.

'I have been back in China only a little while,' said the second speaker, but I think China is making progress in all these four lines. If there are signs of reaction, nevertheless the main currents are onward and the backward movements are only eddies in a running stream. In governmental affairs there has been great progress in comparison with the old day. There really has been a national awakening. The Revolution was only one of the signs of it. We must not exaggerate the Revolution and then be disappointed with our exaggeration. It was only a sign of a real movement that preceded it and that lasts after it. And probably the Revolution was too sudden. Young and inexperienced men rushed into government and were not able to carry the responsibility of it, so the older men came back. Nevertheless they have kept many of the new men as indispensable and while they are subordinate they are still wielding influence. Socially a revolution sometimes works more harm than good and it does not change moral practices. Some of the old evils, like concubinage, continue. Still I believe that this practice is increasingly condemned. I know some men whose fathers kept concubines who have resolved not to do so. It is true that most of these men live in treaty ports and owe their higher moral view to foreign influence. The existence of the evil in higher circles makes it hard to fight the matter openly because there is no real freedom of speech. Educationally there is much uneasiness but there is also real progress. The president has declared that he is going to pay special attention to education. His acts endorse his word. He has been giving his own money and the money of the state for the establishment of schools and the preparation of text books. This has brought a new life into education. Religiously I have not heard much of the restoration of old beliefs. Several years ago there was a movement to promote Confucianism but this has lost its ardour and the men who promoted it are now silent. The present situation is not so gloomy as some think. Many influences are working for the uplift of China—education, communications, the Christian churches with their schools and hospitals, the magazines and the press; the forces of these movements cannot be stopped. If the number of men willing to sacrifice for China can be increased there is no need of fear.'

'I am a man from the backwoods,' said the fourth speaker, who, though he came from an inland city, was as a matter of fact one of the most widely experienced men in the group, 'and I do not understand these great problems and I am naturally a pessimist. As to political conditions, I don't know. A man told me that the Revolution was no use, that the people were unchanged, the squeezing was worse and bribes more common and the nation poorer. The birth-rate gives us more ignorance than the schools dispel. The old style private schools are gone. What can be done? Will a pail of water quench a great fire? We men ought to make the new cons-

cience. Have we done this? Many students have gone abroad to study. They come back puffing up talking English, foreignized, wanting to be served. Have the returned students done much to better our conditions? How can we get good students from abroad to change the economic conditions in China? We must get them from abroad or else produce them in China, and we had better produce them here if we want to keep them Chinese, as we must do if they are to lead the people. Our problem is an economic problem. Our soldiers wear watches. Our people carry umbrellas. We have taken to foreign shoes, but we make none of these things. We import them all. We have not even a tannery.

'The present situation,' said the fifth speaker 'is very amorphous, intangible, inchoate. We can hardly say anything definite about it. Of course China is making progress, just as the world is even during this great war.

There is a tendency to go back to the old order and to make order and not progress the rule of life. Of course we must have order but not as opposed to progress. There may be order, such as the business men want for trade, which is the very enemy of progress. Progress relates to the free expansion of the individual. We have less freedom for this than we had under the Manchus.

'I too,' said the second speaker, 'had heard that the number of schools had decreased and I looked into the matter and learned from the Minister of Education that the number had increased and that the 1,600,000 pupils reported a year ago are now 2,100,000.'

As the conference closed all turned to one recognized as a true man, a true leader, and a true Chinese. What did he have to say?

'I have some answers to give,' said he, 'to the questions that have been raised, but it is late and I will not say them. I believe that it is true that God is laying on us great responsibilities, that He expects us to lead China and to make it a Chinese China, but we are not ready yet to stand all alone. We need the friendship of unselfish peoples. Some may be disposed to say to us, "You cannot do the work that needs to be done. We wish to help China and we will come to your assistance." No. No nation can help us. China must be left to help herself. Not even America can help us. If China cannot deal with her own evils and work out her own problems and accomplish her own mission, no one can do it for her. And she can do it for herself if she is not interfered with. I speak plainly. There ought to be only friendship and fullness of trust and generous and unselfish helpfulness between Japan and China. There ought not to be suspicions and boycotts and unfriendliness. The Japanese yellow papers talk about the inferiority of China, the impossibility of reforms and the division of the country. The thoughts of the Japanese people are misled and the Chinese read these things and are both grieved and goaded by them. Why does not Japan seek to win the love of China? She has had an unparalleled opportunity to do it in the case of the tens of thousands of students from China who have studied in Tokyo. Let Japan remember what China has given her in the past in art and literature and philosophy, and let her be generous and just and patient now until we have had time to deal with our gigantic task and to achieve it.'

To this task these men, and scores of men and women like them, are devotedly bending their

selves. Turning aside from political ambitions they are devoting their lives to the great work of social and educational regeneration which they realize needs to be done within Chinese life and character. To some of them, nevertheless, political opportunity has opened, and in high and low places they are giving the nation enlightened and patriotic service. Others of them in private life are laying out their souls where they see the need to be greatest.

The two conditions of all progress are steadfastness and mobility. Are not both these conditions met in the Chinese people? What people possess more steadfastness? Three centuries ago the Manchus overthrew the Chinese, but who, really, was overthrown? For those three centuries the Chinese kept the line of racial cleavage sharp and distinct, subtly drained away the energies of their conquerors, and now after two hundred and fifty years of steadfastness of purpose have broken the hated yoke. Where on earth is there any other

nation with such abiding qualities of stability and endurance? And only those who are ignorant of Chinese history can think of the Chinese as impassive or immobile. No nation has ever been shaken by mightier upheavals or responded more readily to new ideals or shown a more unflinching will for moral change. There are many who would regard the wiping out of the saloon and the liquor traffic in the West as child's play in comparison with the suppression of the opium traffic and the annihilation of the opium habit in China, and yet within a period of ten years China has broken and burned up these chains. Not once did we smell opium where twenty years ago its odours were in every Chinese city. Not once did we see an opium victim although twenty years ago they could be found on every highway. The moral enthusiasm and energy with which China wiped out the opium curse is a proof that she is equal to any moral reform or can be made equal.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Higher Criticism" and the Date of Sukraniti.

(Continued from the June number.)

1. Samudragupta, as Vincent Smith states, was "unknown even by name to the historians" until the publication of his work in 1905.

2. The achievements of the Pala and Sena Emperors of Bengal were matters of idle gossip until Mr. Chanda's somewhat audacious statement of the case in the Bengali work *Gauda-Rajamala* (1911). In the third edition of Mr. Smith's work (1914) of which the very first copy I happened to see in his reading room at Oxford, the author admits that "Dharmapala and Devapala succeeded in making Bengal one of the great powers of India." This admission must have been due to his having in his possession the proof sheets of Banerji's *Memoir on the Palas* (in the J. A. S. B.), as he could not read Chanda's work in Bengali. It need be observed that Banerji's *Memoir* has been accessible to the public for the last few months only.

3. In the third edition of his *Early History*, Vincent Smith has admitted the claims of Gurjara Pratiharas of Kanauj as real Empire builders. This also is a new fact.

4. In Banerji's *Early History of Bengal* (1915) written in the Bengali language we read of another Empire-builder, Chandravarman of Rajputana in the 4th century. He was a contemporary of Samudragupta; it is his name that remains inscribed on the Iron Pillar at Delhi.

5. As for the details of administration, finance &c., available from the inscriptions and other sources it may be said that the investigation has not yet been seriously begun. The only satisfactory account full of details is that relating to the mediæval Chola Empire given by Mr. S. R. Aiyangar in his *Ancient India*. The data furnished by the military, political or administrative history are thus as yet too meagre to enable anybody to locate any treatise of *Nitisastra* in one or other of the epochs of government. It may be asked naturally, "Were the authors of the Sukra cycle, whether state officers or private citizens,

men of Prataliputra, Kanauj or Gauda or Vijaynagara, or Poona?"

"Was Sukraniti compiled under the Guptas, or Cholas, or Gurjara Pratiharas or Palas or of other Indian Napoleons and Frederick the Greats yet to be discovered and rescued from the limbo of oblivion?"

Until and unless a satisfactory answer to such a question can be given the dates hazarded on the strength of simple passages or sections are quite meaningless.

An attempt has been made by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji in his introduction to Mr. Naren Law's *Hindu Polity*, to indicate that the *Artha Sastra* of Kautilya is an authentic work of the Maurya age. A similar attempt has to be made with regard to *Sukraniti*, and in fact, to every *Nitisastra* or *Samhita* be it known after Manu, Jainavalkya and so forth.

So far as I could hastily gather from the fragmentary details of administration under the Bengalee Empire the technical terms in the *Sukraniti* do not fit in well with those used in the Pala and Sena records. And as for the Empire of the Tamil Napoleons *Sukraniti* does not yet seem to be a Gazetteer, official or non-official, of that system either. We know very little about the Gupta and Vardhana, and Rashtrakuta and Chalukya administrations. The scrappy details in the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims do not supply any positive circumstantial evidence by which treatises like *Kamandaki-niti*, *Sukraniti* which could be interpreted as works of the 4th-7th cent A. D. But in the case of *Arthasastra*, fortunately, the report of Megasthenes has been a great external evidence. With regard to the second condition laid down in the *Positive Background* it need be observed that treatises on politics, economics and international law have not been accorded the attention they deserve. The study has begun only recently. Just a few years ago the political writings of the Hindus were supposed to be those found in the *Santiparva* of the Mahabharata and Chapters VII and VIII of *Manusamhita*. In fact, it was the custom to treat the Hindu genius as thoroughly non-political, non-military, non-economic, in one word, non-secular. Recent scholarship has subverted that fiction started

about Hindu character by the first batch of European scholars. It is now going to be well established that the alleged pessimism of the Nirvanist Sakya-sinha, the doctrines of *Ahimsa* (Non-killing), Non-Resistance, &c., were platitudes in which neither the Mauryas, nor the Kushans, nor the Guptas, Gurjara Pratiharas, the Palas, Cholas, Marathas, nor any responsible people in Hindusthan, ever cared to indulge; and that those theories of subjective metaphysicians have to be interpreted with reference to Empire-building, military renowns of *Digvijaya*, extra-Indian commercial enterprise, &c. &c. It is when the secular philosophy of the Hindu has been well studied that a historical treatment of *Nitisastras*, *Kamasastras*, *Silpasastras*, &c., would be possible. It would then be time for students of comparative chronology to assign text to epoch by "checking" the conclusions of literary history with the findings of archeology.

I happen to have been the translator of *Sukraniti*. I beg to make a few remarks with regard to the text.

My text was that of the Madras Government, and I did not care to standardise the text by comparison with the other texts, printed and manuscript. My object was to understand the general trend of thought on administrative and international questions; and it seems that by the translation of the work into literal English a large demand has been satisfied as the edition has been exhausted within two years. But it need be noted that a thoroughly reliable text is absolutely necessary now that interest has been created. And this not only in the interest of scholarship but also for practical convenience. Thus whenever I find Mr. Jayaswal quoting *Sukraniti* I cannot trace his passages. In the February number of the "Modern Review" Dr. Sudhindra Bose quotes a passage from *Sukraniti* which has not the same position in his text as mine. Probably both of them have been using the Calcutta edition.

BENQYKUMAR SARFA.

NOTES

Wanted more Colleges.

An idea prevails among the opponents of high education in India that University education has been already overdone. This is a mistaken notion. A few comparative figures will enable unprejudiced persons to form a correct opinion.

In India Bengal contains a larger number of College students than any other province. But even Bengal is far behind the civilised countries of the West in high education. Take the case of Scotland. In Bengal the careers open to educated men are those of clerks, teachers, professors, and pleaders. A few men also become doctors, Government servants of lower grades, and fewer still, engineers. There is little education available in the country which can fit men for other kinds of careers, professions or work. The people of Scotland have all possible careers open to them; from none are they shut out. The Church, the Navy, the Army, the Home, Colonial and Indian Civil Services, Medicine, Law, Engineering, Education,—all are open to them. They can, besides, engage in mining, ship-building; all kinds of manufacturing, and internal and foreign trade. They have ample facilities for receiving the kind of education which fits men for all these different kinds of careers, professions or work. Under the circum-

stances, if there had been a larger proportion of men studying in Colleges in Bengal than in Scotland, that would not have been a matter for surprise. But as a matter of fact, in proportion to its population Scotland has a larger number of College students than Bengal. Scotland has a population of 47,60,904 (census of 1911). In 1913-1914 the number of its university students was 7,550. The population of Bengal, according to the census of 1911, is 4,54,83,077. During 1913-14 the total number of scholars attending Colleges in Bengal was 18,017. But according to the standard of Scotland, there ought to be in Bengal more than 72,000 college students, which is more than four times the number that it has.

As almost all Colleges in Bengal are overcrowded, in order to accommodate four times the number of students which they at present teach, *there ought to be three more additional colleges for each college that we have at present.*

University education is not so widespread in England as it is in Scotland, the Scotch being a more highly educated people than the English. But even in England, there is, proportionately, a larger number of students in the Universities than in Bengal. According to the census of 1911, England has a population of 3,40,45,290. In 1913-14 the number of

University students in England was 24,010. According to the standard of England there ought to be more than 32,000 college students in Bengal, whereas we have only 18,017.

So whether we accept Scotland or England as our standard, there ought to be a far larger number of Colleges and College students in Bengal than we have. And over and above these additional colleges affiliated to the University, we ought to have institutions for imparting education to enable men to follow all those careers which Englishmen and Scots follow.

But, instead of facilitating the establishing of new colleges, the Syndicate of the Calcutta University has rejected the application of the Maharaja of Cossimbazar for permission to open the Swarnamayee college on grounds which will not bear examination. It has been said that if a college be located in Corporation Street in Calcutta, near the Municipal Market, there may be collision between soldiers and students. But that market and the Maidan are already frequented by soldiers and students. How many fights have occurred? It has been also said that as cases of consumption have occurred among Calcutta students, there ought not to be another College in Calcutta. But it might be similarly argued that as there is a larger percentage of deaths from consumption among women than among men in Calcutta, further increase of the female population of Calcutta should be stopped! A new college in Calcutta with very spacious class-rooms is more likely to lessen congestion among the students than increase it. This makes the trotting out of the consumption bogey still more absurd than it is. Besides, where are the facts and figures to support the assertion that there is an alarming prevalence of consumption among students in Calcutta? And supposing the statement were true, how is it that affiliation has been granted to a new College in the Bhowanipore quarter of the town? Is that part consumption-proof?

As there ought to be a very large increase in the number of Colleges, so, in order to feed them, there ought to be a corresponding increase in the number of schools.

Expansion and Efficiency.

In 'Indian Education in 1914-15' published by the Government of India Bureau

of Education, Mr. Sharp, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, observes: "Efficiency is frequently decried as a watchword of obstruction. But the word too often means only the removal of the grosser defects and the provision of those elements which go to make up the simplest kind of educational institution."

It is very kind of bureaucrats to think that the people of India do not like efficiency, that in fact they prefer inefficiency to efficiency. The truth, however, is that we think some sort of education, even inefficient education, is better than ignorance. In all civilised countries educational expansion and increase of efficiency have been found not incompatible, they have gone hand in hand. We do not see why we can not have both in India.

Expansion of Education only apparent.

There is, no doubt, some increase of pupils every year. But the increase is not rapid enough, and, considering the increase of population every year, *the increase in the number of pupils is more apparent than real*. Mr. Sharp's "Indian Education in 1914-15" tells us that "the five years from 1909 to 1914 had shown an encouraging increase of nearly one and a third million pupils. The increase in the year 1913-14 alone was 357,203." And he estimates that in 1914-15 there was an increase of 260,000. From 1901 to 1911 the increase of population in the whole of India was 20,795,340, which means that in five years the population increases by more than 10 millions, and in one year by more than 2 millions; whereas the increase in pupils was only one and a third million in five years, and 357,203 in one year. Even if we accept as true the wrong official estimate of 15 per cent. of the total population as the maximum school-going population, we get an addition of 15 per cent. of ten millions, or one and a half millions, to the *maximum* school-going population in five years; whereas the *actual* increase in pupils was only one and a third million pupils. So that it is literally true that *the natural increase of the population gives us more ignorance than the schools and colleges dispel*.

It is not clear from Mr. Sharp's statement whether the increase of 260,000 in 1914-15 took place in British India or the whole of India. If it be for the whole of

India, it is less than 300,000, which is 15 per cent of the annual increase of population. So we say again that *the birth-rate* (minus the death-rate) *gives us every year more ignorance than the schools and colleges dispel.*

The Limitation of Classes.

Mr. Sharp says in "Indian Education in 1914-15":—

Sometimes the first and second year classes are permitted to take in as many as 150 or even 200 students each. The Director in the United Provinces makes some comments on this point, suggests that there are some to whom it seems preferable to overcrowd than to refuse admission, and quotes the Principal of St. Andrew's College, who says, "Our university (Allahabad) is not so bad as others in India" * * * but even in our university it is frequently the case that a professor has to teach classes of from 50 to 60 students, and it is obvious that, if such be the case, it is humanly impossible for the professor, however sympathetic he may be, to get to know the specific needs of individual students." This is the most pressing problem in collegiate education. It has various aspects. There is the point of view of the student, who, having completed his school course, naturally resents any difficulty which he may meet in gaining admission to a college. There is the point of view of managers of privately managed institutions which subsist largely on fees, who naturally desire to see full classes. There is the point of view of the professor who, owing to the growth of inferior English schools and variable standards of matriculation, finds it increasingly difficult to cope with large numbers of ill-prepared students who are unable to understand and follow lectures. The universities and thoughtful educationists can hardly regard with equanimity a condition of things, which, though it is probably by no means universal, threatens to cast discredit upon higher instruction. The idea is growing and has found expression (as was mentioned in last year's report) that the proper solution is a prolongation of the school course so as to include all or part of the intermediate stage, with possibly some curtailment of the college period. The whole question is certainly one which deserves careful consideration.

We quite understand the value of small classes containing a moderate number of students; but, if colleges cannot be multiplied sufficiently rapidly, we would prefer large classes to allowing our children to grow up in ignorance. However small the classes in our schools and colleges may be made by the Education Department and the Universities, the Anglo-Indian officials are not affected thereby in any way; for their children are not educated in these institutions, and not a single white child or youth is deprived of the advantages of education by the limits imposed. It is, therefore, quite easy for the Anglo-Indian officials to insist upon ideal conditions of education in India.

But in England, which is a far richer country than India, we learn from the *London Times*, "one way of economising expenditure in the education department has been found by reverting to the old system of larger classes." This is because owing to the excessive war expenditure economy has to be exercised in all civil departments, including education. *The Times* says:

"In the bad old days, when classes numbered normally 70 or even 80 pupils, the wonder was how much good work was done. Teachers will rise to the occasion now as they did then, and they will have a satisfaction that was denied their predecessors for in doing their work under distressing conditions they will be doing their part in the great effort the nation is making."

This is with respect to schools, where attention to the individual needs of pupils is more necessary than in Colleges. The financial condition of England is not more straitened in these war times, than is the chronic financial embarrassment of the people of India. Nor is India richer than England was in "the bad old days" of which the *Times* speaks. Yet here a rigid limit of 30 or 35 pupils per class is imposed on the size of school classes. If England's culture and prosperity could be built upon the foundation of those "bad old days" when classes numbered *normally* 70 or even 80 pupils, why is a cataclysm predicted if people complain of the inflexible limits in India?

The Principal of St. Andrew's College complains that in the Allahabad University (which is "not so bad as others in India"), it is frequently the case that a professor has to teach classes of from 50 to 50 students. In Calcutta and elsewhere professor has often to teach a class of 150 to 175 students. But can anybody assert or prove that, speaking generally, Bengal, Bombay or Madras graduates are worse educated than U. P. graduates?

Large classes do not in themselves imply inefficient education. "The Students' Hand-book to the University and Colleges of Cambridge, 1914-1915," tells us:

"A great part of University and college teaching consists of lectures, delivered to audiences varying from 10 to 300 students, under the formal conditions of the lecture room."

If in rich England and in such a superior seat of learning as Cambridge lectures to 300 students in one room are tolerated, why are classes of 50 or 60 or 150 in India considered unbearable?

As for "the specific needs of individual students," the older a student grows, the less individual care he ought to require. Prof. J. N. Fraser, editor of *Indian Education*, wrote in the March number of his journal:

Much is said of the need for individual teaching in colleges and of the impossibility of giving this to large numbers. We think it would be more sensible to recognise at once that individual teaching in colleges is neither possible nor desirable. The place for individual teaching is the school: a young man is not fit to go to college till he is able to stand alone. College lectures should, of course, be suitable to the average student, and the professor should spare no pains to be audible and intelligible, but it is not his business to spend time after his lectures explaining points to the densely stupid and ill-prepared. To impose this on him is simply to ruin all college ideals. The students on whom a professor may and should spend time are the able students, and it should be left to him which he chooses to cultivate. A professor should make it his business to start small societies for the benefit of these and try to get them to do a little original thinking. But to ask him to give monotonously a few minutes per week to every student—good, bad and indifferent—is to mistake the nature of college work and ideals.

If some students cannot understand and follow lectures, the remedy lies in improving the schools, and in appointing an adequate number of tutors to bestow individual care on the students, particularly the backward ones. It is easier to have large colleges and large classes and appoint a sufficient number of tutors than to establish and maintain a large number of small colleges with small classes. The New Regulations of the Universities, added to the official bias against high education, have practically put a stop to the foundation of new colleges. One rarely hears of one or two per annum in a country inhabited by 315 million persons, the vast majority of whom are illiterate. If the classes are also to be made small, that would mean the forcible prevention of the expansion of education.

We are opposed to "a prolongation of the school course," "with possibly some curtailment of the college period." We know what that "possibly," italicized by us, means. The prolongation of the school course, if officially agreed upon, would be sure to come, and the possibility of the curtailment of the college period would vanish. But that is not the main ground of our opposition. We oppose the proposal because few, if any, of our schools are fit to teach the intermediate course, and it is better for boys of 16 and over to be taught by

the professors of our colleges than by school teachers, though the latter are generally estimable men, and many very able, too.

An incorrect and misleading educational Assumption.

In official reports in India, the word "school" in such expressions as "school-going population" and "school-going age," is taken to include schools, colleges and universities. "The school-going population" means, in Indian official parlance, persons of both sexes who are actually receiving or are of an age to receive education in any kind of school or college or university; and it is in this sense that we shall use the expression in the present note. The question is, what proportion of the population may be taken to be of school-going age in the sense explained above? We are told in Mr. H. Sharp's "Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912" that "the school-going population has been calculated in India as 15 per cent. of the population."

But the fixing of the population of school-going age at 15 per cent. of the total population is arbitrary and is an obvious underestimate. For we find that in many countries a much larger proportion of the population than 15 per cent. is receiving education in schools, colleges and universities. If 15 per cent. really represented the maximum population of school-going age, how could the actual number of persons under instruction in any country exceed this maximum? Moreover, in all countries which are educationally most progressive, year after year the number of pupils is increasing, showing that though their school-going population is now much more than 15 per cent. of their total population, they are far from having yet reached the possible maximum or enrolled in their educational institutions all persons of school-going age.

Let us now prove our assertion that in many countries more than 15 per cent. of the population are already at school, college and university. The figures for the United States of America will be quoted first. The table printed below is compiled from the Report of the Commissioner of Education, U. S. A., for the year ended June 30, 1913.

States	Per cent. of the total population enrolled in each grade of institutions.			
	Elementary	Secondary	Higher	Total
United States	19.45	1.40	.37	21.22
Maine	18.76	4.00	.42	21.18
Connecticut	19.61	1.64	.43	21.68
Michigan	19.87	1.69	.47	22.03
Wisconsin	19.57	1.66	.53	21.76
Minnesota	20.06	1.80	.45	22.31
Iowa	22.17	2.19	.45	24.81
Missouri	20.61	1.33	.47	22.41
North Dakota	21.06	1.20	.31	22.57
South Dakota	20.31	1.38	.34	22.03
Nebraska	22.23	2.12	.64	24.99
Kansas	21.75	2.05	.50	24.30
West Virginia	22.04	.76	.24	23.04
North Carolina	23.45	.89	.26	24.60
South Carolina	21.44	.75	.34	22.53
Georgia	20.89	.73	.23	21.85
Kentucky	22.58	.76	.27	23.61
Tennessee	24.83	1.00	.28	26.11
Mississippi	26.43	.69	.16	27.28
Arkansas	25.05	.66	.11	25.82
Oklahoma	23.97	.83	.23	25.03
Colorado	19.66	1.88	.50	22.04
Utah	22.97	2.24	.32	25.53
Idaho	22.57	1.65	.25	24.47

It will be seen from this table that *taking even the elementary grade by itself* these States have all an enrollment exceeding 15 per cent. of the population, some exceeding 25 per cent., and one having 26.43 per cent. It is only in the single State of Nevada that we find an enrollment of less than 15 per cent., every other state having more. Turning to the total enrollment, we find the State of Mississippi having so high a proportion of its entire population as 27.28 per cent. under instruction. So it is a glaring underestimate to take 15 per cent. of the total population of a country as the possible maximum of persons which it may send to school, college and university.

But we must not rest our case entirely on the educational statistics of the United States of America. The figures we are going to quote are taken from the U. S. A. Commissioner of Education's Report for 1913. "The latest statistics of *elementary schools* available for Norway pertain to the year 1909, at which time the enrollment was equivalent to 14.6 per cent. of the population." The percentage of the total population *receiving elementary education* is in

Austria 15.30, the German Empire 16.30; England and Wales 16.84, Scotland 17.74, Ireland 16.16, Holland 15.42, Cape of Good Hope 15.66, Natal 16.53, Al-

berta (Canada) 16.53, British Columbia 15.10, Manitoba 15.17, New Brunswick 19.66, Nova Scotia 21.12, Ontario 18.22, Quebec 21.13, New South Wales 15.13, Queensland 16.91, Victoria 17.86, and New Zealand 17.7.

These figures, which, it should be borne in mind, relate only to pupils in the elementary grade, are generally of the year 1911; none are later than 1912-13. Since then further progress must have been made. Among European countries the most backward is Russia; it is partly Asiatic. Its percentage for the elementary grade is 3.77. Among the large South American countries the percentage of Brazil is the lowest, being 2.96. But education is more widely spread even in these countries than in India. The figure for Japan, 1910-11, is 13.16, for elementary education alone. Marked progress has been made since then.

It is clear, then, that the Indian Education Department greatly underestimate the possible maximum of persons who may be under instruction in assuming it to be only 15 per cent. of the total population. As we have found that in one State of America the *actual* proportion of persons under instruction is 27.28 per cent. of the entire population, it would be nearer the truth to fix the possible maximum population of "school-going age" at 30 per cent. of the whole population.

Agriculture and Education.

The justification of the official assumption of 15 per cent. is found in the following words from Mr. H. Sharp's "Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912," vol. I, p. 15:—

".....where the bulk of the population is agricultural, the period of education is necessarily shorter than under more complicated social conditions and the amount of education required is less."

Mr. Sharp is absolutely mistaken in thinking that an agricultural population requires little education or that their period of education is necessarily short. This baseless assumption shows astounding ignorance of or blindness to the facts of agricultural education in the United States of America and various other civilised countries, including England.

Let us take England first. The following institutions in England and Wales, according to Hazell's Annual, provide full courses of instruction in agricul-

ture and the allied sciences. They are of university rank, and the highest courses can lead up to a degree; the period of education is, therefore, not short. Courses of a less advanced character are also provided at them.

Oxford University; Cambridge University; Victoria University, Manchester; University College of North Wales; Leeds University; Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne; University College of Wales; University College, Reading; South-Eastern Agricultural College, Wye, Kent.

Courses more or less complete, but not leading up to a degree, are held at six other Colleges. In addition, there are many institutions which either give general agricultural instruction of a less advanced character or confine themselves to some particular branch. There are also a number of agricultural or farm institutes.

In the United States of America, where a larger number of persons depend on agricultural pursuits for their livelihood than on any other single class of occupations, there are sixty-nine Universities and Colleges teaching agriculture. Of these 27 are for coloured students, i. e., Negroes and mixed races. Surely if the Negroes of America, who were until some 50 years ago, savages in a state of slavery, require universities to teach them agriculture, it cannot be said to be axiomatic that the period of education among an agricultural population is necessarily shorter than among others, or that the amount of education required by agriculturists is less than what is required by others. It should be borne in mind that the American universities and colleges which teach agriculture are in addition to the numerous elementary and secondary schools which have the same object in view. In 1912-13, the number of agricultural high schools in the United States was about 2,300. The number of elementary agricultural schools was very much greater. We refrain from quoting figures for other civilised countries. The curious reader is referred to the Report of the U. S. A. Commissioner of Education.

If it be said that an agricultural population may require agricultural education, but not general literary education, we reply that agricultural education, whether elementary, secondary or collegiate, implies literary education, and that the Indian Education Department has made an ab-

surdly inadequate provision for the agricultural education of the people. In all advanced countries, the period of agricultural education is, from the elementary grades to the finishing of the university courses, generally quite as long as that of any other kind of education.

We may, however, be met with the objection that though the agricultural population may require agricultural education together with what literary education may be needed for the purpose, among the general population of a mainly agricultural country, including agriculturists, the possible maximum of scholars must be low. We shall now dispose of this argument.

According to the Statesman's Year Book, 1914, of the total active population of France numbering 20,720,879 in 1906, the largest number, viz., 8,777,053 had agriculture and forestry as their occupation; the next largest class, those engaged in manufacturing industries, numbered 5,979,215. So France is largely an agricultural country. But here out of the total population of over 39 millions, 6,336,241 scholars, or about 16 per cent., are enrolled in infant, primary and higher schools alone, leaving out of calculation colleges and universities. Thus in this mainly agricultural country, the Indian Education Department's possible maximum of scholars of all grades has been exceeded in schools alone.

Canada exports agricultural produce of far greater value than any other class of goods. Its dominant agricultural character is, therefore, undoubted. Still, the pupils in the elementary schools of all its provinces number much more than fifteen per cent. of the total population.

For example, "Nova Scotia is largely an agricultural province." (Statesman's Year Book, 1914, p. 276.) But the elementary scholars there form 21.12 per cent. of the whole population.

"Although manufactures have increased tremendously of recent years...agriculture is still the predominant industry of the United States, employing nearly half of the workers, and probably giving subsistence to considerably more than half of the people of the country." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XXVII, p. 639.) Nevertheless we have seen that in that country the pupils in elementary grades alone form 19.45 per cent. of the whole popu-

lation. The State of Mississippi is mainly an agricultural State. But the pupils in its elementary schools form 26.43 per cent., and scholars in all grades of its institutions form 27.28 per cent. of its whole population. "The principal industry of Minnesota is agriculture" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*), but it is a highly educated State. Missouri is "an agricultural State" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*) but is highly educated. Iowa stands "pre-eminently as an agricultural State" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*) but it is an enlightened State. In Nebraska "agriculture is not only the chief industry but is also the foundation of the commerce and manufactures of the State;" but in spite of Mr. Sharp's authoritative dictum, it is an enlightened State. And so on and so forth.

Lastly, we learn from Whitaker's Almanac for 1915 that "Ireland is essentially an agricultural country." But, nevertheless, its elementary scholars alone form 16.16 per cent. of its population.

We hope we have shown conclusively that "where the bulk of the population is agricultural, the period of education is necessarily" NOT "shorter than under more complicated social conditions, and the amount of education required is" NOT "less."

There is one unanswerable argument which we can recommend for the use of Indian educational officials in defence of the position that Indians require less education and a briefer period of education than other peoples and that consequently 15 per cent. of the total population is the possible maximum of the Indian "school-going" population. That argument is, "India is India."

"A shame to any nation."

In one of its recent Educational Supplements the London *Times* draws attention to the alarming fact that in Great Britain nearly twenty lakhs of children are allowed to grow up without any education, and regards the consequences as serious. Five lakhs of these children are between the ages of 12 and 14 and the remainder are between 14 and 17. The Consultative Committee in their report of 1909 observed that "at the most critical period in their lives a very large majority of the boys and girls in England and Wales are left without any sufficient guidance and care." The consequences are

national inefficiency and injuries to character; and the *Times* observes: "These facts are a shame to any nation."

The population of British India is 24,29,88,947. Fifteen per cent. of this figure, i.e., 3,64,48,342, represents the population of "school-going age" according to the official assumption, which we have shown to be a ridiculously low estimate. Only 74,48,419 are under instruction, leaving 2,89,99,923 without any education. We suppose this is at least as great a shame as the ignorance of 20 lakhs of British children.

The official estimate of 15 per cent. as the population of "school-going" age is wrong. The correct figure is somewhere near 30 per cent. Therefore in British India the maximum number of persons who may be under instruction is 8 crores or 80 millions, of whom only 74 lakhs or 7 and a half millions are under instruction, leaving more than 72 millions in ignorance.

"Secondary Education for All."

The remedy suggested by the *Times*, of course for Great Britain, is "secondary education for all." It says: "If we are to face the future with any confidence after this exhausting war, we must face it as an educated people. We shall not be able to afford to waste the efficiency of a single English child." It declares itself against mere primary education, as "it merely supplies uncorrelated knowledge leading nowhere." In the opinion of this prominent British journal, there should be preparatory education up to the age of eleven years, "and from that age onwards there should be in every school in the land compulsory secondary education for every child, given by teachers who have received a secondary training and, in ever-increasing numbers, a university training." For "there is no more appalling fact in our national economy than the waste of that supreme natural product—the child."

Cheap education.

While we admire, and earnestly desire that wherever possible there should be, good school buildings and the best school furniture, appliances and apparatus, we hold equally emphatically that nowhere should children be denied the advantages of education owing to the absence of these external requisites or to their being not up to the ideal standard. In the first half of

the 19th century, before the establishment of the Universities in India, the educational authorities were more reasonable than they are at present. In his very useful and interesting Bengali work on "The Hindus and Education," Lieutenant-colonel U. N. Mukherji, M. D., I. M. S. (retired), quotes the following observations of a European Inspector of Schools from one of the early Bengal Educational Reports :—

"The apparatus now universal in Europe is only just appearing in vernacular schools, and I believe never will be used extensively. It is the genius of the Hindus to obtain great results by apparently inadequate means. No person watches the Dacca weavers or goldsmiths or shell-workers without astonishment. The loom from which the most beautiful patterns woven in transparent Muslin are produced appears to European eyes a rickety frame of bamboo splints. The silversmiths make a little hole in the ground and quickly metamorphose a rupee into a beautiful brooch. The shell-worker, with the aid of a circular saw and a sharp nail, transforms a pretty shell into a set of bracelets, whose graceful curves and tracery extort admiration even from English jewellers.....From these and such-like indications, I believe that our schools will produce good results with very imperfect apparatus. Even now, in some schools, a round earthen pot, costing one farthing, serves for a globe; a black board is made of a mat stiffened with bamboo splints and well plastered with cow's dung. The brown surface thus produced answers all the requirements of a black board. If the walls of the school house are made of mud, and washed, as is usual in Hindu houses, with cow's dung, the whole wall serves as a black board, and can be renewed every other day. I expect to see the time when these brown surfaces will be universal in Bengali school rooms. The boys who draw maps make their own ink from charcoal, and paint from jungle plants. They also glaze the maps by rubbing them with a smooth stone." Pp. 655-656 of "*Hindu-jati o Siksha*."

Some time ago a European Inspector of Schools in Bengal issued a circular that all schools in his jurisdiction (including village schools) must purchase blackboards from Messrs. Macmillan & Co.!

Commercialism and Oriental Studies.

When we first heard of the establishment of the School of Oriental Studies, we thought it was intended to promote Oriental learning and a knowledge of Oriental culture and civilisation. But it seems we are mistaken, as the following Reuter's telegram would appear to show :—

Presiding at the first meeting of the Governors of the School of Oriental Studies, the Cabinet Minister Mr. Henderson, emphasised the hope that the school would play an important part in the reconstruction of commerce and industry by assisting Britain to secure and control the sources of raw material and

open new markets in Africa and the East. He hoped that the school would become the centre of research to which learned Indians and Egyptians would turn for guidance in their studies.

The commercial motive is seldom absent from the thoughts of Occidental people. We will give an example or two. When in 1813, on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter it was debated in the House of Commons whether Christian Missionaries should be allowed freely to preach Christianity in India and convert the natives, the evidence of many prominent Anglo-Indian witnesses was taken. Warren Hastings, who was one of them, said :—

"He also remembered a Catholic priest who resided near Dacca and had about him a large flock of men whom he called Christians. But they were Christians only in name and dress, and the priest was ignorant of the common language of the country. On hearing this allusion to the dress of the converts some members from the manufacturing districts enquired whether the clothes they wore were of European manufacture, and Mr. Hastings replied that he had never seen them," &c.

In 1820, when the Rev. Mr. Ward of Serampore was on a visit to England, he wrote a letter on the education of the people of India to Mr. J. C. Villiers, at that time a minister of the British Government, in expectation of some grant in aid of missionary education. Here is an extract from the letter.

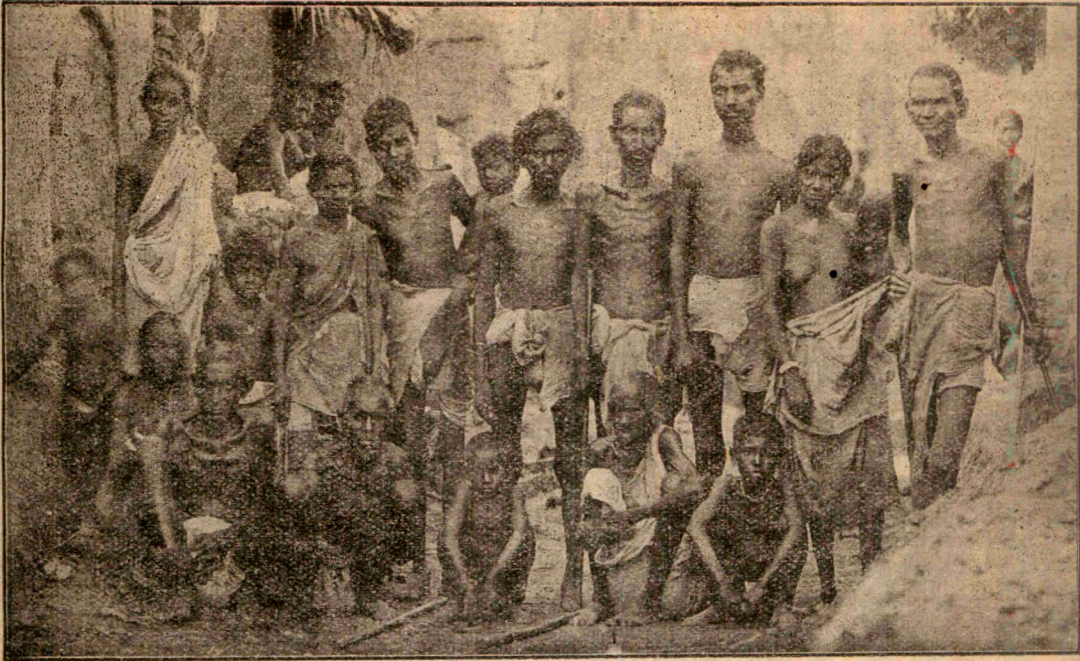
"At present the Hindoos of the middle ranks, not to speak of the lower, want nothing which can be supplied from England; sixty millions of subjects requiring not one article from the governing country. Improve their faculties, they will then learn in how many ways they may increase their rational enjoyments; their industry will hence be stimulated to procure them ;".....

Of course from England !

The Representation of India.

It is seldom that in any consultative imperial gathering, whether political or non-political in character, the representation of India is thought of; though India is the biggest unit of the British Empire and the principal passive cause of its prosperity. But when the question of the representation of India does arise or is discussed, it is taken for granted that an Englishman chosen by Englishmen would be a fit representative of Indians! For instance, it was cabled to India some time ago that the "Indian" representatives at the imperial council of commerce were:

Sir E. Cadle and Messrs. C. McLeod and T. McMorran (Bengal); Sir Hugh Fraser and Mr. A.



Some of the Men, Women, and Children after the conflagration in village Tiluri.

J. Yorke (Madras); Sir James Walker and Mr. H. Chalmers (Panjab); Sir A. Binning and Mr. C. Findlay (Burma); Sir Alexander McRobert (Upper India), and Mr. G. M. Gordon (Aden).

Can Englishmen imagine that a Japanese chosen by Japanese would be a proper representative for them? True, the British are an independent people and we are not. But the fact of independence or dependence cannot alter the natural fitness of things. Either allow us to choose our representatives, or let us remain unrepresented; do not pretend to believe that we are represented when it is only the British bureaucrats and exploiters in India who are represented by their nominees. To speak of India being represented by such persons is ridiculous, and undiluted nonsense. *The Review of Reviews* gives the Indian point of view in a mild way in the following paragraph:—

INDIA AND THE EMPIRE CABINET.

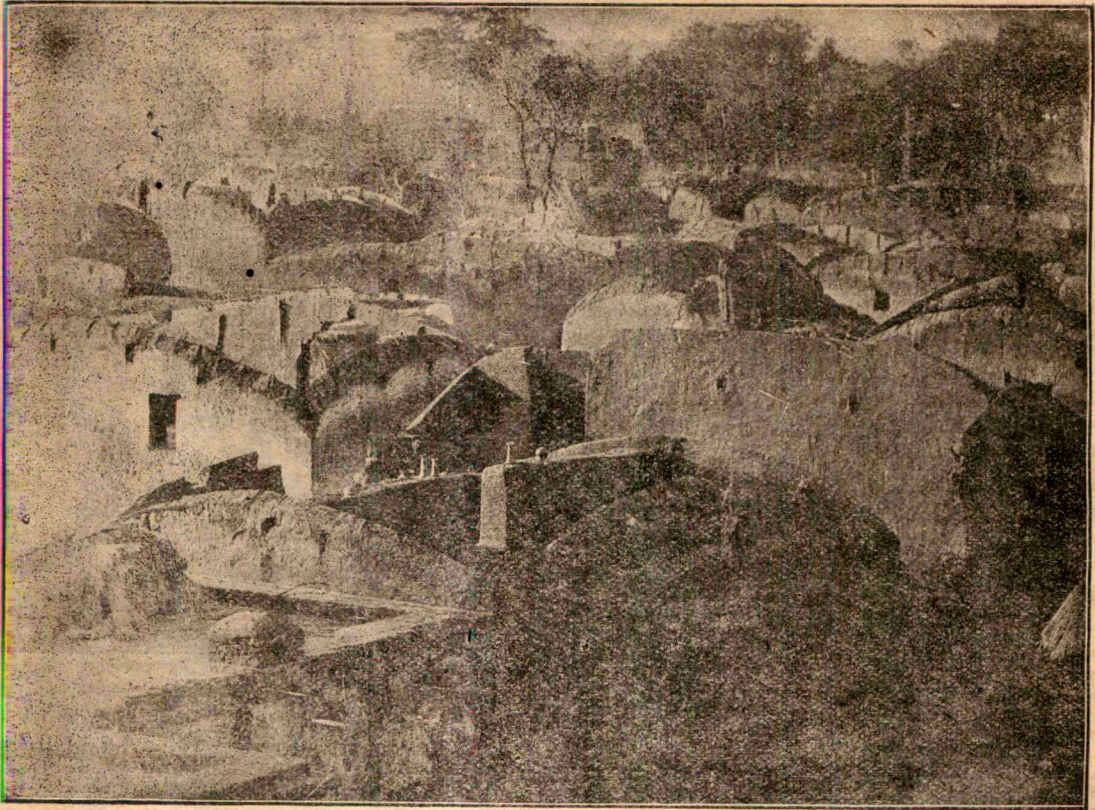
Mr. Sydney Low has been interviewed regarding what should be done about giving India representation in "the Empire Cabinet," the formation of which he advocates for conducting Imperial affairs, as distinguished from the domestic affairs of these isles. He admits that India's war services entitle her to be taken into full partnership with the Dominions. He considers, however, that India cannot be allowed representation on the basis of population, for that would swamp the United Kingdom and Dominions, the inhabitants of India numbering two and one-half

times as many as those of the whole British Empire without her. Mr. Low frowns upon the inclusion of Indians elected by their countrymen, and also upon the concession of self-government to India. He thinks that the presence of the Secretary of State for India in the Empire Cabinet would be quite sufficient.

But in order to give satisfaction surely it would be better that one or more Indians, elected by Indians and not selected by Anglo-Indians, nor even "elected" by a packed official majority, should be included in the Cabinet. We cannot very well concede that Indians are fit to help us govern the Empire without giving them power to govern themselves. The problem is certainly complicated, but the monopolist instinct in us should not be allowed to dictate its solution. The war has given us a splendid opportunity to give concessions to Indians that they ought to have had long ere this. It is satisfactory to note that, while India's claims are being discussed, from all sources comes the news that Indians are continuing to do yeoman service to help us to win the war. Soldiers, munitions, and subscriptions to war funds are being constantly given to Britain.

Famine in Bankura.

On account of the rains, the number of persons in receipt of gratuitous relief from the private agencies engaged in the work of alleviating the distress, has to some extent decreased. But the decrease is only temporary. In 3 or 4 weeks the work of transplanting rice seedlings will be over, and the laborers in the fields will be again out of work. We are receiving very few donations now. We



A View of Village Tiluri (Bankura) after the conflagration.

do hope, those who can will continue to help the poor sufferers for a few months more. We are so comfortable in our remoteness from the homes (when they have any) of the hungry, half-clad, shelterless people, that when occasionally the news of their condition comes to us freighted with woe, we remain comparatively unmoved. Out of sight is out of mind. Our sympathies ought to be quick, even though they be painful. It is not well for us to shut our hearts, our minds, and our consciences against the woful plight of an entire impoverished and hungry district.

We wrote in our last number of the large village of Tiluri being almost entirely destroyed by fire. Out of about 1600 houses, nearly 1100 were reduced to ashes. The photographs here reproduced were recently taken for the Bankura Sammilani.

Absenteeism and Poverty.

Bankura is the poorest district in Bengal, because the soil is not very fertile, and

because facilities for irrigation, natural or artificial, are almost absent. But there is another cause of its poverty. We learn from the official District Gazetteer that the greater part of Bankura is now under large non-resident proprietors, such as the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan, Kumar Rameswar Malia, and the Raja of Pachet, the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan owning about half the district. This absenteeism means that the wealth produced in Bankura goes out of the district to a great extent and is spent outside its limits. This system of absentee landlords is to blame, not any particular persons who may be the proprietors for the time being. Still they are not without responsibilities, which, though not legal, are morally binding. Though the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan owns about half the district, he has contributed, so far as we are aware, only a paltry sum of Rs. 2500 for famine relief. He and his ancestors have received millions of rupees from Bankura; but the Burdwan Raj does

not maintain a single college, school, hospital, orphanage, or charitable dispensary in the district; nor do we know of a single tank, canal, or well, excavated by the Raj for the people. We shall be glad to learn that we have been misinformed.

It seems to us an irony of fate that the producers of food are the first to suffer from the scarcity of food, while others who neither sow nor spin, live in comfort and luxury. It is an unnatural arrangement, and the day is sure to come when the tiller of the soil will alone be the proprietor of the soil.

The Pacification of Ireland.

In Ireland, most probably on account of the great war that is raging, British statesmen seem to recognise, though a little too late to prevent bloodshed, that conciliation by the meeting of just demands is an immediate necessity. It seems to have dawned on the minds of all parties now, that if Home Rule had been granted before the out-break of the war, or if at any rate the Irish people had been absolutely sure that they would have it after the war, there would not have been any Irish rebellion. So cabinet ministers are settling the details of the measure with a view to grant it as early as practicable.

Freedom is so natural and so precious, and beyond compare, that we shall rejoice when the Irish obtain Home Rule, though we are not they and they are we.

Presidentship of the Indian National Congress.

A discussion is going on in the press as to who should be elected president of the Indian National Congress this year. Several names have been mentioned. We think it should be ascertained by cable whether, if elected, Mr. Lajpat Rai can come to India in December next. If he can come, he should be elected president. If he cannot come, either Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Achariar or Mr. Ambica Charan Mazumdar should be elected. Among the Mahomedan names suggested Mr. Mazhar-al-Haque is fit to be elected president, but as he is comparatively young, and junior as a congress-worker to the gentlemen named above, he may have his turn afterwards. As for the Imam brothers, let the public have the opportunity to know them as congress-workers for some time, and then the question of their election may be raised.

The U. P. Municipalities Act.

There is recent precedent for the Viceroy withholding his assent to a Bill passed by a provincial legislature. Assent was not given to the Punjab Canal Colonies Bill and the Orissa Tenancy Bill. But in spite of Hindu opposition all over the United Provinces,—all over India, in fact—Lord Chelmsford has given his assent to the U. P. Municipalities Bill, which now becomes an Act, driving a wedge between Hindus and Mahomedans. This is a bad beginning for the Viceroy to make. Let all those Musalmans and Hindus who love India must strive their best to love and respect one another and co-operate with one another in the national cause in spite of measures like the Morley-Minto "Reform Scheme" and this latest U. P. Act. This does not mean that we are to accept these dividing barriers as settled facts. We are irreconcilably opposed to them and must go on using against them the weapons of sober reason and indisputable facts, till they are battered down. Let there not be the least trace of bitterness in the hearts or mutual dealings of patriotic Hindus and patriotic Mahomedans on account of these things.

Communal Representation not a Source of Strength.

So far as we are aware, it is only in the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Austro-Hungarian Empire that there is any communal representation. *But there the number of representatives in the Diet is fixed according to the number of the inhabitants professing each religion, representation in excess of their numbers is not granted to the followers of any religion, and communal representation is granted, not to one favoured sect only, but to each and all.* In these two Austro-Hungarian provinces, in the town councils, too, a proportionate number of councillors represent each religious community; there is no favoured religious community. But, though the scheme is so far fair and impartial, neither the Austro-Hungarian Empire, nor the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina can be said to be ideally free, prosperous and strong.

It is not very creditable for British statesmanship to have to go to two backward provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire for models for legislation. It is

said the latest Press Act in India was forged after an Austrian model. But if we are to have Austrian or Bosnian legislation in India, the whole model ought to be exactly copied, and not merely the retrograde parts of it. For instance, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Diet or representative body is chosen by universal suffrage. There is nothing like it in India. Out of 92 members of the Diet, 72 are thus elected and only 20 nominated. Such is not the case in either the Imperial or the provincial councils in India. In the town councils two-thirds of the councillors are elected by the citizens. This is not the case throughout India. In the diet and the town councils each and every community has representatives. This is not the case in India. Besides, in the law courts, the assessors vote equally with the judges, and three votes decide the verdict. This is not the case everywhere in India. Education for boys and girls between the ages of seven and fifteen is free. This is not the case in India.

Of course, our opinion is that as regards communal representation the Austrian model ought not to have been followed at all, either wholly or in part. But as it has been copied, the partially redeeming features ought not to have been left out.

Though an effort has been made by Austria to treat each religious community on the credal basis as a distinct unit in other matters also besides representation, the result has not been satisfactory. We learn from the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" that "considerable bitterness prevails between the rival confessions, each aiming at political ascendancy, but the government favours none." If the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy desire such a state of things, let the separatist policy be followed all over India to the minutest detail. But let not the patriots of any religious community dance to the Anglo-Indian tune.

An Empire to be strong should be strong in every part. But as a house divided against itself cannot stand, so communal representation, *particularly when it is given only to one community and in excess of its numerical proportion*, cannot conduce to the strength of any part of the Empire. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy look at the matter only from one point of view. They perhaps think that Hindus and Mahomedans pitted against

each other cannot offer united opposition to bureaucratic absolutism and win civic rights by united effort. But there is also the other side, namely, that in the hour of need Government cannot have the united, whole-hearted, and, consequently, strong support of the whole of India. Weak opposition means also weak support.

The lesson for patriots is that we must attain national solidarity in spite of all unfavourable circumstances.

Lord Kitchener's Death.

The death of Lord Kitchener is a great loss. Had he died in 1914 or even 1915, the loss would have been much greater than it is now. For at the time when he left England on a visit to Russia, he had, by his uncommon energy, extraordinary administrative capacity, and great powers of organisation, succeeded in creating a bigger army than Great Britain ever possessed. And the British people being independent, and there being room for all capable persons to develop their ability to the full, there can be no gap created by death in the ranks of their leading men which cannot be filled. There may not be another Kitchener to succeed him, but Mr. Lloyd George, one may be sure, will not be a failure as War Minister.

Internments.

The internment of many persons, including a large proportion of students, is creating great resentment and bitterness in Bengal. Those who are thus deprived of their liberty are not told what their offence is, and they cannot therefore make any representation to disprove the charges brought against them. In the last resort, Government are guided by police evidence in thus punishing men. Even if police evidence were better than it is, it would be dangerous to be guided solely by it in depriving men of their freedom. India is no doubt a part of the British Empire, which is at war, but a state of war does not prevail in India itself. There is no crisis or emergency here to necessitate the punishment of men without trial. If Government will not give up internments, let the interned at least be told what the charges are against them and be allowed to make representations. The Government executive officer or officers entrusted with the duty of deciding who are to be interned should have

associated with them an equal number of barrister judges of the Calcutta High Court.

The case of the interned students is particularly distressing. Those among them who are perfectly innocent and their relatives cannot but feel that great wrong is being unjustly, though unintentionally, inflicted on them. A ruined career gives rise to deep-seated resentment and bitterness. This fact ought to be taken into consideration. The spirit and temper which led Sir Edward Baker to declare in the council chamber that he was not afraid of driving sedition under ground, are unstatesmanlike. It is a mistake to think, as the successors of Sir Edward found, that the resentment of the weak cannot produce evil consequences.

An Anglo-Indian contemporary observed a few weeks ago that the policy of internment had found ample vindication and justification in the fact of the cessation of political dacoities and similar outrages. This so-called fact, however, is not a fact. But even if it were, what is the value of the temporary cessation of a particular kind of offences, owing to the punishment of a considerable number of persons without trial? Such a method of punishment cannot but victimise many innocent persons. It is a wise and humane legal maxim which says that it is better that ten guilty men should escape than that one innocent person should be punished. Order is preserved not so much by the laws as by public opinion being enlisted on their side. And public opinion is certainly against the policy of internment.

The Indian Women's University

The preliminary formalities in connection with the Indian Women's University have now been gone through. The Fellows have been duly elected, and the University has found a worthy Chancellor in the person of Sir K. G. Bhandarkar, who is rightly held in reverence for his deep and extensive scholarship and his high character and piety. The Mahila Vidyalya at Hingne Budruk, Poona, which has been doing excellent work for years, has been affiliated to the new university. The Indian Women's University is a genuine national university, not owing its origin to any external suggestion, or its existence to any official help. It is sure to do much good to the women of Maharashtra, and

may lead to the establishment of similar institutions in other parts of India. As in this university some of the higher knowledge of modern times will have to be imparted to the students through the medium of Marathi, it will enrich Marathi literature. This will indirectly help in the indigenous culture of the male population, too.

It has been observed that many vernacular literatures in India are enriched by translation from other more advanced vernacular literatures. This shows that the enrichment of the educational literature of Maharashtra is expected to exercise a beneficial influence on other vernacular literatures in India.

The Mysore Economic Conference.

The Mysore Economic Conference is an institution of which that progressive state and its energetic, able and enthusiastic Dewan may well be proud. As the *Mysore Patriot* points out—

It is nearly five years ago since this conference came into existence. A great impetus has been given to the promotion of education in the province. Primary Education has been made compulsory in more than 27 towns. Before long it will be made compulsory throughout the State. Arrangements are being made to give life to industrial education. The Chamarajendra Technical Institute, the Mechanical Engineering School, Bangalore, and the Workshops in Mysore and Bangalore bid fare to become centres where useful employment can be given to the unemployed and where the lessons of self-help and self-reliance can be taught. Special attention is paid to the education of girls and women, both literary and industrial. Attention is paid also to commercial education, and the Commercial Classes in Mysore and Bangalore may, in the fulness of time, develop themselves into commercial colleges. The curricula of studies both industrial and literary have been revised. The education of the depressed classes has not been left unattended to. The Panchama Boarding School, Mysore, is a monument of the generosity of His Highness' Government in the matter. The education of adults is being well cared for. The night schools, the continuation schools, the organisation of lectures, the public libraries, the village libraries, the reading rooms, speak volumes on the progressive education policy of the Mysore Government. The establishment of the Mysore University may be regarded as a crown of glory to His Highness the Maharaja.

The Industries and Commerce Committee has been doing a lot of good work. Special impetus has been given to the industries and trades at Chanapataua, Davanagere, Tiptur, Mysore City, etc. The Tanning Industry at Bangalore has been encouraged. The prospects of establishing a match factory have been improving. The distillation of sandal-wood oil has been going on. Encouragement has been given to hand-loom weaving and rice-hulling. Glass and bangle-manufacture has been encouraged at Thakere. An improved method of making jaggery has

been introduced. The Co-operative and State Banking have been attended to.

Labour-saving machines, agricultural and industrial, are being gradually made to prepare paper pulp from bamboos. A large number of bulletins about different industries have been published. A number of experiments in different kinds of agriculture and industries is going on and as soon as the results of these experiments are found to be profitable companies will be created, capital will be supplied and work will be started. A large number of experts on agriculture, industries, arts and crafts, are already in the field and a large number of people have been trying to become experts in many of the minor industries, arts and crafts. The whole province has been throbbing with industrial activity.

The Mysore Dewan's Speech.

The opening address of the Dewan of Mysore Sir M. Visvesvarayya at the last Economic Conference shows how that eminent statesman has grasped all the factors that go to make an enlightened, strong, healthy and prosperous people. As his speech is not verbose, it is difficult to give an idea of it without quoting it in extenso. The Mysore Economic Conference is doing work which ought to rouse emulation in the other Indian States and in British India. The following comparison, taken from the Dewan's speech is instructive :

A few weeks ago we all read a Reuter's telegram which stated that the Commonwealth of Australia possessed property valued at £1,000 millions or Rs. 1,500 crores. Rough calculations indicate that the total value of property in Mysore, excluding the gold mines, amounts to about Rs. 125 crores. This disparity will seem particularly striking when it is remembered that the population of Australia is only 3 millions against our 6 millions in Mysore. The value of farm produce calculated per head of population in Australia is estimated at Rs. 138 and including dairying, pastoral produce, etc., at Rs. 351; in Mysore the corresponding figure is Rs. 24. In industries and manufactures Australia produces articles valued at Rs. 171 per head and Mysore only Rs. 7 per head. The value of the total production of Australia comes to Rs. 621 per head as against Rs. 31 or about twenty times that of Mysore. In Australia again there are 3 acres of cultivated land per head of population against 1 acre per head in Mysore. Notwithstanding this, the Australians are not content with agriculture, but are devoting special attention to the expansion of industries.

The estimated total trade of Mysore amounts to Rs. 26 per head and that of Australia to Rs. 405 per head. Formerly Mysore was fairly self-contained in regard to the small necessities of the people, such as clothing, building material, etc., but, owing to increase of communications and keen foreign competition, we get most of our supplies from outside at lower rates than we can manufacture locally with our crude hand labour. A large number of our people have, in consequence, lost their former occupations and been driven to agriculture.

If you take the figures for education it will be seen,

as I have so often said before, that the percentage of the literate population in Mysore is about 8 while in progressive countries it is over 80. The calculated average duration of life of the people of Mysore is 25 years and that of the people of progressive countries 45. The low level of education is the cause, and the shortened lives the effect of the low productive power and the low standard of living in the country.

We badly need a similar comparative statement with regard to the other Indian States and the British provinces. We are afraid few of them will have a better tale to tell.

Coming to the remedies the Dewan observed :—

We must spread sound ideas of economic progress among our people. They should come to know that their economic vitality, if entirely dependent on agriculture will always remain low; that local wants should be supplied as far as possible with local labour and that the combination of agriculture and manufacture will make larger demands on the energy and skill of the people, and will therefore contribute to the maintenance of a higher civilization. Advanced countries copy one another's progressive methods and inventions, but our people are not yet fully awakened to follow their examples. A persistent effort is needed to train the people to cultivate an enquiring turn of mind and alter their ideals and habits of thought from a fatalistic to an economic basis. We must seek economic salvation through work, skilled work and organised work. The prosperity of the country will reach its high water mark only when large numbers of people have begun to work in unison for their mutual benefit, when their hours of daily toil approximate more closely to those of progressive peoples, when every one capable of earning is at work, and the number of the inefficient and the idle is reduced to a minimum.

"The Hindusthanee Student."

The Hindusthanee Student is a very useful and bright monthly magazine published by our students in America. As the annual subscription for India is only Rs. 4-8, we hope many of our readers will subscribe for it. We receive many enquiries regarding American universities. This monthly furnishes the kind of information required. The address is 114, West Newton Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A. As most of our students in America are self-supporting and the magazine has only a small circulation, they want a permanent fund of Rs. 7000, to which we hope our readers will contribute. The Chinese students in America have an organ of their own, but that is helped by the Chinese Government and the Y. M. C. A. Contributions are to be sent to Narayan S. Hardikar, Chairman, Hindusthanee Student Fund, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., U. S. A.

The Press Act.

The repeal of the Press Act is being demanded by Indian journals all over India. Public meetings have also been held in Madras, Bombay and other big towns to emphasise the same demand and to denounce the abuse of its provisions. Ostensively meant to crush the propaganda of terrorism, political assassination and the cult of violence in general, it has been used for very different purposes. It ought to be repealed. It is so inclusive and elastic that it is impossible for any honest and self-respecting journalist not to feel that whatever he might write he would be guilty of a technical offence.

As the word Government is defined in the Indian Penal Code to denote "the person or persons authorised by law to administer executive government in any part of India," Lord Curzon was "government," and Lord Hardinge also was "government." But the former partitioned Bengal and the latter annulled the measure. Many of those who went to jail in course of the anti-partition agitation wanted to do no more than what Lord Hardinge subsequently did. Yet these men were punished as criminals, and Lord Hardinge was a great statesman. The irony of the Press Act lies in requiring us to worship both Lord Curzon and Lord Hardinge, though what one did, the other undid.

One can understand ordinary penal legislation, for theft is always theft. But to feel that you are not infringing the Press Act, you must at one time say that Lord Curzon was an angel as he partitioned Bengal and then afterwards say that Lord Hardinge, too, was an angel as he undid the partition; for both the Lords were "government" according to the legal definition, and you must not bring either into contempt.

The Act takes it for granted that every one who wishes to start business as a printer and every one who wishes to publish a newspaper is a possible criminal and it is as a matter of favour that any printer or publisher commencing business is exempted from depositing security. This fact is a source of constant irritation and humiliation to a considerable number of men, who may be presumed to have some self-respect.

Sir Lawrence Jenkins showed in his

judgment in the *Comrade* case that there is practically no remedy against any executive action taken under the provisions of the Act, and that any piece of writing may be brought under its operations, so ingenious and so drastic is this piece of legislation. But its vagueness is its worst feature. It is extremely degrading for a writer to always feel that even the most innocent piece of criticism that he may indite, he is able to do, not as a matter of right enjoyed by a free man, but because he is mercifully suffered to do by some executive authority.

The Act poisons the source of all honest and truthful writing, and indirectly affects honest thinking, too. It makes men think of the cunning devices by which its provisions may be evaded. In this way it saps the foundations of manhood.

Literature at its best is the complete self-expression of the highest manhood and highest womanhood. Where there is a Press Act like the one that has been forged for us, the growth of such literature is impossible. Therefore the Act is the most injurious piece of legislation on the statute book, and no effort should be spared to get it repealed.

Filipino Independence.

In the United States House of Representatives the Clarke amendment to the Jones Philippines Bill provided that after four years the Philippines should have independence. In its stead the House has passed, by a vote of 251 to 17, the original Jones Bill, which gives the Filipinos a larger measure of home rule, and reaffirms the purpose of the United States to grant them independence in due time.

Revival of Shipping needed.

In concluding his lantern lecture in Darjeeling on Indian Shipping before Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Carmichael and a distinguished audience, Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee said :

Before I resume my seat, I may be permitted to express a hope that this Indian Shipping of which I have given Your Excellency some account to-night and which played such a considerable part in the history of India, in the development of its commerce and the spread of its civilization may be revived under the aegis of the British rule by the establishment of a dockyard for the building of ships and of naval schools and colleges for the training of the necessary men. The Indian navy and mercantile marine, thus revived, will, it may be hoped, form an

important link in the chain of the Imperial Navy which binds together the remotest parts of the British Empire and has secured for it the command of the seas. India, My Lord, has a right to contribute to the naval defence and strength of the Empire, and there is no reason why her abundant maritime resources both in men and material should not be developed to relieve the Imperial Navy of a part of its heavy burden in respect of the defence of her home waters.

In thanking Lord Carmichael Dr. Erajendranath Seal observed :—

The story of Indian colonial and commercial enterprise has been long known, but Dr. Mookerjee's valuable researches have brought out prominently the fact that these colonies and these markets in foreign lands were built up with the aid of an indigenous mercantile marine, and not with the help of foreign shipping, as used to be absurdly assumed. Our lascars, then, represent ancient and hardy sailor stocks, and, given proper training and opportunities, they may yet prove to be a valuable asset to the British Empire as the martial races have shown themselves to be.

It is unquestionable that our ship-building industry and maritime enterprise require to be revived. But those who know how and why during the East India Company's regime our ship-building industry decayed and disappeared will also expect that even if the Government of India resolve to come to our aid they will have a tough fight with the British ship-builders and ship-owners.

As for a Navy, we do not expect to have one before winning home rule.

Our Lascar Seamen.

A fine tribute, says *India*, was paid to Lascar seamen in the course of an article in the "Manchester Guardian" of May 12 on the "fighting" Clan liners. The writer describes how three ships of the fleet, the "Clan Lindsay," the "Clan Macfadyen," and the "Clan Mactavish," have defended themselves against German attacks at sea, in two cases with the happiest results, and says:

It is common knowledge that German "frightfulness" on the high seas has in no degree deterred British seamen from carrying on the work of the country. On this point it is well to remember that the crews of these three fighting Clan liners have all been Lascars, and their officers say that in the engagements the men have shown not the slightest sign of fear or panic.

The Paper Industry.

We are glad to learn from the *Leader* that Prof. N. C. Nag of Agra College and Prof. Saligram of Muir Central College have succeeded in their experiment in making a bleaching liquid for the paper mill in Lucknow. We hope they will succeed in manufacturing it on a commercial scale. Then the paper mills in India will be able to overcome the difficulty caused by the discontinuance of the importation of bleaching powder into India because of the war.

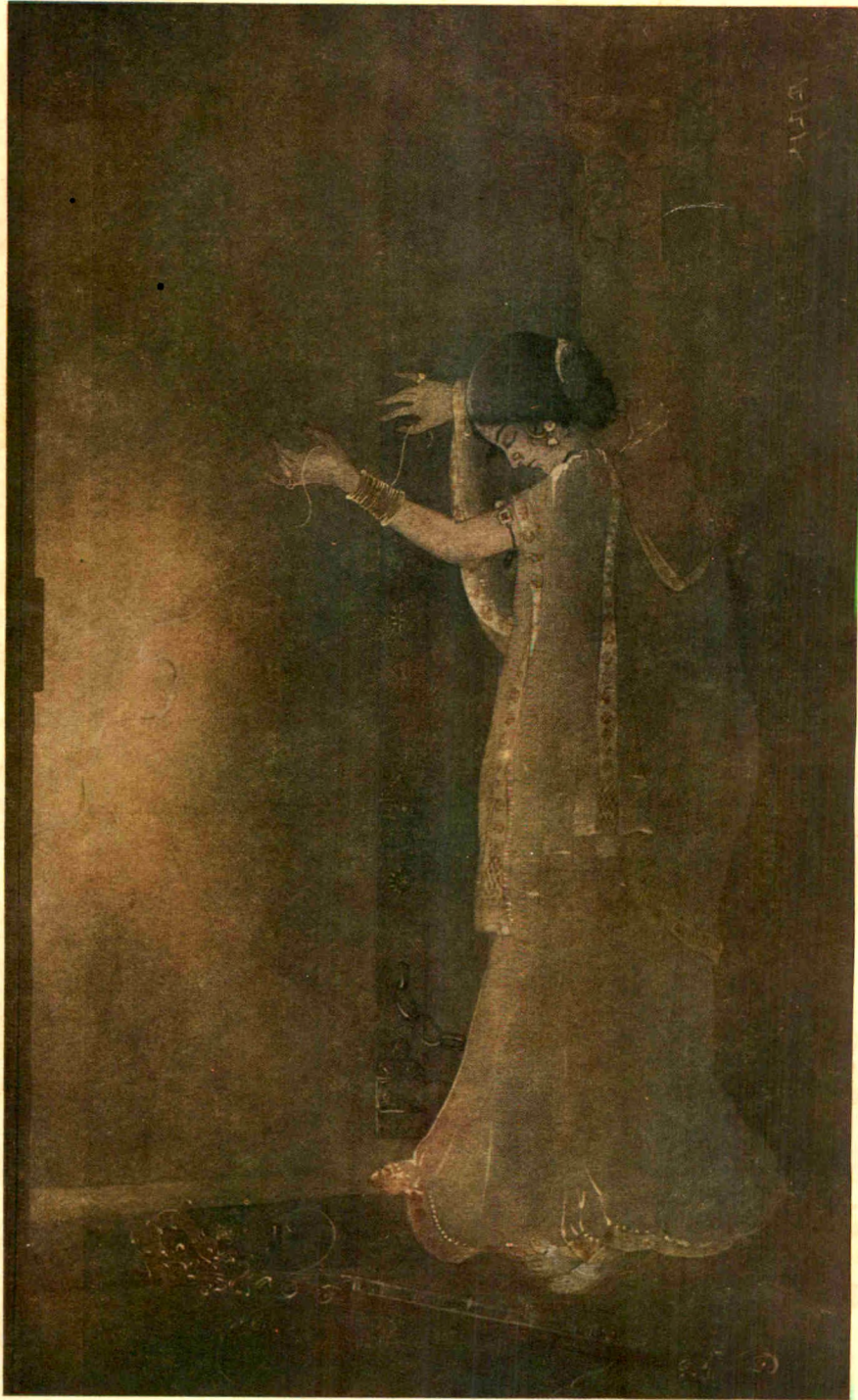
The War and Indian Educational Appointments.

In "Indian Education in 1914-15" Mr. Sharp describes some of the effects of the war on education in India. The third effect enumerated by him is, "great difficulty has naturally arisen in recruiting professors and inspectors from England." But we do not see why there should be any difficulty in obtaining good professors, unless there be a firm determination that Indians in general and Bengalis in particular must be excluded from the Indian Educational Service. We know only a few of the recent distinguished Indian graduates of British and other European Universities; we do not know even all such Bengali graduates. But among the few we know, we can name 3 or 4 D. Sc.'s of London, 2 D. Sc.'s of Edinburgh, 2 Ph. D.'s of Berlin, and 2 first class honors men of Cambridge, who are not at all inferior in academic distinction to the European members of the Indian Educational Service, particularly to those recently recruited. Why are not these distinguished graduates given suitable appointments in their own country? We know some three or four Indians have been appointed to the I.E.S., but that serves only to prevent the universal proposition being laid down that our students are wholly excluded from it. These few appointments cannot be characterised as a just recognition of their claims and merit.

ERRATA

The page numbers from 727 to 742 should read 25, 26, &c., to 40.

Page 3, column 2, line 22, for parades *read* paraded, and line 55, for garbs *read* garb.



THE BROKEN STRING

By the courtesy of the Artist Babu Samarendranath Gupta.

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WHOLE

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MY REMINISCENCES

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(24) *Ahmedabad.*

WHEN the *Bharati* entered upon its second year, my second brother proposed to take me to England; and when my father gave his consent, this further unasked favour of providence came on me as a surprise.

As a first step I accompanied my brother to Ahmedabad where he was posted as judge. My sister-in-law with her children was then in England, so the house was practically empty.

The Judge's house is known as *Shahibagh* and was a palace of the Badshahs of old. At the foot of the wall supporting a broad terrace flowed the thin summer stream of the Savarmati river along one edge of its ample bed of sand. My brother used to go off to his court, and I would be left all alone in the vast expanse of the palace, with only the cooing of the pigeons to break the midday stillness; and an unaccountable curiosity kept me wandering about the empty rooms.

Into the niches in the wall of a large chamber my brother had put his books. One of these was a gorgeous edition of Tennyson's works, with big print and numerous pictures. The book, for me, was as silent as the palace, and, much in the same way I wandered among its picture plates. Not that I could not make anything of the text, but it spoke to me more like inarticulate cooings than words. In my brother's library I also found a book of collected Sanscrit poems edited by Dr. Haberman and printed at the old Serampore press. This was also beyond my

understanding but the sonorous Sanscrit words, and the march of the metre, kept me tramping among the *Amaru Shataka* poems to the mellow roll of their drum-call.

In the upper room of the palace tower was my lonely hermit cell, my only companions being a nest of wasps. In the unrelieved darkness of the night I slept there alone. Sometimes a wasp or two would drop off their nest on to my bed, and if perchance I happened to roll on one, the meeting was displeasing to the wasp and keenly discomfoting to me.

On moonlight nights pacing round and round the extensive terrace overlooking the river was one of my caprices. It was while so doing that I first composed my own tunes for my songs. The song addressed to the Rose-maiden was one of these, and it still finds a place in my published works.

Finding how imperfect was my knowledge of English I set to work reading through some English books with the help of a dictionary. From my earliest years it was my habit not to let any want of complete comprehension interfere with my reading on, quite satisfied with the structure which my imagination reared on the bits which I understood here and there. I am reaping even to-day both the good and bad effects of this habit.

(25) *England.*

After six months thus spent in Ahmedabad we started for England. In an unlucky moment I began to write letters about my journey to my relatives and to the *Bharati*. Now it is beyond my power to call them

back. These were nothing but the outcome of youthful bravado. At that age the mind refuses to admit that its greatest pride is in its power to understand, to accept, to respect; and that modesty is the best means of enlarging its domain. Admiration and praise is looked upon as a sign of weakness or surrender, and the desire to cry down and hurt and demolish with argument gives rise to this kind of intellectual fireworks. These attempts of mine to establish my superiority by revilement might have occasioned me amusement to-day, had not their want of straightness and common courtesy been too painful.

From my earliest years I had practically no commerce with the outside world. To be plunged in this state, at the age of 17, into the midst of the social sea of England would have justified considerable misgiving as to my being able to keep afloat. But as my sister-in-law happened to be in Brighton with her children I weathered the first shock of it under her shelter.

Winter was then approaching. One evening as we were chatting round the fireside, the children came running to us with the exciting news that it had been snowing. We at once went out. It was biting cold, the sky filled with white moonlight, the earth covered with white snow. It was not the face of Nature familiar to me, but something quite different—like a dream. Everything near seemed to have receded far away, leaving the still white figure of an ascetic steeped in deep meditation. The sudden revelation, on the mere stepping outside a door, of such wonderful, such immense beauty had never before come upon me.

My days passed merrily under the affectionate care of my sister-in-law and in boisterous romps with the children. They were greatly tickled at my curious English pronunciation, and though in the rest of their games I could whole-heartedly join, this I failed to see the fun of. How could I explain to them that there was no logical means of distinguishing between the sound of *a* in warm and *o* in worm. Unlucky that I was, I had to bear the brunt of the ridicule which was more properly the due of the vagaries of English spelling.

I became quite an adept in inventing new ways of keeping the children occupied and amused. This art has stood me in good stead many a time thereafter, and its

usefulness for me is not yet over. But I no longer feel in myself the same unbounded profusion of ready contrivance. That was the first opportunity I had for giving my heart to children, and it had all the freshness and overflowing exuberance of such a first gift.

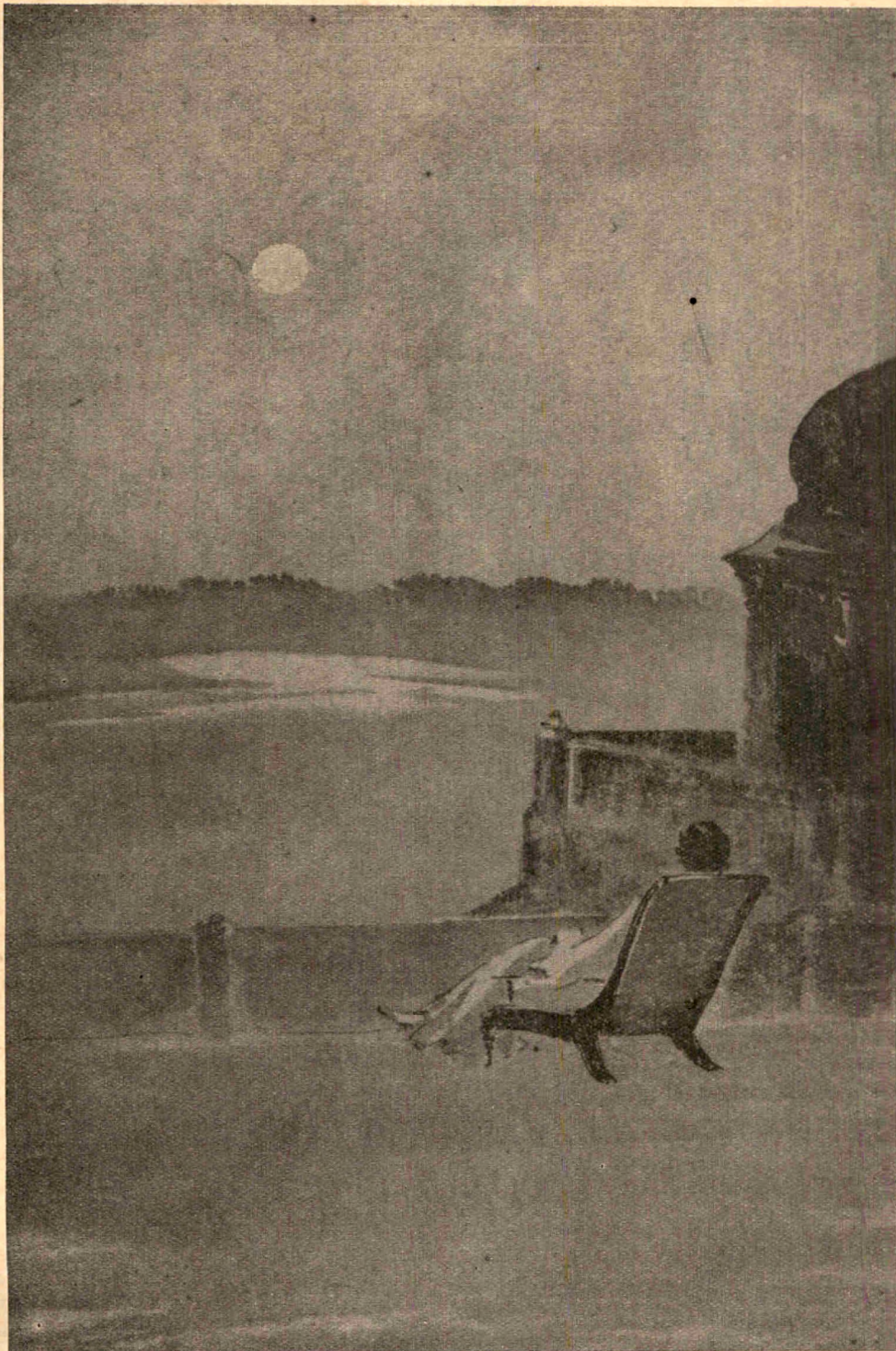
But I had not set out on this journey to exchange a home beyond the seas for the one on this side. The idea was that I should study Law and come back a barrister. So one day I was put into a public school in Brighton. The first thing the Headmaster said after scanning my features was: "What a splendid head you have!" This detail lingers in my memory because she, who at home was an enthusiast in her self-imposed duty of keeping my vanity in check, had impressed on me that my cranium* and features generally, compared with that of many another were barely of a medium order. I hope the reader will not fail to count it to my credit that I implicitly believed her, and inwardly deplored the parsimony of the Creator in the matter of my making. On many another occasion, finding myself estimated by my English acquaintances differently from what I had been accustomed to be by her, I was led to seriously worry my mind over the divergence in the standard of taste between the two countries!

One thing in the Brighton school seemed very wonderful: the other boys were not at all rude to me. On the contrary they would often thrust oranges and apples into my pockets and run away. I can only ascribe this uncommon behaviour of theirs to my being a foreigner.

I was not long in this school either—but that was no fault of the school. Mr. Tarak Palit† was then in England. He could see that this was not the way for me to get on, and prevailed upon my brother to allow him to take me to London, and leave me there to myself in a lodging house. The lodgings selected faced the Regent gardens. It was then the depth of winter. There was not a leaf on the row of trees in front which stood staring at the sky with their scraggy snow-covered branches—a sight which chilled my very bones.

* There was a craze for phrenology at the time. Tr.

† Latterly Sir Tarak Palit, a life-long friend of the writer's second brother. Tr.



AT THE FOOT OF THE WALL SUPPORTING THE BROAD TERRACE FLOWED
THE THIN SUMMER STREAM OF THE SAVARMATI RIVER ALONG ONE
EDGE OF ITS AMPLE BED OF SAND,

By Babu Gaganendranath Tagore.

By the courtesy of

For the newly arrived stranger there can hardly be a more cruel place than London in winter. I knew no one near by, nor could I find my way about. The days of sitting alone at a window, gazing at the outside world, came back into my life. But the scene in this case was not attractive. There was a frown on its countenance; the sky turbid; the light lacking lustre like a dead man's eye; the horizon shrunk upon itself; with never an inviting smile from a broad hospitable world. The room was but scantily furnished, but there happened to be a harmonium which, after the daylight came to its untimely end, I used to play upon according to my fancy. Sometimes Indians would come to see me; and, though my acquaintance with them was but slight, when they rose to leave I felt inclined to hold them back by their coat-tails.

While living in these rooms there was one who came to teach me Latin. His gaunt figure with its worn-out clothing seemed no more able than the naked trees to withstand the winter's grip. I do not know what his age was but he clearly looked older than his years. Some days in the course of our lessons he would suddenly be at a loss for some word and look vacant and ashamed. His people at home counted him a crank. He had become possessed of a theory. He believed that in each age some one dominant idea is manifested in every human society in all parts of the world; and though it may take different shape under different degrees of civilisation, it is at bottom one and the same; nor is such idea taken from one by the other by any process of adoption, for this truth holds good even where there is no intercourse. His great preoccupation was the gathering and recording of facts to prove this theory. And while so engaged his home lacked food, his body clothes. His daughters had but scant respect for his theory and were perhaps constantly upbraiding him for his infatuation. Some days one could see from his face that he had lighted upon some new proof, and that his thesis had correspondingly advanced. On these occasions I would broach the subject, and wax enthusiastic at his enthusiasm. On other days he would be steeped in gloom, as if his burden was too heavy to bear. Then would our lessons halt at every step; his eyes wander away into empty space; and his mind refuse to be dragged into the

pages of the first Latin Grammar. I felt keenly for the poor body-starved theory-burdened soul, and though I was under no delusion as to the assistance I got in my Latin, I could not make up my mind to get rid of him. This pretence of learning Latin lasted as long as I was at these lodgings. When on the eve of leaving them I offered to settle his dues he said piteously: "I have done nothing, and only wasted your time, I cannot accept any payment from you." It was with great difficulty that I got him at last to take his fees.

Though my Latin tutor had never ventured to trouble me with the proofs of his theory, yet upto this day I do not disbelieve it. I am convinced that the minds of men are connected through some deeplying continuous medium, and that a disturbance in one part is by it secretly communicated to others.

Mr. Palit next placed me in the horse of a coach named Barker. He used to lodge and prepare students for their examinations. Except his mild little wife there was not a thing with any pretensions to attractiveness about this household. One can understand how such a tutor can get pupils, for these poor creatures do not often get the chance of making a choice. But it is painful to think of the conditions under which such men get wives. Mrs. Barker had attempted to console herself with a pet dog, but when Barker wanted to punish his wife he tortured the dog. So that her affection for the unfortunate animal only made for an enlargement of her field of sensibility.

From these surroundings, when my sister-in-law sent for me to Torquay in Devonshire, I was only too glad to run off to her. I cannot tell how happy I was with the hills there, the sea, the flower-covered meadows, the shade of the pine woods, and my two little restlessly playful companions. I was nevertheless sometimes tormented with questionings as to why, when my eyes were so surfeited with beauty, my mind saturated with joy and my leisure-filled days crossing over the limitless blue of space freighted with unalloyed happiness, there should be no call of Poetry to me. So one day off I went along the rocky shore, armed with MS. book and umbrella, to fulfil my poet's destiny. The spot I selected was of unadorned beauty, for that did not depend on rhyme or fancy. There was a flat bit of

overhanging rock reaching out as with a perpetual eagerness over the waters; rocked on the foam-flecked waves of the liquid blue in front, the sunny sky slept smilingly to its lullaby; behind, the shade of the fringe of pines lay spread like the slipped off garment of some languorous wood nymph. Enthroned on that seat of stone I wrote a poem *Magnatari* (the sunken boat). I might have believed to-day that it was good, had I taken the precaution of sinking it then in the sea. But such consolation is not open to me, for it happens to be existing in the body; and though banished from my published works, a writ might yet cause it to be produced.

The messenger of duty however was not idle. Again came its call and I returned to London. This time I found a refuge in the household of Dr. Scott. One fine evening with bag and baggage I invaded his home. Only the white haired Doctor, his wife and their eldest daughter were there. The two younger girls, alarmed at this incursion of an Indian stranger had gone off to stay with a relative. I think they came back home only after they got the news of my not being dangerous.

In a very short time I became like one of the family. Mrs. Scott treated me as a son, and the heartfelt kindness I got from her daughters is rare even from one's own relations.

One thing struck me when living in this family—that human nature is everywhere the same. We are fond of saying, and I also believed, that the devotion of an Indian wife to her husband is something unique, and not to be found in Europe. But I at least was unable to discern any difference between Mrs. Scott and an ideal Indian wife. She was entirely wrapped up in her husband. With their modest means there was no fussing about of too many servants, and Mrs. Scott attended to every detail of her husband's wants herself. Before he came back home from his work of an evening, she would arrange his armchair and woollen slippers before the fire with her own hands. She would never allow herself to forget for a moment the things he liked, or the behaviour which pleased him. She would go over the house, every morning, with their only maid, from attic to kitchen, and the brass rods on the stairs and the door knobs and fittings would be scrubbed and polished till they shone again. Over and above this domestic

routine there were the many calls of social duty. After getting through all her daily duties she would join with zest in our evening readings and music, for it is not the least of the duties of a good housewife to make real the gaiety of the leisure hour.

Some evenings I would join the girls in a table-turning seance. We would place our fingers on a small tea table and it would go capering about the room. It got to be so that whatever we touched began to quake and quiver. Mrs. Scott did not quite like all this. She would sometimes gravely shake her head and say she had her doubts about its being right. She bore it bravely, however, not liking to put a damper on our youthful spirits. But one day when we put our hands on Dr. Scott's chimneypot to make it turn, that was too much for her. She rushed up in a great state of mind and forbade us to touch it. She could not bear the idea of Satan having anything to do, even for a moment, with her husband's head-wear.

In all her actions her reverence for her husband was the one thing that stood out. The memory of her sweet self-abnegation makes it clear to me that the ultimate perfection of all womanly love is to be found in reverence; that where no extraneous cause has hampered its true development woman's love naturally grows into worship. Where the appointments of luxury are in profusion, and frivolity tarnishes both day and night, this love is degraded, and woman's nature finds not the joy of its perfection.

I spent some months here. Then it was time for my brother to return home, and my father wrote to me to accompany him. I was delighted at the prospect. The light of my country, the sky of my country, had been silently calling me. When I said good bye Mrs. Scott took me by the hand and wept. "Why did you come to us," she said, "if you must go so soon?" That household no longer exists in London. Some of the members of the Doctor's family have departed to the other world, others are scattered in places unknown to me. But it will always live in my memory.

One winter's day, as I was passing through a street in Tunbridge Wells, I saw a man standing on the road side. His bare toes were showing through his gaping boots, his breast was partly uncovered. He said nothing to me, perhaps because begging was forbidden, but he looked up



THE LIGHT OF MY COUNTRY, THE SKY OF MY COUNTRY, HAD
BEEN SILENTLY CALLING ME.

By Babu Gaganendranath Tagore.

By the courtesy of
Babu Rathindranath Tagore.

U. RAY & SONS, CALCUTTA

at my face just for a moment. The coin I gave him was perhaps more valuable than he expected, for, after I had gone on a bit, he came after me and said: "Sir, you have given me a gold piece by mistake," with which he offered to return it to me. I might not have particularly remembered this, but for a similar thing which happened on another occasion. When I first reached the Torquay railway station a porter took my luggage to the cab outside. After searching my purse for small change in vain, I gave him half-a-crown as the cab started. After a while he came running after us, shouting to the cabman to stop. I thought to myself that finding me to be such an innocent he had hit upon some excuse for demanding more. As the cab stopped he said: "You must have mistaken a half-crown piece for a penny, Sir!"

I cannot say that I have never been cheated while in England, but not in any way which it would be fair to hold in remembrance. What grew chiefly upon me, rather, was the conviction that only those who are trustworthy know how to trust. I was an unknown foreigner, and could have easily evaded payment with impunity, yet no London shopkeeper ever mistrusted me.

During the whole period of my stay in England I was mixed up in a farcical comedy which I had to play out from start to finish. I happened to get acquainted with the widow of some departed high Anglo-Indian official. She was good enough to call me by the pet-name Ruby. Some Indian friend of hers had composed a doleful poem in English in memory of her husband. It is needless to expatiate on its poetic merit or felicity of diction. As my ill-luck would have it, the composer had indicated that the dirge was to be chanted to the mode *Behaga*. So the widow one day entreated me to sing it to her thus. Like the silly innocent that I was, I weakly acceded. There was unfortunately no one there but I who could realise the atrociously ludicrous way in which the *Behaga* mode combined with those absurd verses. The widow seemed intensely touched to hear the Indian's lament for her husband sung to its native melody. I thought that there the matter ended, but that was not to be.

I frequently met the widowed lady at different social gatherings, and when after dinner we joined the ladies in the drawing

room, she would ask me to sing that *Behaga*. Every one else would articulate some extraordinary specimen of Indian music and would add their entreaties to hers. Then from her pocket would come forth printed copies of that fateful composition, and my ears begin to redden and tingle. And at last, with bowed head and quavering voice I would have to make a beginning—but too keenly conscious that to none else in the room but me was this performance sufficiently heartrending. At the end, amidst much suppressed tittering, there would come a chorus of "Thank you very much!" "How interesting!" And in spite of its being winter I would perspire all over. Who would have predicted at my birth or at his death what a severe blow to me would be the demise of this estimable Anglo-Indian!

Then, for a time, while I was living with Dr. Scott and attending lectures at the University College, I lost touch with the widow. She was in a suburban locality some distance away from London, and I frequently got letters from her inviting me there. But my dread of that dirge kept me from accepting these invitations. At length I got a pressing telegram from her. I was on my way to college when this telegram reached me and my stay in England was then about to come to its close. I thought to myself I ought to see the widow once more before my departure, and so yielded to her importunity.

Instead of coming home from college I went straight to the railway station. It was a horrible day, bitterly cold, snowing and foggy. The station I was bound for was the terminus of the line. So I felt quite easy in mind and did not think it worth while to inquire about the time of arrival.

All the station platforms were coming on the right hand side, and in the right hand corner seat I had ensconced myself reading a book. It had already become so dark that nothing was visible outside. One by one the other passengers got down at their destinations. We reached and left the station just before the last one. Then the train stopped again, but there was nobody to be seen, nor any lights on platform. The mere passenger has no means of divining why trains should sometimes stop at the wrong times and places so, giving up the attempt, I went on with my reading. Then the train began to

move backwards. There seems to be no accounting for railway eccentricity, thought I as I once more returned to my book. But when we came right back to the previous station, I could remain indifferent no longer. "When are we getting to———" I inquired at the station. "You are just coming from there" was the reply. "Where are we going now, then?" I asked, thoroughly flurried. "To London." I thereupon understood that this was a shuttle train. On inquiring about the next train to—— I was informed that there were no more trains to-night. And in reply to my next question I gathered that there was no inn within five miles.

I had left home after breakfast at ten in the morning, and had had nothing since. When abstinence is the only choice, an ascetic frame of mind comes easy. I buttoned up my thick over-coat to the neck and seating myself under a platform lamp went on with my reading. The book I had with me was Spencer's *Data of Ethics*, then recently published. I consoled myself with the thought that I might never get another such opportunity of concentrating my whole attention on such a subject.

After a short time a porter came and informed me that a special was running and would be in in half an hour. I felt so cheered up by the news that I could not go on any longer with the *Data of Ethics*. Where I was due at seven I arrived at length at nine. "What is this, Ruby?" asked my hostess. "Whatever have you been doing with yourself?" I was unable to take much pride in the account of my wonderful adventures which I gave her. Dinner was over; nevertheless, as my misfortune was hardly my fault, I did not expect condign punishment, especially as the dispenser was a woman. But all that the widow of the high Anglo-Indian official said to me was: "Come along Ruby, have a cup of tea."

I never was a tea-drinker, but in the hope that it might be of some assistance in allaying my consuming hunger I managed to swallow a cup of strong decoction with a couple of dry biscuits. When I at length reached the drawing room I found a gathering of elderly ladies with among them one pretty young American who was engaged to a nephew of my hostess and seemed busy going through the usual premarital love passages.

"Let's have some dancing," said my hostess. I was neither in the mood nor bodily condition for that exercise. But it is the docile who achieve the most impossible things in this world; so, though the dance was primarily got up for the benefit of the engaged couple, I had to dance with the ladies of considerably advanced age, with only the tea and biscuits between myself and starvation.

But my sorrows did not end here. "Where are you putting up for the night?" asked my hostess. This was a question for which I was not prepared. While I stared at her, speechless, she explained that as the local inn would close at midnight I had better betake myself thither without further delay. Hospitality, however, was not entirely wanting for I had not to find the inn unaided, a servant showing me the way there with a lantern. At first I thought this might prove a blessing in disguise, and at once proceeded to make inquiries for food: flesh, fish or vegetable, hot or cold, anything! I was told that drinks I could have in any variety but nothing to eat. Then I looked to slumber for forgetfulness, but there seemed to be no room even in her world-embracing lap. The sand-stone floor of the bed room was icy cold, an old bedstead and worn out wash-stand being its only furniture.

In the morning the Anglo-Indian widow sent for me to breakfast. I found a cold repast spread out, evidently the remnants of last night's dinner. A small portion of this, lukewarm or cold, offered to me last night could not have hurt any one, while my dancing might then have been less like the agonised wriggings of a landed carp.

After breakfast my hostess informed me that the lady for whose delectation I had been invited to sing was ill in bed, and that I would have to serenade her from her bed-room door. I was made to stand up on the staircase landing. Pointing to a closed door the widow said: "That's where she is." And I gave voice to that *Behaga* dirge facing the mysterious unknown on the other side. Of what happened to the invalid as the result I have yet received no news.

After my return to London I had to expiate in bed the consequences of my fatuous complaisance. Dr. Scott's girls implored me, on my conscience, not to take this as a sample of English hospitality. It was the effect of India's salt, they protested.

(26) *Loken Palit.*

While I was attending lectures on English literature at the University College, Loken Palit was my class fellow. He was about 4 years younger than I. At the age I am writing these reminiscences a difference of 4 years is not perceptible. But it is difficult for friendship to bridge the gulf between 17 and 13. Lacking the weight of years the boy is always anxious to keep up the dignity of seniority. But this did not raise any barrier in my mind in the case of the boy Loken, for I could not feel that he was in any way my junior.

Boy and girl students sat together in the College library for study. This was the place for our *tete-a-tete*. Had we been fairly quiet about it none need have complained, but my young friend was so surcharged with high spirits that at the least provocation they would burst forth as laughter. In all countries girls have a perverse degree of application to their studies, and I feel repentant as I recall the multitude of reproachful blue eyes which vainly showered disapprobation on our unrestrained merriment. But in those days I felt not the slightest sympathy with the distress of disturbed studiousness. By the grace of Providence I have never had a headache in my life, nor a moment of compunction for interrupted school studies.

With our laughter as an almost unbroken accompaniment we managed also to do a bit of literary discussion, and, though Loken's reading of Bengali literature was less extensive than mine, he made up for that by the keenness of his intellect. Among the subjects we discussed was Bengali orthography.

The way it arose was this. One of the Scott girls wanted me to teach her Bengali. When taking her through the alphabet I expressed my pride that Bengali spelling has a conscience, and

does not delight in overstepping rules at every step. I made clear to her how laughable would have been the waywardness of English spelling but for the tragic compulsion we were under to cram it for our examinations. But my pride had a fall. It transpired that Bengali spelling was quite as impatient of bondage, but that habit had blinded me to its transgressions.

Then I began to search for the laws regulating its lawlessness. I was quite surprised at the wonderful assistance which Loken proved to be in this matter.

After Loken had got into the Indian Civil Service, and returned home, the work, which had in the University College library had its source in rippling merriment, flowed on in a widening stream. Loken's boisterous delight in literature was as the wind in the sails of my literary adventure. And when at the height of my youth I was driving the tandem of prose and poetry at a furious rate, Loken's unstinted appreciation kept my energies from flagging for a moment. Many an extraordinary prose or poetical flight have I taken in his bungalow in the *mcffussi*. On many an occasion did our literary and musical gatherings assemble under the auspices of the evening star to disperse, as did the lamplights at the breezes of dawn, under the morning star.

Of the many lotus flowers at *Saraswati's** feet the blossom of friendship must be her favorite. I have not come across much of golden pollen in her lotus bank, but have nothing to complain of as regards the profusion of the sweet savour of good-fellowship.

* *Saraswati*, the goddess of learning, is depicted in Bengal as clad in white and seated among a mass of lotus flowers. *Tr.*

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

TO SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

What a bird and flower leave unsung,
 Thou shalt at once take up; symphony
 Gh, to have thy song without art's
 To see thy life gaining a simple force
 Ch, to be forgotten by the tyranny
 of intellect!

Thou biddest the minuet, chanson and
 The revels and masquerade to be closed;
 Thou steppest down from a high throne
 To sit by people in simple garb and speech.
 In simplicity
 Thou hast thine own emancipation;
 Let us be sure of our true selves.
 There is no imagination where is no reality;
 To see life plain
 Is a discovery or sensation.

I read in thee the problem of life
 and the world,
 The twist of tears and joy,
 The depth of space, the amplitude of time,
 The circle of the universe in perfection;
 I read in thee our obedience to exigencies
 and law,

The real knowledge
 That makes the inevitable turn to a song.
 Exigency is only change of rhythm;
 Feeling the harmony
 Makes us strict to the law.

Thy song looms above time and place,
 A quality of psychical life not troubled
 by eternity or fashion;—

The real touch;—
 The surprise.
 Thy song is nothing but thyself.

I see before myself the busy feet of the wind,
 Suggesting humanity and law.
 The wind hastens
 To the shadow where passion lies;
 Shall we go abroad and start anew,

To build again a better life and song?
 O wind,

Thou, a light born of dream and hope,
 Thou, singer of life's thrill,
 Let thy magic of meditation,
 Thy witchery of song, play
 On the vastness of silence!

YONE NOGUCHI.

IN AMERICA WITH MY MASTER, II

BOSTON.

MY Master was next invited to give an address on New Year's day before the Twentieth Century Club, which is perhaps the greatest centre of intellectual and moral activities of the United States. The meeting was crowded with distinguished men of Boston, and the address, dealing with *Matter and Thought*, produced profound impression.

In American life one sees two antagonistic elements: One, intellectual and moral,

and the other characterised by aggressive materialism and exploitation. The finer element has undoubtedly its centre in Boston; for the world has hardly witnessed elsewhere so many great movements initiated within such a short time for the advancement of all that is noblest in man. The influence which the small state of Massachusetts, with its capital Boston, exerts upon the whole American people through her intellectual activity and moral fervour is incalculable. In science it can boast of Count Rumford, one of the founders of the

Royal Institution of Great Britain, of Morse, the electrician, and the great scientist Louis Agassiz, on whose tomb is inscribed the simple epitaph, "Here lies Agassiz the teacher." To Agassiz distinction as a scientific man was nothing compared to that of the teacher who moulded the character of his pupils. Here again at Boston was for the first time demonstrated the anesthetic property of ether. Here also Bell succeeded in transmitting human speech through wires; in History the State claims Bancroft and Prescott; in Poetry Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, and Holmes; in Philosophy Channing, Emerson, Theodore Parker and William James; in Philanthropy Miss Howe; in Oratory Webster, and Phillips; in Statesmanship Adams; in Fiction Hawthorne, Mrs. Stowe, Henry James and Margaret Deland.

During this and his previous visit in 1907 he became acquainted with the leading thinkers of Boston, of whom I shall give here a brief account.

The name of Professor Lowell the astronomer, is well known all over the world as one who has devoted all his life for the establishment of his theory on the existence of life in the planet Mars. He has recorded the occurrence of regular canals on the surface of the planet which from their nature could not but be artificial and therefore the work of intelligent beings. His theories had at first been ridiculed and he met with strong opposition from other astronomers. At first his records were thought due to optical illusion or to aberration of the telescope. In order to meet all objections, he has established an astronomical station on the desert region of Arizona, where he obtains ideal condition for astronomical research. He showed my Master some of the remarkable photographs obtained there and which strongly supported his views. Lowell's theories after meeting the usual opposition are now receiving respectful attention of the astronomers.

MARGARET DELAND.

A reception was organised to meet my Master by the famous novelist Margaret Deland. In her philosophical analysis she reminds us of George Eliot; but her characters show greater strength and virility. She is one of the leading writers of the Harper's Magazine and this led my

master to relate to her an incident connected with his friend Rabindranath Tagore. During his visit to the West in 1907 he had some of Rabindranath's short stories translated, and read them to Prince Kropotkin, who was deeply affected by them and regarded them as masterpieces. Encouraged by this he sent these stories for publication in the Harper's; who returned them to him with the remark that they would be of little interest to the Western readers! Mrs. Deland was greatly amused to find such obtuseness in her publishers and wrote to them about their blunder in missing the great opportunity of discovering the great Indian poet. At this reception he met the eminent psychopath Dr. Morton Prince, who in his practice has demonstrated the multiple personalities of human beings. These personalities in normal individuals are unified in harmonious relation but in pathological cases they become dissociated. There may then be exhibited the dual characteristic in an identical individual, such distinct and antagonistic characterisations occurring at definite intervals of time. There is an authenticated and remarkable instance of this in one of Dr. Prince's lady patients. She during a definite period of the year was serious in her temperament and had a profound religious tendency, but at a different period there was sudden transformation, when her mental characteristics underwent a complete reversal; she now became very brilliant and gay, and along these mental variations there was a concomitant change in her sensibilities. Dr. Prince has succeeded in effecting a remarkable cure by inducing a combination of the dissociated personalities in one harmonious individuality.

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.

Another remarkable personality with whom my Master became intimately acquainted during his previous visit was Mrs. Julia Ward Howe. She was undoubtedly the most distinguished, the most beloved, and the most highly honoured woman in America. Her husband Dr. Howe had fought for the liberty of the Greeks and when the time came he went to the front in the war for the liberation of the slaves and Mrs. Howe followed her husband. Her Battle Hymn of the Republic, of which two stanzas are quoted below, was the clarion call which drew her to fight under the banner of righteousness.

he renounced the normal life and built himself a nest of his own construction in the pine slope of the Walden pond, which was entirely built and maintained by the labours of his own hands. He lived the life of a recluse and came to know beasts, birds and fishes with an intimacy which was extraordinary. Wild birds flew to him at his call. The beasts caressed him and the fishes in the lake would glide and rub against his hands. He loved his own kind as he loved the animals, but he found the furred and the feathered tribes far more interesting. When he lay in his death bed he kept talking of his mute friends. "But you must now think of the next world," admonished the pastor. "One world at a time, my friend," replied the unabashed pagan.

Only once did the humanity of this animal-lover rise to white heat. It was when opportunism was the characteristic of the Boston politicians and when they declared that they would not harbour slaves from the South that Thoreau refused to pay taxes imposed on him as a citizen and for this he was consigned to prison. To him came Emerson. "I am more than surprised that you should be here in prison," remarked Emerson. "I am more than surprised that you should choose to remain outside," was Thoreau's rejoinder.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WASHINGTON.

The next important engagement was to give an address at the capital of the United States, Washington. For this three leading Societies had organised a joint meeting,—the Academy of Science of Washington, the Botanical Society of America and the Bureau of Plant Industry. This last mentioned Institution is a State organisation having numerous branches all over the country. There are more than one thousand experts appointed to carry out various experiments on the scientific study of plant life and its application in agriculture. Research stations are spread all over the country to acclimatise plants under widely varying conditions in the American Continent. Numerous expeditions are sent round all over the world to collect and introduce various plants in the country. We met two of these experts who spent a long time in Bengal and the Upper Provinces collecting the best specimens of mangoes,—*Maldah*, *Lengra* and others.

They were then experimenting on their cultivation on a large scale in Florida. I have a fear that under scientific management there may come a time when the fruits imported from America will try to undersell the homegrown product.

The lecture was arranged in one of the large Halls, but so great was the crowd that every available space was filled long before the lecture hour. Even the entrance was blocked by the people who could not get admittance. Mr. Graham Bell, the inventor of Telephone, who came quarter of an hour before the lecture time could not reach the lecture Hall. For the success of our experiments the temperature had to be raised to a point almost unbearable. The President at the beginning of the lecture warned the audience of this fact and gave them the opportunity to leave before the commencement of the lecture. In reply instead of leaving, those who crowded the passage sat down on the floor; some even climbed up the window sill. The lecture proved of such absorbing interest that the audience refused to leave the Hall and at the end of the hour they demanded that the lecture should be continued for another half an hour.

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

This premier institution of America is regarded as one of the leading scientific societies of the world. It owes its origin to the bequest of a single man, James Smithson who wished to 'found at Washington under the name of Smithsonian Institution an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men.' It was the faith of a single individual that served as a nucleus for the growth of an Institution which has become famous all over the world. Among its statutory members are the President of the United States, the Vice President and the Chief Justice. Its Board of Regents consists among others, of three Members of the Senate and three Members of the House of Representatives. Among the Secretaries of the Institution may be mentioned Professor Henry, the eminent Physicist, and Professor Langley, who was a Physicist and also an Astronomer. It was to Langley that the world owes a debt for his discoveries of the principle of aerial navigation and for his demonstration to the world on May 6th 1896 of the successful flight of his experimental machine

heavier than air propelled by its own power. This first successful flight was only seen by a few of his personal friends among whom was Graham Bell. But in the public demonstration a small screw was left loose by the carelessness of a workman, with the result that the machine instead of rising was precipitated into the river. The press overwhelmed the inventor with ridicule and Langley died of a broken heart. The same machine which failed, was tried once more a decade later and flew up the air with Mr. Curtiss as the pilot. It was not for the pioneer to reap the reward of his labours. It was left to Wilber Wright and his brothers to follow the lead of the original inventor and astonish the whole world by their aerial triumphs in France and in another ten years a revolution had been effected by its means in the fields of peace and war. The original 'Aerodrome' of Langley is now preserved and exhibited at the Smithsonian Institution, this being the first machine devised by man to achieve the conquest of the air.

The Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution submits every year to the United States Congress an account of the most important scientific work accomplished during the course of the year. I felt highly elated when my Master received the following letter from the Smithsonian Institution.

"Smithsonian Institution,
Washington.
November, 5th 1914.

"Dear Sir,

The Smithsonian Institution will be pleased with your permission to include in the Annual Report of the Board of Regents to Congress your interesting Paper on 'Plant-Autographs and their Revelations.'

Very respectfully yours,
C. D. WALCOTT
Secretary."

RECEPTION AT THE HOUSE
OF GRAHAM BELL.

One of the men whose contributions in practical science has created a revolution in modern life is Graham Bell the inventor of telephone. His invention for the transmission of speech is in constant use all over the world. The use of this convenience has now become indispensable; ordinary marketing even in a village being done by its aid. The distance through which tele-

phonic communication is possible is now enormously increased. Mr. Bell recently held a conversation with his old and original instrument from the Senate House at Washington to the Panama Pacific Exposition at San Francisco, the intervening distance being more than 3,000 miles. It is to be remembered that Mr. Bell receive royalty for every instrument in use, from which we can get some idea of the monetary value of a successful invention. In America the charge for each conversation over the city limits is 5 cents. I had the curiosity to ask Mr. Bell how much he had to pay for his telephonic calls. To this he laughingly replied that the Exchange people had not hitherto sent him any bill! Mr. Bell has recently been experimenting in devising a new type of flying machine, where instead of a single flyer he is using the outspread wings of a flock of birds-like machines to attain greater lifting power.

As Mr. Bell could not gain access to my Master's lecture through the block of a crowded audience, he organised a reception in honour of my Master to which all the leading men of Washington were invited. There we met many distinguished politicians and scientific men who were profoundly impressed by the astonishing performances of the recording instruments whose working they had the opportunity of watching at close quarters.

Among the distinguished visitors who came to meet my Master was Mr. Curtiss, the famous American aviator and inventor, who is trying to construct a flying machine to cross the Atlantic. There was also Mr. Lansing, the present Secretary of State of America, who was specially interested in the wide outlook opened out by my Master's work.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

So great was the interest created at the capital by his experiments that my Master received an official invitation from Mr. Bryan, the then Secretary of State, to give an Address at the State Department, where the heads of the different Departments would be assembled.

The great personality of Mr. Bryan is of dominating influence in America. Among politicians there is hardly a man so intensely sincere in his convictions. His detestation of settling of national differences by the savage expediency of war is profound

and he has been unremitting in his efforts to promote peace by arbitration. When he found that America was drifting into a possible participation in the present war he did not for a moment hesitate to resign his high position and to give up the chance of his becoming the next President of the United States. So uncompromising is he in his attitude towards all that he regards evil, that he created a sensation when the assembled diplomatic guests found at his table an inverted bottle prominently placed as a reminder that no alcoholic drink was to be served. In all diplomatic functions in all countries of the world the generosity of the host is gauged by the liberality and excellence of the alcoholic beverages that are served. The innovation by Mr. Bryan in this respect gave rise to world-wide comment and his taste was questioned when he offered to his guests unfermented and insipid grape juice for the more potent beverages by the liberal supply of which good fellowship is supposed to be cemented. One of the standing jokes in the American press is Mr. Bryan's uncultured taste in his preference of the simple grape juice.

When we arrived at the State Department we found that the Diplomatic Reception room had been arranged for our demonstration. We noticed a feverish activity all round, as news of international complications were pouring in and important communications were being received from the Chancellories of the different European States. The corridors of the State Department were crowded with the press representatives who hung round to obtain fragments of news to be immediately telegraphed all over the country.

Mr. Bryan and his colleagues gave a most cordial reception. Before our demonstration began he opened the door and allowed the crowd of press representatives to rush in, telling them that they would have the chance of seeing something of far greater import than those to which they had been accustomed. The following are some of the samples of the heavy-headed head lines that appeared next morning in the different papers of America.

"BRYAN SEES PLANT DRUNK ;—INDIAN SCIENTIST DEMONSTRATES WITH ALCOHOL, NOT WITH GRAPE JUICE ;—DON'T BORE PLANTS ; IF YOU DO, THEY ARE APT TO HAVE CONVULSIONS."

The following appeared in the New York Times under the heading "Indian Scientist shows Plant's Emotions" :—

"In the Diplomatic Reception Room of the State Department this afternoon Dr. J. C. Bose performed before Secretary Bryan and a group of State Department officials experiments which showed that plants had sensitiveness just like human beings. Experiments were conducted with living plants, but the Secretary of State shows the greatest interest when Dr. Bose produced a chart that indicated in waving lines the effect of alcohol on plant life.

"By means of a delicate and complicated instrument Dr. Bose made plants record the emotion they experienced as the result of his actions. He explained that if a man was pinched in the wrist a certain impulse was communicated to the brain. To demonstrate the same fact with reference to a plant he pinched one of the growing things he brought with him, and immediately a fine needle attached to a lever connected with the plant became agitated and exhibited its emotion by making dots on the smoked side of a plate of glass. Dr. Bose put one plant to death by giving it a dose of cyanide of potassium, and Secretary Bryan and others watched the death-struggle with bated breath."

BASISWAR SEN

THE EVERLASTING SORROW

YANG Kuei-fei, the beloved mistress of the Sovereign Ming Huang, one glance from whom, to use an oft-used phrase, would overthrow a city, two glances an empire, was lost at the foot of the Ma-wai

hill. The Sovereign, ever so sad in memory of her cloud-like hair and flower-like face, supreme among the powder and paint beauties of his harem, commanded a Taoist priest of Liu-ch'ung to find Yang Kuei-fei's

lost soul by means of his rare wizardry. This magician, by the august command of the Sovereign, went high up to Heaven and low down to earth, searched the Empyrean above and the Yellow Springs below; and he was almost discouraged when he started as a final effort toward the Isle of Blest away in the dream-covered Oceans. His heart jumped joyfully when he was told by a dweller of the island that Yang Kuei-fei, having been formerly a goddess of the world of Fairies, had now returned home from the world where she passed her temporary life in a "golden house" by the Sovereign's particular favor, wafted into ecstasy on the fumes of love and wine, and was at present the queen of the Palace of Eternity. On approaching the Palace he found it rising like the five-colored rainbow clouds. Its splendor far surpassed that of the Hibiscus Pavilion of her life's days, where dance and laughter frightened away the dulness of the night. Yang Kuei-fei was seen by the eastern window of the turret as the Taoist priest knocked at the jade door of the western gate. He recalled how the roll of the rebel war-drums had broken the air of the "Rainbow Skirt and Feather Jacket" which she was dancing. Let Po Chu-i write the scene of her flight:—

'The dust clouds rise by the nine-folded city;
A thousand horses and chariots to the south-west move.

"Feathers and jewels onwards and then a halt:
A hundred miles from the city on the west,

"The soldiers refuse to advance, nothing with them
can be done;
Alas, in sight of them the moth-eye-browed beauty
is forced to die.

On the ground lie ornaments with nobody to pick
them up,
Kingfishers' wings, golden sparrows, and hairpins of
jade.

'The sovereign covers his face, powerless to save;
Turning back, his tears and blood he lets flow."

Hearing the voice of the Taoist priest announcing that he is an ambassador sent by the sovereign, Yang Kuei-fei, whose beauty was observed to be subdued as if a spray of pear-bloom in a rain-wet spring morn, descended from the turret, pushing away the flower-curtains, and asked what message he brought to her. The priest said:—

"You know how he hated to keep the morning audience, and how he wished to be with you amid revels and feasts; and

since your sudden death, his sad heart is never brightened by even the brightness of the moon. The sound of a bell through the evening rain only gives him pain of memory. The Ssuch-nan hills and the Ssuch-nan waters are ever so dark; and the Sovereign is consumed by grief and tears night and day. I am sent here by him to find your soul, lost from the world, and to render to you in person his words of longing. How glad I am to find you beautiful and young as of old."

And again he expressed the Sovereign's sadness as Po Chu-i has written:—

"In the hibiscus he sees her face, in the willow her eye-brows;

How should not his longing tears flow,
When the peach or plum blooms in spring breezes,
When in autumn rain the wu-t'ung leaves fall?

"To the south of the western palace are many trees,
But the fallen leaves on the steps no one sweeps.
The Pear-Garden entertainer's hair is white as if
with age,
The beauties of the Pepper-Chamber look no longer
young.

"The fireflies flit by the even hall only to make him
sad;
Even when the lone lamp is burnt out, he still fails
to sleep:

The slowly-passing watches tell the night is so long;
Clearly shine the constellations as if the morn would
never come.

"On the duck-and-drake tiles of a roof the heavy
frosts rattle;
The kingfisher coverlet is cold with none to share
its warmth:

Parted by life and death, time still goes on;
Never once does her spirit come back even in his
dream."

Yang Kuei-fei, restraining her grief and emotion, said:—

"How since we parted I have missed his form and voice! Our love on earth so soon came to an end; but the days and months in the Palace of the Blest are long and long, and I have to suffer the more in my longing. And how often I turn and gaze down toward the world and mortal life, and cry at not seeing at all the Imperial City in dusts and mist! Oh, how pleased I am to be assured of the Sovereign's love in sending you here to see me! But to have no communication at all with him and his world would rather lighten my sorrowful thought and pain. Now having his sweet message, my sad heart burns in love and memory of the days past; oh, what longing I feel toward my beloved Sovereign!"

"The Sovereign will be glad, I am sure, to know that I have met you and to receive your words of love. But I pray that

ever written and that they would be a revelation to him, Malherbe replied, "Pardon me, Madam! If, as you say, the verses are the most perfect ever written, I have already seen them, for they must be my own." Mirabeau, one of the most prominent figures in the French Revolution, maintained his vanity to the last. When he was in his last moments, he ordered his loving attendant thus, "Prop up my head carefully, for it is the most remarkable head in all France." Though his remains were placed in the Pantheon, yet the very assembly of which he had been the guiding spirit before, declared him a gross traitor within a month after his death.

Perhaps one of the most striking examples of vanity in French annals was furnished by a letter written by Victor Hugo to Prince Bismark in which the following sentences appear: I love thee, because I am greater than thou art. Were we allied as one man, history would cease. Thou art the body, I am the Spirit; thou, the cloud, I the lightning; if thou art power, I am fame. Which is the greater, victor or vanquished? Neither, I, as poet, am greater than either, for I celebrate both.

Rossini could not check his vanity in the home circle. Many of his letters to his mother bore the inscription, "To Mrs. Rossini, the mother of the famous maestro." Michael Angelo, the greatest painter and sculptor of all time, was in-

tensely jealous of Raphael, whose reputation though later than his own was so great as to threaten to throw him in the background. Michael Angelo used to say "Raphael will never be anything more than my pupil. The little art he knows he learnt from me." Schopenhauer, the great German philosopher, was not without a full sense of his importance. When he was asked to choose the place where he would like to be buried, he said, "As to the place, that matters nothing; the future ages will know enough where to look for me."

It seems to be a stern fact, that as long as there are great men they will always prove that they are human by similar exhibitions of their vanity.

Mr. Whistler, the gifted artist, was another that would not claim modesty as one of his attributes. When once a flattering friend said to him, 'There are only two great artists living, yourself and——' Mr. Whistler gave a prompt retort by saying, 'Yes, but why include the other man.'

It is very seldom that such outbursts of personal greatness are suppressed by geniuses in art and learning. In the face of such facts, one has to pause and think if there be much soundness of judgment in the words: Conceit in weakest bodies strongest works.

M. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR.

JAPAN IN HER FOREIGN RELATIONS

Japanese methods in China.

A CHINESE writer named Mr. H. K. Tong has contributed an article to the *American Review of Reviews* in order to expose Japanese methods in China. "Mr. Tong is a member of a company of Chinese journalists who conduct a native newspaper at Peking, as well as one in English..... he spent several years in Columbia University."

It appears that Baron Shibusawa recently made a proposal that "China's natural resources should be developed with American money and Japanese brains." On this Mr. Tong says:—

JAPAN'S MONOPOLIZING AMBITIONS.

But behind the clever, though seemingly innocent scheme of Baron Shibusawa there is a dark and sinister design to close the door in the Orient. With the financial assistance of the British Government, Japan has been able to close the Manchurian market,

and has even been trying to oust British interests from the Yangtse Valley, which is still considered a British sphere of influence. When Japan succeeds in securing American money, the door of commerce in the Orient will be completely shut.

In Manchuria, the Japanese Government grants rebates for Japanese goods on the railways whose construction was made possible through credit established in London. Favored by government subsidies, special railway rates, preferential customs treatment, and exemption from internal taxation, Japanese merchants have practically ousted the commodities of all other nations from the market in Manchuria, which is now credited with 17 per cent. of the total foreign trade of China. America fares the worst in this commercial struggle.

In the Yangtse Valley, likewise, the Japanese Government has been giving every support to its subjects in competition with all foreign merchants, especially British and American. The Nissen Kisen Kaisha—whose ships ply between Hankow and Shanghai, two of the biggest commercial ports in China—has been receiving from the Japanese Government an annual subsidy of \$1,000,000, which has enabled it to charge the lowest freight and passage fares. As a result it has almost monopolized the river trade between Hankow and Ichang and between Hankow and Changsha, which once belonged to British merchants. Finally, two British shipping companies and one Chinese company were driven to a combination. But even with such co-operation they have had little success in the face of the heavy subsidy granted to the Kaisha.

SHUTTING DOORS IN YOUR OWN FACE.

Japan has closed the door in Manchuria with British money. Will she be able to bolt the door in China, against the whole world, with American money?

MILITARY EXPANSION OF JAPAN.

With the enormous profits which would accrue from American capital invested in China through her, Japan would be able to build more battleships, train more soldiers, erect a greater number of munition plants, and construct more aeroplanes. Should any nation, aware of what Japan is aiming at, protest against the questionable business methods of her merchants, Japan would instantly accept the opportunity and start a world-wide war with a view to finding her place in the sun. She would be possessed of a powerful army and a still more powerful navy, besides millions of Chinese coerced into her service.

HOW JAPAN PROMOTES HER COMMERCE.

I do not suppose that the United States Government would send a battleship to accord protection to seven of her citizens engaged as experts or engineers in an iron mine in China. But the Japanese Government is doing it. The Tayeh Iron Mines, a Chinese concern, some time ago concluded a loan with a Japanese firm, the principal and interest to be paid in ore. The Japanese investors have sent an engineer and six experts to watch their interests. There is a Japanese battleship stationed there, under the pretense of according protection—although the Chinese believe that it is really engaged in smuggling into port arms and ammunition for the use of trouble-makers.

Japan has also secured a small concession at

Chingchow, in Hupsh province, in the heart of southern China, where there are five Japanese. A Japanese consulate looks after their interests, a special Japanese post-master handles their mail, and a Japanese inspector protects them. This is the kind of commerce that Japan is accustomed to carry on in China, and the Japanese would, in the opinion of most Chinese, like to do the same thing in California or in Mexico.

The Baron's proposition has been tried in China and found beneficial only to the Japanese. The Chinese have invested much money through Japanese hands in the promotion of companies and the development of natural resources, but they have lost all their capital and have eventually been compelled to give up their shares in joint enterprises.

A MANCHURIAN INSTANCE.

Numerous illustrations can be cited to substantiate this statement, but suffice it to give one. Yonder in Manchuria there were prosperous forests, the supply of lumber from which was almost inexhaustible. The Japanese saw an opportunity for making money. As they were poor, they approached a number of Chinese for capital, in the manner of Baron Shibusawa. They obtained the necessary funds and a joint company, called the Yalu Timber Company, was immediately established. When the company was organized, a capable Chinese represented the interests of the Chinese merchants, and he proved too shrewd for the Japanese. With much manipulation and corruption and the assistance of their Government, they got rid of him and secured in his place the appointment of a man who knew nothing whatsoever of the lumber trade. Then peculiarly Japanese business tactics came into play. At the end of the first year, the Yalu Timber Company paid 6 per cent. in profits to the shareholders. The second year a dividend of 1 per cent. was declared and the third year there was no dividend. In the fourth year, the company was losing money. No one can believe that the company does not continuously make profits. With a capital of three million dollars it monopolizes the whole lumber trade in Manchuria. All merchants who buy timber from the company are making profits, and it is incredible that the company itself is unable to pay dividends. Inside information tells us that the Japanese are using this method to force the Chinese shareholders to give up their interests in the company thereby acquiring the whole concession themselves.

Japan and China.

The *Japan Magazine* contains an article on "Japan and China" by the Editor of "Japan and the Japanese." It gives us some idea of Japanese ambition in China. The writer begins thus:

The harmonious cooperation with China that Japan has been seeking for so long seems still as far off as ever. It is, however, an ambition that should long ago have been realised. That such a concert will be the best policy for both countries has been very generally understood and carefully studied in both lands. China and Japan belong to similar races, are close neighbors and use the same ideographs in writing. And the numerous unexploited regions of China should give ample scope for the application of Japanese knowledge and enterprising energy. The immense advantage that such cooperation would

bring to their common interests, especially in the way of economic development, proves the necessity of their intimate association. This is the firm conviction of Japan and it is believed no less by China. Nevertheless the two countries are not only no nearer a concert than before, but are even glaring at each other like cats and dogs.

The penultimate paragraph ends with an open threat.

Those who neglect to keep themselves well informed as to their real interests deserve no sympathy if they fail. If the leaders of China are too egotistic to take an adequate interest in what is for the good of their country, what hope is there for China? China's fearful slowness is due for the most part to this overweening egoism and pride. It is very difficult to say whether China will soon break away from her traditional policy of checking Japan's progress on the continent of Asia. It is probable that China will incline to the sympathy of Germany or the United States, or some other distant country, to help her against the intrusion of Japan. Such a policy can only result in the ultimate partition of China. In any case China would suffer great loss. It will be most wise for China to take warning from the past and see what disasters her traditional policy has wrought. If she persists in her opposition to Japan there is no country of earth can save her. Japan will take just what measures she deems best under the circumstances.

Japan and England.

The Christian Register of Boston says:—

Popular opposition in Japan to the continuance of the alliance with Great Britain on its present terms is a feature of the political situation in the island empire. Recent public utterances by such authorities as Profs. Tatabe, Niita, Fukuda, Negase, and Kambe indicate a growing conviction that under the provisions of her agreement with Great Britain, Japan is undertaking greater responsibilities than are compensated for by the advantages specified. One of the objections to the existing relation which is pointed out by these leaders of Japanese thought is based upon English trade aspirations in China. These, it is pointed out, are incompatible with the interests of Japan. Among the significant news from Japan are continued reports of commercial friction between Japanese and British, not only in China but also in Japan. The British press in China comments with undisguised bitterness upon Japanese political and commercial policy in China as being inimical to British interests in the Far East.

Owing to the agitation in Japan in the press and on the platform on the subject of the Anglo-Japanese alliance,

The Japan Times has published a symposium presenting "the other side" or negative to the proposition advanced in the affirmative by a few doctrinaires and agitators, eagerly seized upon by the German agents and echoed by those whom Baron Kato—in his speech at Osaka—classified as "certain weak-kneed Japanese." Their suggestion, says the Tokio journal, was that Japan is opposed to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and seeks to find excuse for breaking it. The negative is overwhelming. From representative men of every class and every affiliation comes a denial. The German newspapers and the mischievous news-

paper correspondents in Berlin and Tokio take the affirmative. But in face of the series of interviews which have been published, the *Japan Times* says it must have been demonstrated to the meanest intelligence that there is no foundation for the assertion, except as may be found in the essays of a few academic writers, sophomoric controversialists and a number of worthy people who may be depended upon to "pick the wrong horse" anyhow.

The symposium gives the opinions of 21 leading men of Japan, including Count Okuma. *The Kobe Herald* has given a summary of these opinions, from which we make a few extracts below.

1. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance is regarded in Japan by all leaders of public opinion and thought as a vital necessity.

2. With changed conditions after the war, some clauses and terms of the present treaty must be altered so as to bring the Alliance into harmony with the situation and the responsibilities of Great Britain and Japan.

3. While, unquestionably, this is the position of a vast majority of the people of this country of all classes, it is, nevertheless, a fact that an element of the people of Japan have begun to regard the British in the Far East with suspicion and disfavour.

4. The attitude of British residents in the Far East towards the Japanese has given cause for Japanese antagonism and bitterness.

"Japan's Alliance Coquetry"

is the heading given by the *Literary Digest* to a summary of the opinions of several papers published in Japan. We learn from this summary that

"The veiled hostility toward Great Britain which has for many months been noticeable in a certain section of the Japanese press gains a fresh importance from the statement recently made to the Japanese House of Peers, by Baron Ishii, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Baron told the House, according to cabled dispatches, that the Japanese and British Governments were in negotiation with regard to Japanese emigration, a subject fully covered by the existing treaty between Great Britain and Japan. Despite the denials of the Japanese Foreign Office that there is any thought of abrogating the present treaty, the papers of the Mikado's Empire believe that something is afoot. This view is also taken by *The Japan Advertiser*, an American paper published in Tokyo, which considers it possible that Japan may withdraw from her alliance with England. *The Advertiser* says:

"Before the war began, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was a target of continuous attack, the complaint then being that Japan derived no economic benefit from it. Since the war began, the attacks on England have never been more bitter, never more heedless, never more ready to exaggerate every trivial incident or rumor that seemed to tell against their ally's cause.

"The Japanese public are continuously instructed by their press that the Alliance is a one-sided and worn-out contract, and so persistently is this proclaimed that it is impossible for any foreign reader to escape the conclusion that a considerable body of Japanese opinion is hostile to the Alliance."

Among the Japanese papers the Tokyo *Yamato* has been the leader in the agitation against the treaty, and has published a series of articles on the subject from the pens of men prominent in political or academic circles. In one of these articles Prof. Latche Lett exclaims :

"The present war in Europe has made it clear to us that there is no community of ideals between Japan and England. Japan stands for loyalty and justice, Germany for loyalty and injustice, while England stands for selfishness and injustice.

Our country cannot afford to keep a company with such a nation as England."

In another *Yamato* article Mr. Shimata, the president of the Japanese House of Representatives, frankly says that "the bond of union between England and Japan is loosening, and the critics have begun to say that the value of the Alliance to Japan has decreased to the vanishing-point." The list of prominent papers in Japan that have adopted an antialliance attitude is remarkable; it includes the Tokyo *Kokumin*, the *Yorodzu*, the *Chugai Shogyo*, the Osaka *Asahi*, one of the most powerful papers in Japan, and the *Mainichi*. The panacea for all alliance-ills that seems to be fashionable at the moment is a *rapprochement* with Russia. The Tokyo *Sekai* argues :

"From now on the British supremacy on the sea may not have the same paramount value, and we should therefore stand well with the great land-Powers..... We must open a new chapter of diplomacy by an *entente* with Russia as a prelude.

"British diplomacy is like that of the Chinese—it tries to balance one Power against another, but Russian diplomacy is entirely different..... The Russians who are half Asiatics—have now realized that white men are more to be feared than the yellow. Russia, too, wants to open a new chapter in her history—a chapter of reliance upon Japan's friendship, and here Japan and Russia have a common ideal."

"Japan's Challenge to England"

is the heading of an article in the *American Review of Reviews* by Mr. Bronson Batchelor, "whose analysis of the Far Eastern situation leads him to the opinion that Japan and England are the inevitable future rivals for political and trade domination in Asia." He charges British diplomacy with a great blunder, namely, its failure "to prevent the entrance of Japan into China." He is of opinion that the next war is likely to have its root at Kiau-chau.

Only at the expense of British interests can Japanese expansion take place, as it has in the past in Manchuria and Korea. British merchants have long felt the competition and have bombarded the Foreign Office with petitions for redress. But for one of the few times in British history, Downing Street was obliged by treaty obligations to turn a deaf ear to the commercial classes.

No sooner was Tsing-tau taken than it was closed to all but Japanese ships. Only after a protest were British vessels admitted to the port. Next the withdrawal of practically the whole of European shipping for war service gave Japan another chance. An Imperial edict was issued that preference for Japanese cargoes must be shown on Japanese vessels. It was thus sought to repeat on the sea the policy pursued

on the Manchurian railways, where discriminatory rates have practically driven all but Japanese goods from the field. In ally lines the government sought to stimulate the exploitation of the new markets by liberal bonuses and assistance.

Japanese statesmen are not so vain as to believe that they can challenge British sea power. Although with the passing of the Germans from the Orient the Anglo-Japanese alliance has largely lost its value to both nations, it is to Japan's interests, so long as it lulls British suspicions, to preserve it. Under its cover she is striving to construct a new Asiatic balance of power, which will allow her independence of action, but tie the hands of Europe.

JAPAN'S FUTURE ALLIANCES.

With the utmost naivete Japan is now seeking an alliance with Russia, her foe of a decade ago. The public men are outdoing themselves to show their friendship for the Czar. Fortresses have been stripped, and guns and officers sent to aid the Russians; factories and arsenals are running overtime—if such a thing be possible in Japan—to replenish Russia's depleted munition supply.

Of course Japan is thus enabled to pay off a part of the crushing national debt, under which she was staggering toward ruin, but to the subtle Oriental mind there is an additional value in such an alliance. Japan seeks to detach Russia from the Asiatic policy of England, and with the offer of an increased share in Manchurian and Inner Mongolian concessions win Pétrograd to her own purpose. What could be more effective to counter Britain, for instance, than a revival of the Russian menace to India?

There is some evidence, too, that Russia has not lent an unwilling ear to these proposals. Despite the strain of war, perhaps Russia also has an eye to the future. For the rearrangement of Asia, she does not wish to be unprepared.

Japanese statesmen and publicists have even gone so far as to advocate an alliance with Germany after the war. Emperor William, before England made her compact, was eager for such a treaty. The extreme courtesy with which the Japanese treated the Germans at Kiau-chau was so noticeable as to excite comment. Perhaps the Kaiser might forgive the loss of his Eastern possessions for a new chance of striking at Britain's sea power. At any rate it is a card the Japanese are not neglecting.

THE ONE ASSURED RIVALRY.

It is, of course, too early to say how successful Japan will be in her projects. Much depends upon the strength of the belligerents as they emerge from the war. If Great Britain comes out with her fleet undiminished, and with no domestic quarrels between labor and capital, already menacing, to threaten her, she will be free to bring Japan at once to an understanding. Many difficulties in the future could thus be avoided.

Much also depends upon China in her efforts at self-regeneration. If her new nationalist spirit is strong enough she may yet be able to throw off the Japanese menace and regain control of her own destiny.

Before his death, Prince Ito, the Bismarck of Japan, made a remarkable prophecy. "The next war," said the Prince, "will take place in Europe. It will be followed by a second conflict, the struggle for the mastery of the Pacific."

Whether the Prince's words were the echo of

Japan's own determination to win that mastery we do not know. But it is at least clear that the only possible contenders for the prize are Great Britain and Japan. On the success of Japan's present diplomacy much of the issue depends.

Russian Mission to Japan.

The Japan Magazine says:—

Perhaps the most important question arising out of the visit of the Russian Grand Duke is that of an alliance between Japan and Russia. The question of a formal alliance between Japan and Russia has been discussed in the public prints for a long time, but now it seems to be approaching practical possibility. Some have opposed it on account of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the *Entente Cordiale* between Japan and Russia, which seemed to render further agreements unnecessary. Others feared that Russia could not forget her defeat by Japan and would be disposed some time or other to seek revenge: while still others argued that owing to rapid changes in international situations it would be better to wait and put no trust in alliances. The visit of the Grand Duke has done much to remove our suspicions of a contemplated Russian revenge; while leading statesmen of Russia have time and again declared the peaceful attitude of their country toward Japan.

There is now a very general conviction in Japan that an alliance with Russia need in no way militate against the alliance with Britain and that therefore the Russo-Japanese Alliance should be formulated at once. If the two countries are sincere in their declarations of mutual confidence and respect there seems to be no reason for longer postponing the alliance. Our present good relations must never be injured by allowing the presence of suspicion. At present Japan is sending enormous supplies of war munitions to Russia. The Government alone has sold about 60,000,000 *yen* worth of arms; and at least one hundred million more has been supplied by Japanese industry, including shoes, cloth, machinery, tools, medical instruments and medicines.

The Osaka Mint is busy turning out gold coins for Russia to the amount of some 12,000,000; and Japanese bankers are floating Russian treasury bonds to the amount of 50,000,000 *yen*. Taking all these facilities which Japan is offering Russia, together with the visit of the Grand Duke, it is not difficult to see that relations between the two countries were never better and that even something more definite and formal may be expected. At any rate the outlook is bright for a long period of peace between Russia and Japan in the Far East.

Russia and Japan.

A Russo-Japanese convention has been signed. "It provides that the two countries shall unite in efforts to maintain peace in the Far East," which is mere diplomatic euphemism for saying that no other power than these two must break the peace in the Far East nor must China fight to maintain her independence and integrity. This construction is confirmed by what Reuter has cabled out regarding M. Sazonoff's view:

M. Sazonoff stated in an interview that the Russo-

Japanese agreement would enable Russia to devote all her energies to the solution of problems created by the war in the west, with the assurance that no power would take advantage of China to carry out ambitious plans.

The following details of the Agreement given by Reuter are interesting:

The new Russo-Japanese Convention deals with the attitude of each Power in the event of any political engagement or combination directed against the other. It also provides, in the event of any menace to territorial rights or special interests in the Far East of one of the contracting parties which are recognised by the other, that Russia and Japan shall consult regarding measures to be taken with a view to support and cooperation and for safeguarding the defence of these rights and interests.

The Statesman understands from a reliable source that Japan and Russia have agreed

(1) That neither of the two contracting parties shall enter into any political agreement or league the purpose of which is to oppose the other contracting party; and

(2) That, whenever any of the rights or interests of either contracting party in the Far East, which have been recognized by the other contracting party, are in jeopardy, they will deliberate on the measures which should be taken to safeguard and protect those menaced rights and interests with the object of mutual maintenance or co-operation.

The following has appeared in the papers:

Reuter learns that Great Britain has expressed satisfaction at the Russo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance, which is regarded as in every way strengthening the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and consolidating relations between all the Allies in the Far East.

The question is whether under the present circumstances it would have been expedient for Great Britain to express anything else but satisfaction.

The Dutch Indies.

The Dutch are said to be apprehensive that Japan may attack and take possession of Java and the other islands of the archipelago which are under Dutch rule. It is not known how far these apprehensions are well founded. It is at any rate something new for a Christian European power to be afraid of oriental and "heathen" aggressiveness. For centuries international robbery has been the monopoly of occidental Christians.

Australia.

The Australians are said to be now willing to deviate a little from their White Australia policy in favour of the Japanese. Should this willingness materialize, the Japanese would have greater opportunities

in future to exploit the vegetable and mineral resources and the commercial possibilities of Australia.

Japan and U. S. A.

The Burnett Immigration Bill of the United States of America has been agitating the public mind in Japan for some time past. The Government of Japan has protested against it. The following extract from an article on "Japanese Immigration" by Mr. K. K. Kawkami in the *Chicago Unity* will give some idea of the Bill and the Japanese feeling towards it, as well as incidentally indicate the attitude of the British Indian Government :

The Burnett Bill does not name the Japanese among the races it wants to exclude, but proposes to exclude all aliens ineligible to citizenship. On its face the provision is applicable to all Asians. In reality, however, it hits especially the Japanese, because the existing Chinese exclusion law takes care of Chinese immigration, while the Hindu immigration is restricted by the voluntary action of the British government, which is always reluctant to permit Hindus to go abroad for fear that they may start seditious movements against British rule in India. The Burnett Bill specifically names the Hindus as a race to be excluded and then goes on to add "aliens ineligible to citizenship" as another category of excluded Asians. At bottom, and in its practical application, therefore, the phrase "aliens ineligible to citizenship" in this case means the Japanese. That is why Japan thinks the bill is a direct challenge to Japan's honor as well as to her sincerity in adhering to the "gentleman's agreement."

THE JAPANESE PRESS

BY LALA LAJPAT RAI.

THE newspaper is as old as civilization itself as well as the institution of organized government, but modern journalism is an institution of recent origin, dating from the invention of the printing press in the West, as printing was known to the Asiatics (Chinese) several thousand years ago. The development of the Japanese press that has taken place within the last 50 years is as wonderful as the development of other modern institutions in Japan during the same period. The first periodical publication which went under the name of a newspaper was printed in Yedo towards the close of the 50th year of the last century. Its contents were mostly translations from Dutch papers, published in Batavia. Three other weekly papers came into existence before the first Japanese daily newspaper made its appearance at Yokohama in 1871. It was called the Yokohama *Manichi Shimbun*. *Shimbun* in Japanese means a newspaper. It was followed in quick succession by the *Nichi Nichi* in 1872, *Hochi* in 1873, *Yomiuri* in 1874 and others later on. These papers still exist and are published in Tokio, the capital of the Japanese Empire. In the

Capital alone are published 21 leading dailies, some of which enjoy a circulation of over a quarter of a million. Several daily papers are also published at Osaka, the Manchester of Japan. In 1915 the total number of newspapers published in Japan amounted to 861, and the total number of periodicals including newspapers and magazines, was 2719.

The Japanese press is not quite free in theory, as there are legal restrictions imposed on them which, in a way, hamper its freedom. For example: the Japanese Press Law requires every periodical discussing current politics to deposit a security, ranging from 175 to 2000 Yen,* according to the place or, in the case of a periodical, to the frequency of publication. The Government possesses the right of using the deposit in the payment of a fine or in the discharge of other pecuniary obligation that may be imposed on the paper by the decision of a court of law, but the security can not be touched nor an editor or publisher fined except by the decision of the court of law. In that respect the Japanese Press Law is more

* The Yen is equivalent to Re. 1-8-0.

liberal than the Indian. Moreover the fixing of the security is determined, not by the arbitrary will of the Magistrate, but by definite rules. There is another article of the Japanese Press Law which is rather unique, viz., the procedure which is adopted in the case of private libel. It entitles the party concerned, to oblige the newspaper which published a libel, to insert a contradiction in one of the three following issues, using the same type as that in which the original paragraph appeared and in columns equally conspicuous as those in which the offensive matter was printed. The contradiction must be accompanied by the name and address of the sender and must not exceed the length of the original statement, any excess to be paid for at the journal's usual advertising rates. Failure to comply with these requirements involves the penalty of from Yen fifty to one thousand. When a newspaper violates the provision of the Press Law, relating to military or diplomatic censorship in time of emergency, it is liable to suppression by the decision of a court of law. There is no provision in the Japanese Press Law for forfeiture of publications. Publications can be prohibited or their sale forbidden. Newspapers may be suppressed or suspended under the law by a decision of a court of justice. In 1914, 453 issues of newspapers or publications were suppressed, one was suspended, and there were 114 cases at law courts. Out of those suppressed or of those the sale of which was forbidden in 1914, 135 cases related to diplomatic or military affairs occasioned by the European War. Besides the newspapers and periodicals published in the Japanese language, there are about half a dozen daily papers printed and published in the English language. Most of them are owned and edited by foreigners, but the majority by Englishmen. Their circulation is necessarily limited. Very few Japanese take them. Their circulation is chiefly confined to foreigners residing or travelling in Japan.

From the above it would appear that the Japanese press is very much hampered by the restrictions imposed by the Press Law, but a few days' residence in Japan, and even a slight acquaintance with the contents of the Japanese papers, makes it clear that in practice the Japanese press is as free as the press in the Western countries and that, except in the matter

of security, the provisions of the Press Law as to prohibition or suppression or suspension are put into operation in only extreme cases. Sometimes the Japanese papers become even more rabid than the yellow press in America.

Another feature of the Japanese press is that there is no prohibition against Government servants owning or writing for the papers. Almost all leading politicians, whether members of Government or in the opposition, have their own organs, owning them wholly or in part.

The opposition papers are as outspoken in their criticism of Government policy and Government measures as the newspapers of the most advanced countries of the West. The members of Government often entertain journalists at dinners or other parties to explain to them the policy of the Government and consult them over national affairs. Members of the opposition press are as freely invited to these entertainments as of the newspapers of the party in power, or those belonging to neither party. Thus the press is in close touch with the Government and is taken into confidence on almost every occasion of national emergency. One notices that, more often than not, ministers inviting the press to entertainments fail to impress the opposition press favorably. Several Japanese papers have their own telegraphic services in the important countries of the world. They subscribe for Reuter's telegrams, too, but generally they depend on their own correspondents in the capitals of the different countries of the world.

The Japanese editor is generally well-informed and up-to-date in world politics. About Indian affairs, they are hopelessly ignorant. The fact is that they do not attach any importance to Indian politics, though of late, a departure in this respect has been noticed. The Japanese dailies employ very large staffs. Some of the leading papers have as many as 200 or 300 writers on their staff, from the chief editor downwards. Every daily paper has a foreign department which is staffed by persons who have received their training in and have been to the foreign countries. Similarly there are, commerce, literary, and art departments, each in charge of a special staff. The Japanese newspaper man is not, as a rule, paid as well as men holding similar positions in European and American

countries. In Tokio, the chief editor of a leading newspaper does not get more than 300 Yen a month. I was informed that there is only one newspaper editor in the whole country who gets a salary of 500 Yen a month, but this is of course due to the comparatively low standards of wages and living that prevail in the country. And if one considers the number of writers engaged in preparing a newspaper for the press, it appears that the salary is not small and the Japanese newspaper man is as open to other sources of income as the pressman of other Western countries. Almost all important papers depute members of their own staff to the different countries of the world to study their affairs on the spot, thus keeping themselves in close touch with events which happen in other countries and with the undercurrents of public opinion which can only be studied by personal and close attention on the spot. There is hardly any important paper in Japan some members of whose staff have not been to foreign countries, all specially deputed by their own paper and at its expense. In fact, every paper keeps one or more of its representatives in the important countries of the world. Compared with the Japanese press, the Indian press seems to be in a state of infancy yet. Even the best Indian dailies have no representatives in the outside world except London. Very few have London correspondents, most of whom are non-Indians. The London letters of the Indian press are generally insipid, containing matters which become stale by the time those letters are published. Most of the letters do not contain anything which is not to be found in the Congress Publication "India." In England there are competent Indians who can serve as correspondents of the Indian papers, but the latter seem to have a certain prejudice against them. The fact is that the Indian papers can not afford to pay for correspondents or contributions from abroad. A genuine, intimate and close study of current politics in foreign countries involves a certain amount of expenditure which is beyond the means of those who ordinarily write for the Indian press from outside. This results in that deplorable ignorance which characterises the Indian papers about the true trend of foreign affairs and their bearing on Indian politics.

The truth of the matter is that the press in India cannot be developed without a much greater development of Indian industries. The press and the trade are inseparable under modern conditions. It is business which maintains the press and not the reading public. Big manufactures, developed industries, high class business alone can advertise on terms which make it possible for the newspapers to sell cheap and extend their circulation and influence. That is what accounts for the development of the Japanese press. The Indian paper has no such support. It depends chiefly upon its sales and is sold at comparatively high prices, which naturally limits its circulation.

The limited circulation of the Indian newspaper is also due to the general illiteracy which prevails in India. In Japan almost every man and woman can read and write. In India only 5 p. c. of the population, if you take the figures together can do so. So the circle of readers is necessarily small. Besides, the Indians have a vicious habit of reading books or papers purchased by others, even though they have the means to make their own purchases. The Indians have yet to learn that a writer is as much entitled to be compensated for his labor as any other class of workers; that literature cannot be developed in a country where people look upon literary efforts as more or less amateur, not entitling the men engaged in this work to be compensated in money. The literary profession is as honorable, if not more, as any other, and unless the men engaged in that profession are supported by the public so as to make them independent of other means of earning their living, the country cannot expect a high class development of its literature. The reading public in India seems to be under the impression that a literary man creates everything from his imagination which they think does not cost him anything. They seem to ignore that a literary man has to invest, as much money, if not more, "in his tools and instruments" as any other kind of industrial worker has to do. The tools of a literary man are ordinarily books and publications from which he gathers his information and which he has to study and digest if he has to make any valuable contribution to his subject.

All this is true of our countrymen. Yet

the chief factor in keeping down the circulation of the Indian newspaper is the lack of manufactures and industries, which will pay for advertisements and thus support the press and enable it to sell cheaply. One sometimes wonders how a huge paper, like the *London Times*, can be sold for a penny (equivalent to one anna) and a paper like the *London Daily News* for half a penny (two pice). The American papers are still cheaper. The Sunday Edition of the *New York Times* or the *San Francisco Examiner* or the *Chicago Tribune* is a heavy load, and it can be had all for five cents (two and half annas in Indian money). Considering the purchasing value of Indian money, the cheapness of the English and the American newspapers is still more remarkable. It is a fact well-known that all these papers would go to bankruptcy if they had to depend for their income on their sales. In fact, some of the papers actually suffer losses by larger sales. Their income is derived from advertisements. Similar is the case in Japan. There the daily papers are perhaps even cheaper than in England and the United States. There are evils, no doubt, connected with this system; but at present we are not considering the ethical side of the question. The growth of the Indian newspaper is decidedly retarded by the backwardness of the country in industries and manufacture. It amuses one and sometimes excites one's laughter as well as pity, to scan the advertisements that appear in the Indian vernacular press. One is sometimes tempted to think that the only thing on which the Indian vernacular papers thrive, are the specifics for certain unmentionable diseases. We have no doubt that the country is powerless but whether the medicines advertised in the vernacular press are the proper remedy is doubtful. These advertisements are obscene in the extreme and very objectionable from a moral point of view. Yet even the papers, whose mission is to inculcate purity and morality and spirituality, have to accept these advertisements and make them a prominent feature of their columns. That only shows the poverty of our resources. However, this was only by the by.

I am inclined to think that the pro-

prietors of the Indian newspapers are lacking, to a certain extent at least, in a spirit of enterprise. Some of them are known to have made fortunes in this business. Yet they grudge to invest money in improvements and in getting high class contributions from experts. The Indian paper would do well to club themselves into groups for the purpose of deputing special correspondents to foreign countries and for the purpose of sending the members of their own staff in rotation to study on the spot in the different countries of the world, how the latter have solved the problems which are at the present moment agitating the Indian mind; how India can make money by increasing its trade and how the Indian producer can save the money which at present goes to the pockets of the foreign middle man. The great problem that faces India is what to do with her young men, and I am certain that if the foreign middle man could be replaced by Indians, a great field will be opened for the employment of Indians who are at present rotting in Government offices or eking out a miserable living in the crowded profession of law.

A close study of the Japanese press on the spot leads me to think that the Japanese press is a great power, perhaps greater than the American press in America and the English press in England. The Japanese Ministers make every effort to placate the press and feel very uncomfortable when they are persistently attacked by the press. A press conducted by a few men only is not sufficiently potent to mould and guide public opinion. Its power must eventually depend upon the number and ability of the people who write for it and upon its circulation. Where the newspaper is prepared by a larger number of men than a staff of two or three permanent editors, the public does not feel so much confidence in the opinions expressed by it, as they would if they were conscious that the paper represents the labor of a large number of their countrymen who have devoted time and thought to the writings that make up the paper. This requirement the Japanese press fulfills; and hence its power over the public and the Government and its vigour.

AMERICAN WAYS

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THE United States may well be described as a congress of nations in permanent session; for the citizenry of America is an unprecedented mixture of the peoples of the globe. In the veins of the people flows the blood of half the races of the world. For the five year period before the great war in Europe the number of immigrants averaged more than a million a year. *There are in the United States sixty-five different nationalities speaking as many as seventy-three languages and dialects.* At the same time there is among these heterogeneously diversified factors of the population a robust sense of American nationality. Having once set his foot on American soil, the alien becomes quickly inoculated with patriotism for the United States: he vies with the "native-born" American in his profession of loyalty to his adopted country. The incoming immigrant having thrown off his former allegiance finds himself in a vast melting pot where many nationalities are fused preparatory to their being recasted in a new mould called Americanism.

The feeling of unity in America is so intense that it impels assimilation of even the most obstinate elements. The chief solvents in the process are language, education, free government, and public opinion—the greatest and most potent of which is the compelling force of public opinion. Should a foreigner be hardy enough to disregard public sentiment, he may find social and even business avenues barred against him. "If you don't like our country, get out," he will be informed quickly. "Do as others do. Follow the crowd," is the insistent demand of the normal routine of American existence.

I recall with amusement my earlier experiences in America when I was tardy in adjusting myself to the new environment. One by one, almost unconsciously, I had shed my Indian costumes; but there was one article I fondly clung to; I per-

sisted in wearing my turban. Although it provoked not a little silent mirth among my fellow-students, I was determined not to give up the remaining emblem of the Indian nationality. Fate was, however, working against me. One morning I happened to leave my head-gear in the cloak room of the college. The sight that met my eyes on my return was too tragic for words. The poor turban was gone—gone forever! It had been coldly assassinated—literally hacked and butchered to pieces. Then came my long-deferred, enforced introduction to the plain, and incidentally ill-fitting, American derby.

The citizens of the United States are brought up on the Declaration of Independence; they are reared on the theory that all men are equal. That is, indeed, a beautiful theory, a fine ideal. As a matter of fact discerning observers find that though there is no caste in the old meaning of the term, there are pronounced social demarcations in the United States. These social divisions are based on the color of the skin as well as on dollars and cents. In America there is wealth-a-plenty. Mushroom millionaires are so numerous that they are beyond count. The latest *World Almanac* of New York devotes twelve closely printed pages to a list of American families of vast wealth—all multimillionaires. There is, of course, some social intercourse between a colored man or a humble white man and a plutocrat; but this intercourse is no mark of intimacy, no indication of social equality between the two. Each follows his life in his own particular groove. Many of the men of swollen fortunes toil not, neither do they spin, yet they live on the fat of the land. Some of these millionaires ransack the medieval castles of Europe for ceilings and mantel-pieces, staircases and furniture; the newly rich hunt the world for tapestries and paintings; the unwieldy

rich sink fortunes in Persian pottery, in 650 specimens of Roman drinking cups, or in 120 varieties of Egyptian beetles. Only last month the books, manuscripts, and engravings which the late J. Pierpont Morgan stored away in one of his marble palaces have been appraised at twenty-one million rupees.

The flamboyant prosperity of America has produced a gigantic crop of wealthy men. Money is said to have become the open sesame of life. "Dollar chasers" and "money grubbers" are some of the elegant terms applied to Americans by unsympathetic critics. The English poet Wordsworth spoke of America as "Mammon's loathsome den." Americans themselves deny these charges. Indeed one who has lived long enough in this country and taken an impartial survey of the "struggle for the dollar" knows that the fatal money disease has infected at least a portion of the population. Here and there wealth beyond the dreams of avarice has been accumulated in a few hands. Buoyant, kindly idealism has a hard time in keeping pace with get-rich-quick-scheming, profit-dreaming, fortune-hunting individualism. The spirit of soulless egotism which teaches "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost" is not wanting.

In this land of contrasts, pauper slums and criminal slums are ever sending forth their silent but pathetic appeals for help. There are the hungry to be fed; the naked to be clothed; the dissolute to be rescued; the criminal to be saved; the unfortunates to be helped upward and onward. Much as I am in love with America, I can not say that it is a paradise on earth, a Garden of Eden, and that its peoples are all like the saints pictured on the tinted church windows. And yet one is forced to observe that the American is human, sometimes charitable, and occasionally idealistic. I have found in this country dull materialism blended with touching idealism. Even in the rushing "sky-scraper" city of New York, throbbing Philadelphia, diplomatic Washington, grimy Pittsburg, hustling Chicago, and multitudes of booming cities of the Middle-west and West, I have caught glimpses of human, self-sacrificing idealism. Contrary to the stereotyped European prejudice, everything American is not materialistic and moneyed. Life is not guided and controlled exclusively from the dollar point of view. Smug, crass mater-

ialism is not the sole passion of the whole population. To thoughtful men and women, money is a symbol—a sign of power, an emblem of success, an instrument of service.

The moneyed aristocrats—oil-kings, steel-princes, stove-lords, coal-barons, lumber-dukes, beef-millionaires—have after all little influence with the masses of the population. The prodigal waste of the rich is the common subject of impatient assaults on the part of independent pens. The public attitude toward the rich—the muck-rakes call them criminally rich—is one of doubt, suspicion, and, upon occasion, of half-humorous contempt. It is doubted whether an ultra-rich American millionaire could ever be elected President of the United States. A redeeming feature of American life is that money kings are coming to regard themselves as mere trustees of their millions which they hold for the larger good of the community. American Croesuses are generous givers. Many of them are found among the aggressive leaders of intellectual and philanthropic life. They build hospitals, found colleges and universities; they establish academies for medical research and scientific investigations; they endow public museums; they support free libraries and art galleries. Dr. Samuel Johnson in the latter part of the eighteenth century described Americans as "kascals—Robbers—Pirates." Most vehemently he called the people of this commonwealth "a race of convicts, who ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short of hanging." If the good doctor could visit America to-day, he would change his mind.

The psychology of the American people is hard to understand and much harder to explain. If I were asked to name the most conspicuous fact of American life I should say it is democracy. Americans simply will not lift their hats to accidents of birth or blood. Notwithstanding certain appearances to the contrary, it may be safely asserted that there is among them a strong undercurrent of real democracy, which can no more be stemmed by a few plutocrats, irresponsible reactionaries, and vociferous minorities than can the Atlantic be swept back with a broom by Dame Partington. Here in the land of the free the rulers and the ruled are on the same level. The policy of the Government is

shaped not by parchment nobility, but by the will of the common people. Here there is no hat-in-hand, no servile crouching submission to purple robes. Every American is a sovereign. Along with the gift of sovereignty goes religious liberty. There is no state church to call for his allegiance or demand his contributions. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge that there is no hereditary social system which holds a man permanently down to "the station of life to which it has pleased God to call him." Every individual is free to carve out his own destiny as he sees fit. All work is considered honorable; and since there are frequent changes of occupation, doctors, become farmers, lawyers shopkeepers, and druggists politicians. I have known a Christian preacher add to his income by working alternately as a farm laborer and a city ditch-digger.

There are in this Republic high government officials and important divines. They are, however, spoken of as men, not as persons occupying high social position. A supreme court justice, a United States congressman, a university professor will all be addressed by a common working man as his equal. No one lies awake nights learning the nice shades of meaning which exist between "His Serene Highness," "His Royal Highness," and "His Imperial Highness"; or between "Right Reverend" and "Most Reverend."

To be sure the American doctrine that all men are free and equal, if taken literally, may appear to be something of an illusion. As long as men differ from one another in their occupation, wealth, and education, they will not be content to be reduced to one dead level. When the Revolutionary Fathers spoke of equality they did not perhaps mean social equality. The ordinary, placid, easy-going Americans of to-day explain that the Jeffersonian doctrine of equality had reference only to equality before the law, and equality of opportunity. America has, therefore, become a synonym for opportunity. Hence Emerson declared "America is God's last opportunity to the human race."

In this democracy every man hopes to get on and up; and he habitually worships the cult of success and achievement. He has unlimited powers of accomplishment. He believes that if he could only liberate the imprisoned energies of his spirit he would be able to mould his environment.

His life is crammed with movement, change, onward rush, struggle, conquest, eternal unrest. He despises soft inertia as a sin. The fundamental qualities of his life are not those of profound thought and calm deliberation; but rather those of will, enthusiasm, impulse, striving, progress. His mind is practical, not meditative. You can make almost anything out of an American but a sanyasi, a hermit.

The time-honored motto of the man toiling up the steep road to success is, "What man has done, man can do." The American has lately improved upon it. With set teeth and clenched fist he says, "I will do what no man has yet accomplished." He is never on the look-out to break old records, make fresh ones, and set a new pace for the world. He is never satisfied with the conditions of circumstance. He wants more than what he has; he is eager to obtain the very best that life has to offer. What is the magic word in America? What do men talk about most? What do they think about when they think? Business. "How is business?" is the common greeting. "Business is business" is the national proverb.

No one can help being thrilled with the electric impulse of American activity which, indeed, makes "the world go round". It is almost impossible to find an American sitting down quietly for three minutes. He is always on the go. He has little use for holidays—there being only seven legal holidays. Then, too, a holiday is not for him a day of rest and leisure. A holiday consists mainly in changing the forms of activity. The more activity is crowded into a day the more and better he enjoys it. Truly his joy of living comes from the joy of laboring. Work is the object of his idolatry. What has always bewildered me is that sometimes his activity has no definite end, no particular objective. He likes work for work's sake. "Why do you have to work so hard?" I asked an old man abundantly blessed with worldly goods. "I don't know," he replied nervously tugging at his heavy gold chain, "but I must keep busy. I must find something to do."

Someone has said that the sole contribution of America to humanity is hurry. Americans live in an atmosphere of constant bustle and excitement, in a perennial maelstrom of events. "The American is born quick," remarked a

Frenchman, "works quick; eats quick; gets rich quick; and dies quick." I suppose that the first words which American babies are taught to lisp are "Be quick. Step lively." The man in the office hangs over his desk the legend: "This is my busy day. Be brief," or "Time is money. Cut short." The ever-rushed-to-death American will spend millions to take a curve out of a railroad that will save a few minutes. He is economic of time, but lavish of men. Every year ten thousand people are killed in the United States through railroad accidents. Everywhere in business districts of a town one encounters enormous signs purporting to do what you want done—"While You Wait." The shoemaker will repair your shoes, the tailor will iron and press your clothes, the boot-black will shine your boots, the hatter will clean and block your hat "while you wait." Everything is done at aviation speed. Just drop into restaurants or cafes on the corner where they stick up such signs as "Quick Service. Try Our Quick Lunch." These places are very popular. Here you will see people bolt their dinners in less than five minutes. They eat so fast that you would think they are famine victims. The wonder to me is that they do not cut themselves to pieces when they have to carry out so many intricate quick manoeuvres with spoons, knives and forks, especially knives. I confess I have no intimate knowledge of the by-ways of the American mind. I doubt if any foreigner has. But that the American mind would think in short-hand if it could, I honestly believe.

Not a very ceremonious people are these Americans. Politeness such as is known in Japan or India does not exist in America. There are those who are afraid that if things do not improve, politeness will some day become a lost art in the United States. Personally, I think that such a day is afar off. Seeming incivility is more the result of carelessness than deliberate wilfulness. The genuine American is not a member of the blarney tribe: he has a positive dislike of the French habit of adulation and suavity. You recall how the courtly, dignified Caulaincourt, the friend of the great Napoleon, seized by the collar the base traitor Abbe de Pradt and twirling him around upon his heels like a top, exclaimed, "You are a villain, Sir!" In polite European society it is always "Sir"

—"Sir" this, "Sir" that. Your genteel European—if there is still anybody left in that denomination—is always "charmed" to meet a man even when his breath is being shaken out of him. He may be hated, stabbed, shot, bombed, or poisoned, but he will be invariably addressed "Sir." They do not "Sir" in the United States.

Americans are open and accessible. They are about the easiest people in the world to get acquainted with. They are not like that historic Englishman who stood still on the edge of the water and let a drowning man sink because he could not make up his mind to rescue a stranger without proper introduction. American etiquette is different. In parks, theaters, hotels, railroad stations, strangers will now and then approach you and ask, "Got any matches?", "Can I look at your paper?", or "What time is it?"

The American is genial, warm-hearted, independent. He is keenly sensitive to what he considers rudeness or insolence. He is excessively proud; but not, as President Wilson would have the world believe, too proud to fight. The American is a big, two-handed fighter, no "pussy foot." Although he keeps his temper in tight control, he stomachs an insult almost as readily as a bull dog does an irreverent remark from a fox-terrier. Those who know him well find also that there is no pretentious snobbishness in him. He is frank, almost to the point of being brutal. If he has anything to say, he blurts it straight out. There are no buts and ifs, no preludes and postludes. Do you object to a man's walking with his hands buried in his trouser's pockets jingling coins? Do you object to his sitting with his legs crossed or stretched across the table? He would as lief remind you as not: "This is a free country. I can do as I please." It is well within bounds to say that his personality would be rich and immensely interesting if he had some of the refinements of polished manners. Excessive politeness is not his long suit. In fact he says he has no time to waste on politeness. Rough and ready, he is apt to mistake delicate Oriental courtesy for weakness of character. The truth is that the American rushing tide of activity, the unceasing nerve-wrecking hurry is not conducive to leisurely niceties of manners. An intense, almost frantic, struggle to achieve success leaves

him little time to agonize over the feelings of other people. "I don't care!", "I should worry!", are the slang phrases of the day.

Is there any social life among this hurried people? Assuredly there is. The American possesses social instincts and no little social talent. The social life is especially pleasing because it is entirely dominated by women. A happy, free, wholesome mingling of the sexes lends delightful fascination to social gaities.

Americans are a hospitable people. No foreign celebrities can land upon the American shores without being dined and wined and lionized. Americans are at times so over-anxious to entertain the great and the near-great that they frequently lay themselves open to the charge of being tuft-hunters. Americans are always generous and open-handed in their hospitality.

The invited guest is not expected to stay over three days. "Stay long enough to pay your fare, but do not stay too long to wear out your welcome," remarked a young debutante of my acquaintance in a tone of finality that could not be disputed. When a person makes a social call, he is prudent enough not to stay over thirty minutes. "A long stay killeth a visit," is the revised version of the American social gospel.

An Indian does not like to accept an invitation unless it is persistently pressed upon him. In my early days in America I lost many dinner invitations because my friends would simply say, "Wouldn't you like to dine with me?" Of course I would; but how could I think of accepting an invitation which had not been urged upon me at least half a dozen times? There is much that is good in this sincere and straightforward hospitality. It does, however, take an Indian some time before he gets used to American ways.

Social debts in America are binding and obligatory as well as any other debts. When a person has many social debts and does not care to give a theater or a dinner party, he holds a reception. It is the easiest and cheapest way to discharge outstanding social obligations. In a large reception, which is generally a stiff and glittering function, host and hostess dressed in their best clothes stand in the parlor, and gallantly shake hands with each incoming guest at a measured angle and with a studied smile. The two formulae used on this occasion are:

"Happy-to-see-you" and "Pleased-to-be-here." After the hand-shaking business is over, the guests ask one another, "How are you"; but nobody waits long enough to hear the answer. There is hardly any worth-while conversation, though there is plenty of small talk. These receptions would have been more endurable if there were no music. Usually an obstreperous orchestra hidden behind a miniature grove of painted rubber palms set up an ear-splitting noise. If there is any harmony in this music, the Oriental does not recognize it. To him it is torture. Years ago when a Shah of Persia was in Germany as the guest of the Kaiser, a German musical program was given for his pleasure. At the close the Shah was asked if he wished to hear any number of the program again. Yes; he would like the first number repeated. They played it; but that did not please him. What did he want? Finally it became apparent that what the Shah was most interested in was the performance which preceded the first number: he wished to hear the musicians tune their instruments. I venture to say he would have no better luck with American music. At any rate, in fashionable receptions there is music and there is something to eat. Well toward the close of the evening, the inevitable black coffee and ice cream with wafers make their appearance. Refreshments over, guests begin to make their exits. The pass words at this time are: "Had-a-most-delightful-time" and "Glad-you-came."

It has been stated that the Americans are a nation of villagers. This description is true in this sense that they are more provincial than national, and far more national than international or cosmopolitan. An explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in the fact that until recently America has lived in comparative isolation: she was almost a recluse among the nations. As yet she has not fully entered into the spirituality of the world. An average American is all but village-minded when it comes to issues of world politics. Question him as to happenings in India or any other country outside the orbit of his own land and you will find him either an unabridged encyclopedia of cloudy misinformation or an icy mountain of sheer indifference. The only subjects which seem to move him interest and stir his imagination are American subjects. In this respect he is

dangerously near being parochial in mental make-up.

The American loves his country with a deathless love. The deepest, the most fundamental, the most universal thing in the United States is patriotism. The American is a patriot, sleeping or waking, walking or running, eating or drinking. He will forgive any crime but an act that is unpatriotic. He will gladly die a thousand times rather than see the honor of the national flag stained. As I write I have before me in the newspaper an account of a small boy, only eleven years of age, who refused to salute the flag at his school. He was taken to the court, where the judge sentenced the little child to nine years in a reformatory school. "My country, right or wrong," is the essence of American patriotism. It inspires him with the belief that his country, which is the greatest, noblest and grandest of all, is a model, a guide to others. It breeds in him the conviction that he is the advance guard of civilization, that he has an apostolic mission to humanity. What a familiar ring these phrases have! For has not the world heard already about the mission of Japan in China, the Germans in the Near East, the French in North Africa, and the English in the Far East?

It is perhaps unavoidable that Americans with such a glow of patriotism in their bosom, with such loyalty to their institutions, would possess the unhappy knack of boasting about their country. This is, however, no original discovery with me. Nearly every visiting European traveler has made this observation, and furnished numerous examples in support of the view. Matthew Arnold in one of his paroxysms of attack against the United States spoke bitterly of the "American rhapsody of self-praise." It seems to me that Europeans do not need to draw around them the cloak of self-righteousness. They have a beam in their own eyes. Their fulsome patriotic literature and their patriotic oratory reveal to an amazing degree that the United States does not hold a monopoly of the gift of gasconade. Does not France claim she is at the head of the world civilization? Does not Germany assume that she is the knight-errant of the true culture? And who has not heard England declare that other countries are weltering in the chaos of outer darkness? These innuendos are as well-known as they

are ridiculous. They prove one thing—the wide extent of the plague zone.

Confidence in one's ability, faith in the destiny of one's nation, even when carried to extreme, breeds ambition and hopeful cheerfulness. Hence Americans are a race of stubborn, inveterate optimists. Their common saying is, "Never trouble trouble until trouble troubles you." There is probably no place in the world to-day where there is a people more determined to be optimistic, regardless of logic or fact, than the American people. They are loudly optimistic—at times totally forgetful that two and two make four. In the art of daring, incurable, reckless optimism America has so successfully led the globe that no competitor is in the running. A snarling pessimist is almost a social outcast: he is looked upon much as a lunatic or a cow thief. Talk as we may, bright cheery American optimism is far better than the dark pessimism of James Thompson or the bottomless gloom of Schopenhauer. Optimism makes the American self-reliant, self-confident; optimism stiffens his fighting spirit in the face of difficulty and obstacles.

In the course of my slumming experience I became acquainted with a gray worn woman. She might have passed for sixty-five. I considered her to be that old. She was poor; she had to take in laundry to support herself, a drunken old husband, and a debauched son. Yet she never complained. "How are you getting along?" I asked her. "All right," she said, lifting a soggy partly wrung-out garment on the line; "I just get up my grit and fight. It will be better by and by." And that too from a feeble woman who had been carrying an awful burden for over forty years! What cheerful courage, what heroism!

A capital instance of phoenix-like optimism came to my notice a few days ago. I was walking with one of my neighbours who owned a very fine well-equipped barber shop up-town. We had not gone far in our morning stroll when my neighbour was informed by one of his friends that his shop was destroyed by fire last night. "Is that so?" was all he said. And he kept on walking and talking about the weather without once mentioning the fire. I thought it was all a joke. When we were within two city blocks of his place, several business men of the town happened along. They, too, told him of his fire loss and asked where he was last night. To all

their anxious inquiries he smiled broadly and said, "I did not know anything about the fire." Just as we were about to turn the corner of the street before reaching the shop, he came across another man with whom he proceeded to discuss some affairs. In the meanwhile my own curiosity had been roused to the highest pitch. I could

wait for him no longer. I ran. And there I found my neighbor's beautiful shop a mass of charred black ruins. "Oh, there is bound to be fire once in a while," said he with heroic indifference the next time we met. "What's the use of worrying about it?"

MR. LLOYD GEORGE

(2)

THIS war has brought its revelations. But among these revelations perhaps there is none more startling than the transformation of Mr. Lloyd George. The fact is that this war has discovered the real Mr. Lloyd George and the discovery has been good. His antecedents were such as to justify people in the belief that he would be the last person to stand forth as an advocate of Imperial Britain. His early associations, training, religious influences and political activities were essentially pacifist. His attitude during the Boer War convinced the majority of people that he was one of the Little Englanders and not one of those who assume the role of the champion of Imperial Britain. His primal instincts had all been against the arbitrament of the sword. He had been one of those who stand for peace and not for war. He had been one of those who would fight to the death for peace. During the whole of his political career extending over a period of nearly thirty years, it has been once and once only that in his Mansion House Speech in July, 1911, in connection with the Agadir incident, he made it clear that "England would not stand by whilst France was being crushed." On that occasion he was chosen by Mr. Asquith to deliver, on behalf of the Cabinet, "a grave pronouncement of the deliberate intention of the Government to oppose German policy by force of arms." Excepting the said occasion, he had never uttered a word "which might warrant anticipations of the development of August 1914." On the contrary, his faith in the

pacifist policy of Germany was unshaken. In fact, he was "pro-German," as the phrase goes. Read his historic Budget Speech, and you will find references after references to Germany and German methods. These repeated references to Germany and German methods, naturally used to irritate those who knew of Germany's hostile attitude towards England. But Mr. Lloyd George whose advocacy of peace had been proverbial did not "smell a rat," as they say in colloquial language. It is true that he had made many visits to Germany and as such was in a position to find out the views and intentions of Germans towards England. But his visits to Germany were expressly made with a view to studying the social conditions of that country in connection with his contemplated Old Age Pensions and Insurance Schemes, and thus perhaps precluded his paying attention to matters other than social. These visits, in fact, hoodwinked Mr. Lloyd George. Every time he visited Germany he came back with the renewed belief that England had nothing to fear from Germany, whose chief mission in this world was the expansion of German commerce: an object to the accomplishment of which the continuance of peace was absolutely essential. The views of Mr. Balfour and other great statesmen who did not believe in the pacifist policy of Germany and gravely doubted Germany's intentions, were pooched by Mr. Lloyd George and characterized as "tea-table-tittle-tattle."

When the war broke out on August 4, 1914, Mr. Lloyd George became a changed man. He at once realized that Germany meant war not only on peaceful

small states like Belgium, but also against the peace, civilization and liberty of the world, and threw in his authority and influence with those who are fighting for the cause of Liberty against those who are fighting for the introduction of Militarism in the world. He placed his persuasive eloquence, his exuberant energy, his inexhaustible resources, and his thrilling inspiration at the service of his country. In fact he gave all he has to this cause of Liberty. Great Britain went into war to defend the honour, the integrity, and the independence of Belgium, and to assert the principles of justice and right. It was not impelled by motives of territorial acquisition. And of all statesmen, there was no one more conscious of this than Mr. Lloyd George. In his great speech at the Queen's Hall, London, on September 18, 1914, he said, "We could not have avoided it without national dishonour.... No man has regarded the prospects of engaging in a great war with greater reluctance, with greater repugnance than I have done throughout the whole of my political life." He with the assistance of Colonel Owen Thomas had been the means of raising a Welsh Army with Welsh-speaking officers, and it must stand to the credit of Lord Kitchener that by issuing an Army Order he authorized the use of the Welsh language at all times in the Welsh Army.

Previous to the war Mr. Lloyd George was the best-hated man in England, not only among Tories, but among a certain section of liberals as well. He was known as "the Enemy of the Classes." His Old Age Pension and Insurance Schemes, and Land Campaign had made him most unpopular, of course, unjustly. Very few people had a good word for him, and "if anyone wished to say a good word of him, he had to whisper it." And now he is *the* man. He is the man who is doing things. He is the man who is putting things right. He is the man who can deliver goods, as they say colloquially. He is the man who is acting. He is the man who is out to organise victory in the war. He is the visible soul of the Coalition Government. He is its inspiration. Before the war he was known as the "Enemy of the Classes" and the "Castigator of the Masses." To-day he is "the Saviour of the Country." More than an year and a half ago, he was described as "the

Democrat-Dictator." To-day he is a true servant of the country. To-day others talk, but he acts. Others give us words; but he gives us facts. To-day others have gone down in the estimation of their countrymen, but he has magnetised them not only with his example, but equally with his ideal—his motto being:—"Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might." To-day he is a general favourite, and nobody's hand is against him. Conservatives of the type of Lord Curzon and the Earl of Derby, who once denounced him as the traitor to Britain, are among his best political friends. Mr. Austin Harrison and Mr. Blatchford who are always down like a ton of bricks on the Government, always say a good word of him to-day. The former in his letter to "The Times" dated July 9, 1915, writes, "Except for the initiative and courageous example of Mr. Lloyd George (whose energies, by the way, have been scolded by the Liberal press) the Coalition, so far as I can see, has changed little," and the latter in "The Weekly Despatch" dated July 18, 1915, thus writes:—

"There is a dark suspicion in the minds of the people that some intrigue is being carried on against Mr. Lloyd George. I do not know whether or not that is true. But I do know that the country has entrusted Mr. Lloyd George with work which the country regards as of the very greatest importance, and that the country would give short shrift to any person or persons who dared to attempt to hinder Mr. Lloyd George in his work. If Mr. Lloyd George finds himself thwarted or threatened, or annoyed, or interfered with in any way he may depend upon it that the whole Empire will stand by him and insist upon his having not only fair play, but every assistance that he may ask for or that the Government and the public can give."

And why? Because Mr. Lloyd George has subordinated his political principles to the military needs of the country at the present moment. He has become a conscriptionist, and there are people who see in it a travesty of Liberalism. I think they are mistaken. Mr. Lloyd George means to win the war, and if he is convinced that the war can be won by introducing conscription, there is no reason why he shouldn't become conscriptionist, and an ardent advocate of conscription. I don't see any sense in blaming him on that account. On the contrary, he deserves all praise for it. It does not mean that he has changed his political views and convictions. It simply means that he

has grasped the situation and knows how to handle it satisfactorily. It was at Manchester in June, 1915, that Mr. Lloyd George first came out as a conscriptionist and told the country that "France saved the liberties she had won in the Great Revolution from the fangs of tyrannical military empires purely by compulsory service." How differently it was regarded by people in Great Britain is clear from Mr. Bankes's concluding appeal, which ran as follows:—

"Heaven forbid that we should ever see the day that Conscription should be adopted or followed in this country. Were we to despair of the safety of this country under a Constitution which had enabled us to come safe through so many perils unless we should adopt the system of France, a system devised by tyranny for its safety, and which carried misery into the bosom of every family. This would be truly *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*."

But in fairness to Mr. Lloyd George it must be stated that when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer and before he became a Conscriptionist, he outlined his policy in this connection on May 4, 1914, in the following words:—

"What service can Britain best render to this great combination? She can keep the command of the sea for the Allies. She has done so, and she will maintain that complete control to the end. That is the invaluable service which she is rendering to her Allies...What is the second service which Britain could render? She could, of course, maintain a great Army, putting the whole of her population into it exactly as the Continental Powers have done. What is the third service? The third service which Britain can render is the service which she rendered in the Napoleonic wars of bearing the main burden of financing the Allied countries in their necessary purchases outside their own country, more especially for carrying on the war, and also helping the Allies with the manufacture and equipment of munitions of war. Britain can do the first, and she can do the third. She can only do the second within limits if she has to do the first and the last. I think that is important. We have raised enormous numbers of men in this country, but I say, speaking now purely from the point of view of finance, that the time has come when there should be discrimination so that recruiting should not interfere with the output of munitions of war, and that it should interfere as little as possible with the output of those commodities which we export and which enable us to purchase munitions for ourselves and for our Allies."

The part which Great Britain has to play in the war, according to Mr. Lloyd George was threefold—Naval, Military and Financial. The first and third function

Great Britain alone among the Allies can perform. The second function can only be carried out to a limited extent, otherwise it would prejudice Great Britain's power of financing the Allies. That was the view of Mr. Lloyd George in May, 1914. But, unlike many of his colleagues, his mind, though trained to move amid peace conditions, does not follow its natural bent under the shocks of war. It adapts itself to the circumstances. And this is the reason that Mr. Lloyd George, a Liberal to his finger-tips, has become an ardent advocate of Conscription. And quite right too. The fact is that Mr. Lloyd George knows when to be diplomatist, and he is not too obstinate to compromise, and if need be to surrender. He knows when to compromise. He knows when to surrender. He is a man of courage, convictions and independence. But that does not prevent him from subordinating his views to the needs of the country, if there be such need. He places his country before his convictions, in fact, before everything. Being fully convinced of the necessity of conscription he became an ardent conscriptionist. In September of last year when the air was thick with rumours that Mr. Lloyd George had become a Conscriptionist, and that there was division in the Cabinet on the question of compulsion, Mr. A. G. Gardiner, the talented editor of "The Daily News and Leader" in its issue of September 18, 1915, addressed an open letter to Mr. Lloyd George, in the course of which he said, "the peril to our domestic affair comes from you.....without you the cause of conscription was negligible, with you it is a danger more to be feared than Prussia." From this it is clear that the political situation in England centres round the personality of Mr. Lloyd George more than round any other statesman. He is the greatest factor to be reckoned with in the modern politics of England. There has hardly been any political question of importance in England since the war began with which Mr. Lloyd George's name has not been associated.

BABU LAL SUD,

THE KUTASTHAVADA OF SANKARACHARYA

versus

THE AGNOSTICISM OF HERBERT SPENCER

SANKARA'S COMMENTS ON THE TEXT
"NA DRISHTER DRASHTARAM PASYEH."

TO one who has any experience of what is known among us as *Dhyana*, or *Yoga*, i.e., "*Chittavrittinirodhah*"—or introspection with arrest of mental modifications, or of what is taught by the—Gita "*na-kinchit api chintayet*"—"do not think of anything whatever," Herbert Spencer's remarks quoted in my previous article, in support of Agnosticism, would seem to be beside the mark altogether. It is an attempt bound to be fruitless from the nature of the case,—that of reducing the Seer of seeing—into the seen—the subject into the object. I may be excused, if I am tempted to compare all his waste of powder and shot in the shape of so much abstruse reasoning, with the solemn deliberations of the community of the blind, regarding the form and colour of the elephant. Now allow me to present, before you the other side of the shield, to present before you side by side with Herbert Spencer's plea for Agnosticism, a fuller version of Sankara's comments on the Sruti text *na drishter drashtaram pasyeh*, which contains a statement, though rather partial, of Sankara's case for *Kutasthavada*. Says Sankara: "*Esha tava atma Sarvantarah*"—"This your Self is in all." "*Sarva*" in "*Sarvantarah*", says Sankara, "stands as representing all particular characterisation." "*Sarva-viseshanopalakshanartham*." Being pressed by *Ushasta* to show *Brahma*, as one would show a bull, by taking hold of his horns, and saying "This is he," *Yagnavalkya* replies:—"Esha te atma Sarvantarah"—"This your Self is in all. This your Self is that Self which is '*sakshat*,' i.e., '*Avyavahitam kenachit*,' not separated from any of us by anything intervening, *aparokshat*, i.e., *agaunam*, not known mediately as an inference from other previously known data. *Brahma*, i.e., *Brihattamam*—the Supreme—is the

(*Atma Sarvasyadyantarah*)—Self in all. This is that which has the aforesaid qualities." The question is again put, "Who is he that is *Your Self*,—taking 'you' in the sense of this lump of effects and instruments, *karyakarana-sanghatah*?" Your Self is He, owing to whose presence this lump has a self, *sa yena atmavan sa esha tava atma*,—by 'you' being taken this lump of effects and instruments." Sankara explains: "In that lump, *sanghata*, there is (1) the mass of flesh and bone—*Pinda*, and (2) within it the subtle body, the bundle of organs or instruments, *lingatma karana-sanghatah*, and (3) the third which is the point in dispute—*tritiyo yascha sandihyamanah*. Which one among these three do you mean to call my Self in all,—*katamo mamatma sarvantarah tvaya vivakshitah*?" Thus questioned, says Sankara, "the other (*Yagnavalkya*) answered:—"He who performs the vital functions of respiration, &c., by the air which passes through the mouth and nostrils,—that Conscious Intelligent Self—*Vijnanamayah*—is Your Self,—by 'you' being understood effects and organs or instruments." Sankara observes:—"The Self is He through whose agency are performed all the processes connected with this lump of effects and organs, such as respiration &c., as of an wooden machine. Acts such as respiration, &c., are not possible for wooden machines; in the same way such acts are not possible for this lump of effects and organs, *karyakarana-sanghatah*,—except under the direction and control of a conscious Self. It thus follows that the lump of effects and instruments,—*Pinda*,—like an wooden machine carries on the processes of respiration, &c., under the direction and control of the conscious intelligent Self,—*vijnanamayah*,—who is to be distinguished from the lump or *Pinda* he directs, as standing in antithesis to it *vilakshanah*. It necessarily follows that He or the Self (यन्तौ)

exists, who stands as the antithesis to the lump of effects and organs (यन्त्र), which He directs.*

Notice here, Sankara speaks of the lump of effects and instruments, *karya-karanasanghata*, i. e., the combination of effects and instruments, or of this combination of body and mind, that we usually mean by ourselves, as mere wooden machines. In doing so Sankara reminds us on the one hand of the Sankhya dictum, "सङ्घातपरायणत्वात् पुरुषस्य" (Sankhya Pravachana Bhashya 1-66); which means that the existence of the *Purusha* or Self is proved from the universal law that all things produced by the combination of parts into a whole, presuppose the existence of a Self or *Purusha* different from them, whose interests they are to serve: "for they are formed by the combination of parts into a whole, like beds and seats"—*Sanghatadivat Sayyasana-divat*." On the other hand in comparing the *karya-karana-sanghata* (the combination of effects and instruments, i. e.) our bodies and minds, to a *daruyantra* or wooden machine, Sankara reminds us on the other hand of Dr. Paley's once famous example of the clock and the clock-maker, as illustrating the relation of the Supreme Being as designer, to the objective world as designed by him,—not of course in Paley's sense of a distant (तदृश) clock-maker like God, but as the very Self in all.

But to proceed with Sankara's comments on the text:—"Then said *Ushasta*, like one who first promises one thing; then forgets his promise, and says something different,—for example having first promised to show (a cow) by direct perception; afterwards merely describes it by giving the distinguishing marks, saying 'the cow is that which walks, or the horse is that which runs.' This *Brahma* has been described by you like that. *Ushasta* asks again:—"Show me in the

concrete that *Brahma* that is immediately known (*sakshat*, not inferred (*aparokshat*) the Self in all." Then the other (*Yagna-valkya*) replied: "What I first promised, that your very Self has that nature, that promise I am keeping; for that is as I told you. But when you ask me to objectify that Self, like an earthen-pot, "*yat punaruktam tamatmanam ghatadivat vishayikuru*"—that is not done, for that is impossible to be done,—*tadasakyatvat na kriyate*. Why that is impossible to be done is next explained: From the very nature of the thing,—"*vastu-svabhavyat*." What again is the nature of the thing? To be the Seer (दृष्टा) or subject of seeing, (and) not the object (दृश्य). The *Atma* or Self is the Seer (दृष्टा) or subject in reference to an act of seeing. Seeing is of two kinds; phenomenal (लौकिकी) or mediate, and real (पारमार्थिकी) or immediate. Of these, the Phenomenal (लौकिकी) is a mental modification connected with the eye. That is an act done, has a beginning, and an end.* But the real (पारमार्थिकी) or immediate seeing of the Self is like heat and light in reference to fire; and that being the very nature (स्वरूप) of the seeing Self, does not either begin or end. This *Paramarthiki drishti* or real seeing—(कूटस्थचैतन्य)—is as it were united to the other, or *Loukiki drishti*, which as an act done, is a mere separable accident (उपाधि), i. e., now is, and now is not; from this union of the two, the name *drashta* or Seer is given to the Self (the पारमार्थिकी or कूटस्थचैतन्य), which thus acquires differentiation (भेदवत्), and we speak of the Seer's seeing, i. e., we distinguish Seer and seen from seeing. This phenomenal (लौकिकी) seeing having the eye for its gate-way, acquires form and colour, and seems as if born, as if come into connection with the changeless seeing of the Self (निवृत्त्या आत्मदृष्ट्या संवेद्य), becoming like a reflection or image

* "य ते कार्यकरणस्यात्मा विज्ञानमयः । सर्वा कार्य-
करणसङ्घातगताः प्राणनादिवेषा दाह्यन्तस्येव येन क्रियन्ते ।
न हि चेतनावदमविष्टितस्य दाह्यन्तस्येव प्राणनादिवेषा
विद्यन्ते । तस्मात् विज्ञानमयेन अविष्टितविलक्षणेन दाह-
यन्त्रवत् प्राणनादिवेषां प्रतिपद्यते । तस्मात् सोऽस्मि कार्य-
करण सङ्घातविलक्षणो य एवेष्टयति ।" (P. 575—
Jivananda).

किं पुन स्मत् स्वाभाव्य ? दृष्टाद्वि कर्तृत्वं । दृष्टे-
र्दृष्टास्यात्मा । दृष्टिरिति द्विविधा भवति :—लौकिकी पार-
मार्थिकी चेति । तस्य लौकिकी चक्षुरेयुक्तान्तःकरणवृत्तिः—
सा क्रियते इति, जायते विनश्यति च ।

thereof. Pervaded by that, i.e., the *nitya* आत्मदृष्टि, it, i.e., the *Loukiki* appears and disappears. Hence the figurative expression (उपचर्यते) that the seeing Self though he is always seeing (or what Sankara elsewhere calls *Kutasthanityatma-jyotih*) now sees and now sees not* (according to the appearance and disappearance of the *Loukiki drishti*).

What Kant calls "the manifold of sense" may be said to correspond to what Sankara calls "लौकिकी दृष्टिः, चक्षुद्वारा रूपोपरता", and what Kant calls "the unity of reason" may be said to correspond to what Sankara calls "पारमार्थिकी आत्मनो दृष्टिरभ्युपगमप्रकाशदिवत्." Sankara expresses their unity by the expression—"संसृष्टेव" "as if united," and their difference by "भेदवच्च," or self-differentiated. Notice also what Sankara means when he says "तथा व्याप्तैव विनश्यति" pervaded by the real or पारमार्थिकी नित्या आत्मदृष्टिः, the phenomenal or लौकिकी चक्षुःसंयुक्ता दृष्टिः disappears. He means that disappearance and death merely concern the phenomenal, or लौकिकी, for disappearance or deathlike appearance also presupposes the real or नित्या आत्मदृष्टिः by which it must be pervaded (व्याप्तैव) in order to be perceived. Thus it would seem to us that Sankara solves at a stroke of his pen, the great riddle of the Immortality of the Soul, even as Alexander the Great cut the Gordian knot with a stroke of his sword.

Sankara goes on :—"The seeing of the Seer, i.e., the "पारमार्थिकी नित्या आत्मदृष्टिः" can never change into anything different—"न तु पुनर्दृष्टिर्दृष्टेः कदाचिदप्यन्यथात्." Here Sankara refers to another of Yagnavalkya's transcendental flights, where he describes the Kaivalya form of moksha by analogy with the state of sound sleep known among

* यात्मात्मनो दृष्टिरभ्युपगमप्रकाशादिवत्, सा च द्रष्टुः स्वरूपत्वात् न जायते न विनश्यति च। सा क्रियमानया उपाधिभूतया संसृष्टेव, इति व्यपदिश्यते द्रष्टेति भेदवत् द्रष्टृदृष्टेरिति च। याज्ञौ लौकिकी दृष्टिः चक्षुद्वारा रूपोपरता जायमानेन नित्यया आत्मादृष्ट्या संसृष्टेव तत्प्रतिष्ठाया, तथा व्याप्तैव जायते तथा विनश्यति च, तेनोपचर्यते, दृष्टा सदा पश्यन् अपि पश्यति न पश्यति चेति।

the unenlightened,—calling Kaivalya—the *paramo lokah*—the state of highest bliss,—or "the realisation of all things as one's Self—the fruit of true enlightenment, and free from the phenomenal division of action, actor, and result"—"Yosausarvatmabhavo moksho vidyaphalam Kriya-karaka-fala-sunyam," Yagnavalkya goes on to describe *Kaivalya* thus:—"There he is not followed by his good deeds, nor by his evil deeds, for he has travelled beyond the reach of all the sorrows of the heart. That he does not see, seeing he sees not, for the seeing of the Seer cannot cease, for it is imperishable. But no second to him exists which he is to see as separated from himself."* (IV—III—19 to 23). On this, Sankara observes: "Just as the heat of a fire lasts as long as the fire lasts, so it is with the seeing of the Seer,—the seeing Self being imperishable, (for, as we have said before, disappearance and death also presuppose a seeing Self to perceive that they take place);—his seeing too is imperishable—for the seeing Self, means nothing but the Seer, or the subject of seeing, &c.). Why is it said, he does not see? Because no second to the Self exists which the Self is to see as an object separated from the subject or seeing Self. When one says, 'I do not see' "na pasyami," it is only true relatively to the particular functions of particular organs—*Karana-Vyapara-viseshaprekshatvat*,"—for even those whose eyes have been plucked out, are known to retain during their dreams, the seeing power of Self"—"चक्षुस्तच्चक्षुसां च स्वप्ने आत्मदृष्टेरविपरिवर्तितोपदर्शनात्।"

But to return to the concluding portion of Sankara's comments on the text :—"na drishter drashtaram Pasyeh." Says Sankara : "By the *Loukiki* or phenomenal seeing which is but an act of the real or *Paramarthiki* seeing of the Self, and confined to the object seen,—*karmabhuta*,—you cannot see the Seer or subject of seeing or the seeing Self, who encloses the phenomenal seeing by his own changeless seeing—(*nitya kutastha drishti*). That which is

* "अनन्तागतं पुण्येन अनन्तागतं पापेन, तीर्थे हि तदा सर्वान् शोकान् हृदयस्य भवति। यद्वै तन्न पश्यति, पश्यन् वै तन्न पश्यति, न हि द्रष्टृदृष्टेर्विपरिवर्तो विद्यते। अविनाशित्वात्, न तु तद्वितीर्थं अस्ति ततोऽन्यद्विभक्तं यत् पश्येत्।" बृहदारण्यक-४-२-१९-२३।

the *Loukiki drishtih* is the object of an act done—कर्मभूता,—and as such is tinged with colour and form, or "figurate," and reveals also colour and form; it cannot in its turn enclose the Self that encloses it, and encloses even all merely mental conceptions; who is the Self in all, *Pratyancham*,—(for that would be as absurd a supposition, as that of the two cats in the story, fighting, and swallowing each other, leaving behind only their two tails). It follows from this that you cannot see (in the *Loukiki* or phenomenal sense) the Seer of seeing,—the Self in all.* That is the very nature of the thing. It is for that reason the Self cannot be shewn like cattle, etc." I should note here that Sankara's meaning in saying: "*Loukiki drishtih karmabhuta natmanam svatmano vyaptaram pratyancham vyapnoti*,"—"The phenomenal seeing being the object of an act done by the seeing Self, cannot in its turn enclose the Self in all (*sarvantarah*) by which it is itself enclosed,"—translated into the language of the Hegelian philosophy, would amount to saying that the seeing Self in all, or the Idea, is the universal, not of course in the sense of the dead and empty abstraction called universal in formal logic, but a universal, real and concrete, which embraces phenomenal seeing as its particular, which from its very nature therefore can not in its turn embrace its universal—the Self in all;—or as Hegel says "Every individual being is some one aspect of the Idea" (Logic-213, Wallace's translation),—the *Loukiki* corresponding to the 'individual,' and the *Paramarthiki* to the *Idea*.

VII.

KUTASTHAVADA IN SANKARA'S UPADĒSA-SAHASRI.

With greater freedom than is possible in a commentary, Sankara tries to establish his *Kutasthavada* in his famous work, the *Upadesa-sahasri*, refuting the *Vainasika-vada* (शून्यवाद) or nihilism, and the momen-

tary sensationalism (क्षणिकविज्ञानवाद) of the Buddhists of old, or if you prefer,—of Hume and his school of our days, and also refuting *Anavagativada* ("अनवगत एव प्रमाता स्यात्")—which comes very near to the Agnosticism of to-day, either in the form of the "Unknown and Unknowable" of H. Spencer, or in the form of the *Ding-an-sich* of Kant. To make the discussion more popular in form, Sankara sets up an imaginary objector in the person of a disciple,—as *Purvapaksha*, who stoutly champions the nihilistic, and the agnostic positions thus:—

Disciple:—*Upalabdhi* (Perception) has the root-meaning of change, in the form of 'particular acts' (विक्रिया), so that for the Self to be perceiver or *upalabdha*, and at the same time to be changeless (कूटस्थानता) is self-contradictory (76).

Sankara:—No, not so, for the name *upalabdhi* or perception is given to the particular acts (विक्रिया), which are its root-meaning, only figuratively, or by transference of epithet—("उपचारात्"). The mental impression (बौद्धः प्रत्यक्षः) which is of the nature of a particular act (विक्रियात्मकः), is made what it is by the reflection of the Perception of the Self on it,—("आत्मन उपलब्ध्याभासप्रकाशवसानः"); hence the figurative use of the term *upalabdhi* or perception to the particular act. (The commentator illustrates Sankara's meaning by the familiar Vedantic example of the red-hot iron ball burning and glowing ("अथःपिण्डः दहति प्रकाशयति").

D:—Even if the term '*upalabdhi*' or perception be applied figuratively to it, since it is the result of a particular change in the perception of the Self (आत्मन उपलब्धिः विक्रियावसानश्चेत्),—it cannot establish the changelessness of the Self (न आत्मनः कूटस्थतां प्रतिपादयितुं समर्थः).—78.

S:—True, it would be so, if there were any distinction between *Upalabdhi* or perception, and *Upalabdha* or Perceiver. The Perceiver or *Upalabdha* is changeless *Upalabdhi* or Perception only, and not as the *Tarkikas* maintain that *Upalabdhi* or Perception is one thing and the *Upalabdha* or Perceiver something else.

D:—How then is the root-meaning,—the

* लौकिक्या, दृष्टेः कर्मभूताया द्रष्टारं स्वकीयया नित्यया दृष्ट्या व्याप्तरं न पश्यः । यासौ लौकिकौ दृष्टिः कर्मभूता सा रूपोपरक्ता रूपाभिव्यञ्जिका नात्मनः स्वात्मनोव्याप्तरं मतेर्मनो-वृत्तेः केवलाया व्याप्तरं प्रत्यक्षं व्याप्नोति । तस्मात् तं प्रत्यगात्मानं दृष्टेः द्रष्टारं न पश्ये ॥ * * एषवस्तुनः स्वभावः अतः नैव दर्शयितुं शक्यते गवादिवत् ॥ पृ. ५७८ जीवानन्द ॥

particular act of *Upalabdhi* or Perception, the result of a change in the perception of the Self—(उपलब्धिफलावसानः) ?

S :—Listen, what I said is that it is the result of “the reflection of the perception of the Self in it”—(आत्मन उपलब्ध्याभासफलावसानः), and not that the Self produces the particular act by any change in itself (न तु आत्मा विक्रियोत्पादनावसानः).

The reader will here compare with Sankara's description of the Self or Perceiver as “*nityopalabdhimatra eva hi upalabdha*,”—‘the Perceiver is nothing but changeless perception’—with what Hegel says :—“Thought viewed as a subject is expressed by the word ‘I’ and again, ‘We may say ‘I’ and thought are the same, or more definitely, ‘I’ is thought as a thinker.” (Hegel's Logic; Wall.—20, 24). The *Tarkika* position to which Sankara refers may be said to stand for that of Spencer or Kant.

D :—Master, if there is no change (मम विक्रिया नास्ति) in me, as in a man in sound sleep, how then do I have dreams and waking states ?

S :—Do you perceive these without any break of continuity (सन्ततः) ?

D :—I perceive these, time after time, but certainly not without a break of continuity (विक्षिप्तं विक्षिप्तं, न तु सन्ततः).

S :—Then these are intruders (आगन्तुके तु भवे), and not your very Self (न तव आत्मभूते). Being separable from you, dreaming and waking are not your Self, but like your clothes, etc., (अभिचारित्वात् वस्त्रादिवत्). Whatever is the very essence of a thing (स्वरूपं), is not known to be separable from that thing. But dreaming and waking on the other hand are separable from pure consciousness (चैतन्यमात्रत्वात् अभिवरतः).

D :—Master, in that case, the essence of consciousness too is an intruder, for, in the same way as waking and dreaming are not perceived in sound sleep, the essence of consciousness (चैतन्यस्वरूपमपि) also is not perceived in sound sleep. Am I then of the essence of unconsciousness (अचैतन्यस्वरूपो वा स्थाय्यः).

S :—Not so, consider. That is impos-

sible. The unconscious consists of parts put together into a whole (संघतः); and since it consists of parts so put together, it exists for another, it is manifold, and perishable. That which does not exist for its own sake (अस्वार्थं), can not be self-revealed. But consciousness as the essence of Self is self-revealed; so that no argument can disprove its independence of other things, for its conscious essence is inseparable from Self.

Let the reader here compare the teaching of Yagnavalkya as to the Self existing for its own sake (स्वार्थं),—“न वा अरे पत्न्यः कामाय पतिः प्रियो भवति, आत्मनस्तु कामाय पतिः प्रियो भवति” इत्यादि—(p. 445—*Jivananda*), and Sankara's comments thereon :—“The husband is loved by the wife, not for the sake of the husband, but for the sake of the Self” &c.; Yagnavalkya being desirous to impress the importance of *vairagya* or non-attachment to things worldly—e.g., wife, husband, son, &c., as the means of attaining life everlasting,—(अमृतत्व-प्राप्तिर्न),—he says : “To serve the purposes of the husband, the wife does not love the husband, but to serve the purposes of her Self, the wife loves the husband. The Self is really to be loved, not anything else,—(not of course in the exclusive sense—usually called *selfish*). As the means of fulfilling the love of Self, other things are loved. The love of other things is therefore secondary and mediate, but the love of the Self primary and immediate.”

D :—But I have shewn the separation of Self from its conscious essence in sound sleep, as when I say, ‘I do not see’ (in sound sleep).

S :—Not so; for that would be self-contradictory. Wherein lies the contradiction? For you, who see, i.e., are the Seer, to say ‘I do not see,’ is self-contradictory.

D :—But, master, in my sound sleep, consciousness or anything else was never seen by me.

S :—Then even in sound sleep you do see (or are the Seer), for you only deny any object seen; you do not deny your seeing (i.e., your nature of Seer), (पश्यन् तर्हि सपश्यन्न यस्मात् दृष्टमेव प्रतिषेधसि, न दृष्टिः). That your seeing is consciousness, I told you, because of the presence of which you are able to deny saying ‘I saw nothing.’ That your

seeing is your consciousness (सा दृष्टिः त्वच्चैतन्यं). Therefore from this inseparableness of seeing from the Self under all conditions, the centrality and changelessness, *kutasthānityatvam* of the Self is self-evident, so that no proof is needed. The knower, thus self-evident, depends on proof for the definite knowledge of any other knowable. But as regards the knower's Self,—or for the knowledge that the Self is true, and that it is the knower, no proof is needed, for that is its very nature (आत्मनि प्रमाणत्वे प्रमातृत्वे वा न तां प्रति प्रमाणापेक्षा तत् स्वभावत्वात्).

D :—The name *Prama* or right knowledge only applies to what has a beginning and an end, and not to what has no beginning or end.—(अनिवृत्त एव प्रमा स्यात्, न निवृत्त).

S :—Not so, for having beginning, and having no beginning (निवृत्तानिवृत्तयोः) cannot make any difference in the nature of knowledge. The Self-revealing nature of the knowing Self is thus established by its non-dependence on proof.

D :—This non-dependence may be also due to the impossibility of any knowledge of the Self. (This is the Agnostic position).

S :—Not so, here the supposition of unknowableness has no place, because consciousness or *avagatiḥ* is present in the very Self. If the thinker is to be established by proof, whose should be the desire for the proof;—(or to apply it to Descartes's *Cogito ergo sum*, if the doubter whom the doubt presupposes, is not already there as immediately known, whose is the doubt?). The thinker (प्रमाता) must be admitted to be he who has the desire for proof,—(and must be supposed to be there before the desire can arise). The thinker's desire for proof is also in relation to the object to be proved, and not in relation to the prover or thinker. To say that the prover or subject of thought is the object of proof or thought, is open to the fallacy of endless regress, both in reference to the prover as well as his desire for proof, e. g., for that another prover or thinker, for that another, and so on *ad infinitum*. The same fallacy would arise, if the desire for proof had for its object the prover or thinker. The prover or thinker not being separated from himself by anything intervening, cannot be a thing to be proved. In this world a thing can be said to be an object to be proved (प्रमेय), when it is separ-

ated from the prover or thinker, by desire, recollection, effort, or the production of proof, and not otherwise. Knowing (अवगतिः) is seen to refer to the object to be known. Nor again can the thinker or knower be conceived to be separated, himself from himself (स्वस्व स्वमेव), by anything,—not even by anything belonging to the group of desire, etc. Recollection is directed to the object to be recollected, and not to the subject who recollects, ("स्मृतिश्च स्मृत्यविषया, न स्मर्तृविषया"). Likewise desire is directed to the object desired, and not to the subject who desires. (तथा इच्छायाः इष्टविषयत्वमेव, न इच्छावर्तिन्यत्व), for in either of these cases, if the recollection were directed to the subject who recollects, or if desire were directed to the subject who desires, then as before shown, the fallacy of endless regress would be inevitable, i.e.,—(as Herbert Spencer also points out)—there would always be left behind another subject to recollect or desire: the first subject as an object of recollection or desire." (99).

But the disciple is unconvinced, and still persists in his agnostic position; and says :

D :—If no knowing, having the knower for its object, takes place, then surely the knower remains unknown, (ननु प्रमातृविषयाव गद्यनुत्पत्तौ अनवगत एव प्रमाता स्यात्).

S :—No, not so ; for the knower's knowing has for its object what is to be known.—(and not that which knows). If the knower were the object of knowing, as before, endless regress would result. Knowledge or consciousness to the Self is like heat and light to fire or the sun, is of the nature of a central, changeless, and self-exhibiting luminosity, established independently of everything else." Sankara here again appeals to Kapila's Sutra of संहतपरार्थत्वात् पुरुषस्य, i.e., what consists of parts joined together into a whole, exists for another,—the Self. The reference is equally also to Yagnavalkya's teaching—"अस्तु न त्वा कामाद्य सर्वं प्रियं भवति"&c.,—whatever is loved is loved for the sake of the Self. Sankara thus proceeds ; "If knowing, in the sense of the self-luminosity of consciousness, be liable to appearance and disappearance in reference to itself,—then the Self—thus

broken up into parts, *संहतत्वात्*, can not be said to exist for its own sake. Like other bundles of effects and instruments—(for example, mind and body), the Self being itself a bundle or whole consisting of parts, in the form of intermittent consciousness or thought, must be said to exist for another, and must have the defects common to all such combinations, (*कार्यप्रकरणसंचातवत् संहतत्वात् पारार्थ्यं दोषवत् च*). Now? If the self-luminosity of the consciousness of Self appeared and disappeared in reference to the Self, then recollection &c., (*स्मृत्वादिब्यवधानात्*) standing between successive periods of appearance, there would be gaps in the Self; from this, it would follow that the light of consciousness being non-existent before its appearance, and after its disappearance, in the Self, it will consist of a combination of parts (*संहतत्वात्*) like eyes, etc., and like them it will exist for another (*पारार्थ्यं*). If the light of consciousness thus exists in the Self only as something that is produced, then the Self is not for itself—(*न तदा आत्मनः स्वार्थं*). It is in reference to the absence or presence of a beginning, that the Self is said to be for its own sake, and the not-Self for the sake of another." The reader will notice here that everything—either Self or not-Self—is regarded by Sankara as a form of consciousness,—the Self having no beginning, and the not-Self having a beginning. I may here refer to the words of Yoga-Vasishtha (*सर्वत्र विद्यते सत्त्वं काष्ठ-लोष्टोपलादिके । सत्तासामान्यरूपेण संस्थिता सूक्ष्मात्वात् ॥ उपशम-५८-५२ ॥*):—"Consciousness is present everywhere, even in a clod of earth, or in wood or stone,—in the general form of existence,—as if dumb like a baby"—which thus anticipated *a priori* by ages what our Dr. Bose has been trying to prove to the world *a posteriori* only lately. "Thus is established the changeless self-luminosity of the consciousness of the Self, as non-dependent on everything else." 101.

D:—Indeed if that be so, if the knower cannot be the support (or object) of knowing—(*प्रमा*), what can be the meaning of the knower's knowingness? (*कथं प्रमातुः प्रमातृत्वं*).

S:—I will tell you: Knowing (*प्रमा*), whether it has no beginning and no end,

or it has a beginning and an end, could make no difference in its character. To know is *Prama*. Knowing preceded by recollection, desire etc., which has a beginning and end, and knowing central, and without beginning or end, show no difference in their character,—just as in regard to the result of the root-meaning of 'stands' (*तिष्ठति*) there is no difference of character, whether it is applied to things moveable, and therefore having beginning and end, or it is applied to things fixed and thus having no beginning, e.g., when it is said "men, etc., stand," or it is said "the hills stand,"—the form of expression being equally correct in both cases; in the same way there is nothing self-contradictory when we give the name of *knower* (*प्रमातृत्वव्यपदेशः*) to the knower (*प्रमातरि*), though it has the nature of knowing or consciousness without beginning or end (*नित्यावगतिस्वरूपेऽपि प्रमातरि*)—for the result is the same.

D:—But to say that knowing is the result of proof, and at the same time to say that it is of the nature of a central, changeless, self-luminosity, is surely self-contradictory.

S:—No, not self-contradictory.

D:—How then is knowing a result of proof (*कथं तर्हि अवगतेः फलत्वं*).

S:—*Tattvopacharat*, i.e., it is so by Upachara, or the figure of transference of epithet from similarity; or it is really as the commentator remarks,—"*अवगतेः कार्यत्वं कृपाकाशकार्यत्वावत्*"—"calling *avagati* or knowing a result or *karya*, is like calling the sky in the well a result or *karya*." "Avagati or knowing though in itself—central and changeless—*kutastha nityapi*—is noticed definitely (i.e., as this and not that, or what Hegel would call dialectically)—(*लक्ष्यते*), after the impressions of sense—(*प्रत्यक्षादिप्रत्ययान्ते*),—for the impressions of sense (consisting of parts,—*संहतत्वात्*) exist for the changeless and central knowing of the Self—(*तादर्थ्यात्*). The impressions of sense being transient, the knowing (*avagati*) also looks as if transient, and is for that reason, imagined to be the result of proof—(*प्रमाणात् फलत्वं*)."

In explaining Sankara's meaning, the commentator here observes:—"The im-

pressions of sense being connected with objects, serve to determine or render definite the *avagati* or knowing—(विषय-संलक्षणा अवगलभित्तार्थत्वाद्) of the Self." With this let the reader compare what Hegel says:—"The mind or spirit when it feels or perceives, finds its object in a sensuous image. But in contrast to these forms of its existence, and of its objects,—the mind has also to gratify the cravings of its highest and most inward life. That innermost self is thought (or as Sankara

says:—"नित्योपलब्धिमात्र एव हि उपलब्धा") Thus the mind renders thought its object. In the best meaning of the phrase, it comes to itself." (Logic—11). It should be added here that neither the "*avagati*" of Sankara, nor the "thought" called "notion" (Begriff) of Hegel, is to be taken as a dead and empty abstraction, but as the most concrete of realities, or as the "सबल सबल"—the most real of the real.

DVIJADAS DATTA.

THE AWAKENING

BY CAPTAIN FRANK SHAW, AUTHOR OF "HAVEN OF DESIRE," &c.

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LYDIA Langhorne threw back her head and laughed somewhat boisterously, her eyes ashine.

"It's naught to laugh at, lass," said Dick Ford very soberly, and with his brows drawn together in a frown. "It's taken me all my time to get pluck enough to put it to you; so what for are you laughing?"

"Because you're so silly, to be sure, Dick Ford." His eyes devoured her wind-brightened beauty; his hands twitched at his side, as though they longed—indeed, they did—to clutch her to him. And the roar of the leaping waves on the reef was deadened by the tumultuous clamour of his heart.

"Say you will, my lass, say you will," he pleaded. "I'm serious—I mean it. I've naught to offer you, but I'm a worker; happen in a bit I'll have a boat of my own, and then—"

"Mr. Turnbull's got eight boats of his own," she taunted him. Because the devil of contradiction was working in her soul she did not see the flash of his eyes, nor did she notice that his hands had clenched until the knuckles showed white.

"Him! He's a landlubber! He owns boats, yes; but he don't sail 'em; he lives on other men's labours. It don't matter to him if we 'uns drown or starve, so long as he gets his money—the price of our lives,

And you're a fisherman's lass; you can get away from that."

"Can't I? He'd take me away, choose how! No need to watch for the boats incoming then, Dick Ford. No fear of poverty staring in at the window every time you left the blind up. Peace, content, plenty—that's what Mr. Turnbull means."

She knew she was the belle of the place; she knew the youth of Crab Cove would willingly prostrate themselves to allow her to walk over their bodies, that her capable shoes should not be defiled by the mud of the way. And the knowledge made her a tyrant, albeit a sweet one. She had not learnt the deeps of her heart yet; no man had ever stirred her pulses as they might be stirred. Not even young Turnbull's glowing descriptions of a wider life than that afforded by Crab Cove had really brought emotion to her. Perhaps those were right who named her heartless; or perhaps they were wrong, and the heart merely slept.

"I've come to you fair and above-board, and I'm asking you to be my wife," said the fisherman, squaring his broad shoulders as if about to face a knockdown blow. "We're off with the tide, we'll may be not be back for many a day; it 'ud make it easier to know you—you cared."

And she laughed again lightly.

"Well, haven't you an answer?" he

demanding, possessed of a desire to crush her to him, and by dint of hot kisses, win a confession from her ripe lips.

She shook her head saucily.

"I'm over-young to marry yet," she taunted him. "I'm but nineteen, Dick Ford."

"There's mothers in this Cove younger. Come on, Lydia, you've played fast and loose long enough; I'll not stand your fooling longer." He threw a bit of a rasp into his voice, and she looked at him with a new interest. Previously he had been always the suppliant, as the others had been; this new sternness was a thing unknown to her, and yet—she tried not to confess to herself that she liked his masterfulness. He was reaching for her hands, determined to crush down her opposition by sheer strength and power to command when by an ill chance her eyes rested on a distant figure, picking its way carefully amongst the scattered kelp of the beach.

"There's Mr. Turnbull," she said; and breaking away from him, she ran with the nimbleness of a goat in the direction whence she had come. She checked her pace as she drew near the boat-owner, who lifted his hat and smiled on her.

"You're in a hurry," he said. "Why this haste, Miss Langhorne?" No one had ever called her by the formal title save Turnbull, and it gave her pleasure.

"That's my business," she retorted, with another toss of the head.

"Oh, quite so, quite so; sorry if I was impertinent." He, like the rest, bowed down to her wilfulness and charm. For the first time she really compared the two men; thrilling a little afresh as she remembered the burr in Ford's voice.

"He couldn't speak that way to me to save his life," she mused, and strove to think of other matters.

"If you don't mind, I will walk back to the village with you, Miss Langhorne," said this aristocrat of the fishing village, who had never faced the roaring might of a black north-easter, and knew nothing of the grand fighting lust that comes to those who meet in strenuous conflict with the storm-lashed deep. His face was pallid, as though from much reading; the keen winds had never kissed the ruddy, healthful colour into being there. But he had a manner, and his talk impressed the girl; half of it she did not understand, indeed,

but his sounding periods charmed her beyond description.

"I don't mind," she said shortly, half-turning to watch the other figure. But Ford had moved away with a growl and a hard face. He was striding purposely towards the lighthouse, where his father lived. In a couple of hours more the tide would serve, and the fishing fleet would fare forth to the golden east, where rich spoil might be won at the price of men's bitter toil.

"I hope you have been thinking over the matter we discussed the other day," began Turnbull, suiting his step to hers with an effort, for her little stride was more that of a hale man than a girl's. "I hope every reason to believe that I can offer you concrete advantages." She had not an idea what concrete advantages were, save that they stood for plenty of clothes to wear and money to spend.

"Your charms are wasted here," he told her. "As my wife you would be in a position to look down on the villagers. We could move from The Cove if you so wished; seek a wider field, if you will agree to marry me, Miss Langhorne—I wish I dared call you Lydia—"

"Why shouldn't you call me Lydia? Everyone else does here," she said.

"Well, Lydia—a pretty name, a sweet name—I ask you again to be my wife, and if you will confer so great an honour upon me—"

"Oh, I don't know. I haven't had time to think about marrying, Mr. Turnbull. I'm very young yet—"

"You are very beautiful—many men must have told you so."

"Well, what if they have?" She turned to him half-defiantly, a wild thing, untamed, striving, although she did not know it, against the soft meshes in which he would imprison her. "There's that Dick Ford—him I was with just now." She looked at her companion sideways, and she knew she hoped he would flush and grow angry, as Dick had done, at mention of a rival's name. But the smooth fairness of his cheek was all untroubled by a blush, and his eyes were unlit by jealous fires.

"He shows good taste, Miss—Lydia—very good taste." The even voice was untroubled: it seemed to the girl at the moment as though he were almost fishlike in his impassivity. But—he told glowing

stories of a life which exceeded her wildest imaginings; and ambition had her by the throat.

"What happens if I do marry you?" she questioned, stopping and staring at him with frank, wide eyes.

"I shall study to grant your every desire, my dear. I shall do my utmost to anticipate your wishes, and to make you the happiest woman in the world. I will take you away from here—away to a better place. I shall be very proud of my beautiful wife, be very sure of that."

"Will you—will you love me?" She forced the word from her lips with an effort.

"But—yes, of course. Do you think I would ask a woman I did not love to marry me? You wrong me by such a supposition!" There was an air of injury about him now, his eyes were pathetic.

"You'll take me to London sometimes?" she asked. "To London, where all the fine people are; where the King is!"

"We'll live in London, if you wish; as well live there as anywhere. If you will promise to marry me you may name your own wishes, and I shall do my utmost to gratify them. Say you'll marry me, Lydia, for I love you."

"I must wait a bit, to think it over."

They walked on in silence after this, and the girl recognised that she was stronger than Turnbull; and grew tender, as the knowledge of strength must bring tenderness.

"I will wait," he assured her, as they climbed the sloping way that led from the beach to the village. "But don't keep me too long in suspense." And with a courteous bow he left her.

It was a time-honored custom in Crab Cove that the women should assemble on the pier what time the fleet left for open water; and Lydia was so inured to the custom that she had no thought of holding back. The "Wildfire," the boat aboard which Dick Ford was second hand, lay foremost of the flotilla; everything was in readiness, but it was necessary to convey a warp to the pier to warp her through the swirl at the harbour mouth, and it was Dick Ford who leaped into the tub-like dinghy and sculled ashore. He climbed the pier with the line in his hand, and found himself staring into Lydia's face.

"If I said I'd marry you, Dick," she

muttered in low voice, "would you gratify my every wish?"

"Ay, if it was reasonable," he answered her. She made a face and pouted at him.

"Would you take me away from here to London?"

"Not I! Think I'm a fool! I'm Crab Cove born and bred; it's my home, and I get my living here. What would you do in London, or me either? Fish for herring and cod in the Thames? If you marry me, lass, you marry to help, not to hinder, me. Take me for a fool, to throw away my bread and butter?"

"Yes, I take you for a fool," she snapped at him, her eyes glinting fire. "Go away, you're not a man, you're a clod! You haven't got it in you to make a woman happy." He returned her fire for fire; he caught her wrist in a grip that bruised her firm flesh.

"I'd make you happy, or break your heart," he said sternly. "It's taming you want, my girl; and I'm the man could do it."

"Go away, go away; I hate you. I'd rather see you dead at my feet than marry you." Those were her last words to him. A voice hailed him from the "Wildfire"; he dropped lightly into the boat and sculled off. A few moments later the fleet hoisted sail, it filled, the bluff bows breasted the eddies, and the darkness gathered them into its embrace.

"He's a brute, he's a brute," said Lydia fiercely, as she strode homeward. "He thinks he's got me in his pocket; but I'll show him—yes, I'll show him!"

It was mere chance—or was it chance?—that led Turnbull to take the air at that hour. He had been steeping himself in an orgy of reading—romantic fiction was his sole dissipation. Having neither pluck nor stamina to indulge in the high adventure himself he did it vicariously.

"Ah, we meet again, Lydia," he said pleasantly. She was for brushing past him, afire with anger against the man who had vowed that he could tame her wild spirit, but of a sudden she swung round on him.

"Will you marry me soon, if I promise?" she asked. "Soon? Take me away from here for good—I hate it, I hate everybody here. Will you take me to London?"

"Yes, yes—I should be overjoyed. Anything you wish shall be yours. We can le

married almost at once; three weeks' notice to the vicar, and then—"

"Well, you can put the banns up as soon as you've a mind, Roger." And with that she turned away, and strode homewards. The die was cast, and as she set about her neglected duties she sought for the joyous happiness that other girls told her came from a knowledge of coming marriage. But, strangely enough she was cold—no, not a together cold; a fire consumed her, a wild recklessness.

"It isn't taming I want, it's love," she told herself. "And Roger'll give me that; he said so. I'll show Dick Ford that he's not the only man in the world—that I will."

II

The old men's prognostications had come true, wild weather held sway over the world. Three days had passed since the fleet put out to sea, and as yet no news had come to hand of its progress.

It was towards evening that Lydia Langhorne, consumed by a strange restlessness to which she could put no name, folded her shawl about her winsome face, and breasting the yellow fury, staggering here, running wildly there, fought her way towards the beach. There were women still gathered there, staring—always staring—with fear striving in their souls. Life was to them one unending watching and waiting—dread cripple their tongues in the hour of storm. They spoke but seldom, words seemed insufficient; but their inarticulate prayers ascended heavenward in an unceasing stream.

"Aught of the boats?" asked Lydia, of a woman who had given sons and brothers to the devourer.

"Naught yet." They watched on, the spray beating upon their cheeks and dimming their eyes. It was very cold, but they heeded it not at all; fear kept them warm.

"Axminster do say it's the worst this forty year," shrilled one woman, clutching at Lydia's shawl. "Thank your God you ain't got no menfolk out to sea this night." It had gone abroad that Lydia was to mate with Roger Turnbull, the white-faced man who held the destinies of many of the Cove dwellers in his hands. Already there was a tingle of unwilling respect in the manner of some of the women, who knew that Lydia's word would rule the fates of their men; and this respect gave her something that was almost pleasure.

"There's a light—out there," came a wavering scream; a woman's hand pointed into the blinding spindrift. They stared; someone saw it again; a dancing yellow speck. Nearer it came and nearer. By the ragged lightning flashes they presently made out a dancing shape, that came rushing headlong for the harbour.

"What boat?" bellowed an old, leather-lunged veteran, whose sea-fighting days were honourably past, save at such times as the elements were fiercest and the life-boat was in demand. His voice split its way through the raging strife of yelling wind and smashing water. Faintly an answer came back:

"Flyaway! Flyaway!"

"Thank God!" sobbed an old woman at Lydia's side, she who had bade her thank her Maker that she owed nothing to the sea. The home-coming craft drew nearer; lifted high on the crest of a ravelling billow; she dashed between the pier and the sheer rock wall that formed the harbour's mouth. They heard the dull rattle of her gear as the sail was dowsed, a punt was thrown out, and men stepped on the stones of the landing place, to be clawed at by eager hands, to be questioned by shrill voices. Lydia drew nearer, something she could not understand tormenting her.

"Wild weather—the worst; but the 'Admiral' stays out yet a bit; there's big fish. We filled first; full ship, good catch. Smashed our rails to matchwood. What's that, mother? The 'Swan's' safe; we saw her as we passed." No one questioned as to the "Wildfire's" fate, and Lydia's lips were sealed. But the weather was worsening swiftly. It was as though wind and sea conspired together to make all things hideous. No one thought of rest or refreshment now; there was only the weary waiting. It was all in God's hands. If He willed the worst, well, no use to fight against His ruling; but if He were merciful, and gave them back their men, they would know thanksgiving for a little while, until the need arose afresh for more watching through the storm-lashed hours.

One by one the boats came home, each one telling anew the tale of gallant striving against well-nigh overwhelming odds.

Once more, on the edge of dawn, excited voices clamoured that a dim light showed; another battling puniness roared over the bar and came to safe haven.

"'The West Wind,' for sure; an' all hell's fury let loose outside. Had to jettison half her catch; but we made it, an' that's enough for we." A young woman clung to a big, staunch form, and stared upwards through tear-wet eyes.

"Ye're safe, Jack—ye're safe?" Lydia knew a wild throb in her throat, her own eyes that had strained hotly through the night grew moist.

"Ah, Lydia! You should be at home out of this." It was Turnbull, close-wrapped in oilskins, which hung upon him strangely. "A terrible night indeed. I could hardly sleep a wink." She turned from him in something like repugnance. Weighed in the balance with the men who had fought the fight, he appeared puny, insignificant. The sound of a name caught her ear; she pressed forward into the little crowd that braced itself against the pelt of the rain.

"The 'Wildfires' gone! Saw her founder—fifty mile out. She just ran under; no chance to do anything. Thought we'd go ourselves next minute, but we didn't. It's good-bye to Dick Ford; an' he were a good man—a good man."

"What is that? A boat lost?" It was Turnbull again, he had his hand on Lydia's arm. "Which boat—which boat?"

"The 'Wildfire,'" boomed the man.

"My boat; but she was insured—she was insured. And one must take these risks. Are you sure she is lost?"

"Sure? Ay, I'm sure, Mr. Turnbull. An' sure that good men's gone to God this night."

Lydia turned from the group in a listless, weary way; there was a suggestion of sightless groping in her manner as she moved along the dripping pier. As yet she could not think; her brain was a total blank, as though a stunning weight had driven from her the power to feel or even to suffer. Dimly she realised that a shadow had closed on her life.

"It is nothing—I do not mind," said Turnbull behind her. "It means a slight decrease of income until we can get her replaced; but she was insured."

She swung upon him, then, fury flashing from her eyes. He shrivelled before the anger of her; his white face showed bleakly.

"You and your money! It matters naught to you that price we pay—we pay! Men whose feet you're not fit to wash go out and slave for you, they die for you—

and—you—God! To think I ever allowed you to come into my life! You! Go away from me, Roger Turnbull, or I might be tempted to speak words I'll be sorry for."

"But, Lydia, you are my promised wife; I don't understand this wildness. The long night's exposure has unsettled you!"

"Unsettled me—a coast woman! Don't talk like a fool. Go away, I don't want to see you ever again—I think I shall hate you when I can." He did not attempt to press his company upon her; with a shrug of his shoulders he went back towards the harbour. There was, however, nothing to learn there; all that could be told had been told. The 'Wildfire' had run under, as many another smack had run under, and to hope for life was out of the question. Men burdened with heavy sea-clothing such as the fishermen of that coast wore could not hope to swim to safety; the sea dragged them down relentlessly.

"She will come to her senses in a little while," said Turnbull, conscious of an affront to his dignity. He had never been spoken to in that way before; it hurt him.

And meanwhile Lydia Langhorne, walking like one in a stupor reached her home. There was work to be done, let come what might; if the whole world went out in storm and stress household duties must be performed. Doggedly, automatically she toiled, deliberately setting thought at bay. Something had fastened in her brain something that numbed her faculties and checked the flow of her blood.

The thunder of the wind against the windows suited her mood; she grew possessed of a desire to go forth into the swirling madness without and bend her strength to the gale's greater strength.

As she hovered uncertainly some one tramped past the door; a fisherman making for his home, and going, he roared forth a lusty stave of a rousing sea-song. She caught the measured beat of the tune; it spoke of gallant fighting; of desperate endeavour—it was a favourite song of Dick Ford's and she had heard him sing it unmusically a score of times.

Suddenly she flung herself into a chair, she threw her bare arms over the white-scrubbed table, and sank her head upon them. The numbness about her heart dissolved; she knew at last how it was with her. Let her blind herself to facts as she would, Dick Ford was the

man she loved—the man she had always loved.

The walls of her reserve were beaten down by a gushing tide of sorrow; hot tears sprang to her eyes, she lay there sobbing pitifully, rocked in a paroxysm of astounding grief.

She loved Dick Ford; she confessed it now, without shame, fiercely. She had laughed at him, she had taunted him, she had held him up to disdain comparing him with this other man who was not fit to touch his garment, despite his wealth, despite the smoothness of his tongue.

There was anguished pain at her heart, as she came to full realisation. Life held nothing now for her; nothing. If only Dick had known she loved him before he died!

So rocked with tempestuous grief was she that she heard nothing of the opening of the kitchen door beyond, or, hearing it, gave no heed. She did not see a stout, strong figure, still clad in dripping oilskins, enter the room.

"Why, Lydia, lass—crying?" She lifted her tear-distorted face, and stared through unbelieving eyes. It was Dick Ford—the man who was dead! He had come from his seagirt grave to taunt her with her folly. But a hand, a real hand, was laid on her arm; this was no dark spirit from the hither deeps; it was a real man. She knew no stunning shock; she did not faint, for she was not of the fainting breed. Nay, something that was almost defiance came into her expression now; she dashed away

the tears and stood on her feet. Strangely enough, a mad desire for laughter came to her—she was hysterical, almost beyond her own control.

"You were crying; I heard you," he said.

"I wasn't; you're a liar, Dick Ford. Where've you come from? They said you were dead—that the 'Wildfire'd' gone under."

"So she has; but I caught hold of a spar; and the 'Admiral' picked me up." That was all the story he would ever tell her in all likelihood; words did not come readily to his tongue; he was a fighter, not a narrator.

"Then we've had all our trouble for nothing," she said, tossing her head. He eyed her for a moment, and in that moment inspiration came to him. He strode forward, his arms went about her protesting figure, roughly, almost cruelly, he snatched her to him, bruising her face on his stiff clothing.

"You were crying for me—you thought I was dead," he said. "They told me down harbour-way the news had come in. You thought I was dead, and you cried for me. But I'm alive, and by the living God, I've come to claim what's mine by right."

"I've loved you all the time," she confessed as his stormy kisses bruised her lips. "But it's only now I've known it, Dick my lad." And the fisherman laughed loud and long, crushing her still closer to his heart.

A PEEP INTO THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT EDUCATION IN BRITISH INDIA

A SKETCH of the rise and progress of the Benares Patshalla or Sanskrit College, now forming the Sanskrit department of the Benares College," published by the Government of the United Provinces in 1907, is an interesting publication. Benares is not only the most sacred of Hindu cities, but it has ever been one of the foremost seats of Sanskrit learning in India. There the

celebrated Chinese traveller Hieun Tsiang (A.D. 629) found that few revered the law of Buddha; and learned heretics abounded. Hindus from all parts of India flocked there, in ancient times, not only to spend the evening of their lives in holy meditation and unite their ashes with the sacred stream of the Ganges, but also to learn wisdom at the feet of the great masters who used to fix their abode in the

holy city of Bishwesvar and impart gratuitous education to disciples from the four corners of Bharatavarsha. This custom continued to prevail at the time of the British occupation, and it was therefore considered the fittest place for the foundation of a Sanskrit College intended as a model for Hindu India. The College was founded in October, 1791, by Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benares, with the approval of Lord Cornwallis. Mr. Duncan wrote:

"Two important advantages seem derivable from such an establishment: the first to the British name and nation, in its tendency towards endearing our Government to the native Hindus, by our exceeding in our attention towards them and their systems the care ever shown by their own native princes; for although learning has ever been cultivated at Benares in numerous private seminaries, yet no private institution of the kind here proposed ever appears to have existed, to which may in a considerable degree be attributed the great difficulty of our now collecting complete treatises (although such are well known to have existed) on the Hindu religion, laws, arts, and sciences—a defect and loss which the permanency of a college at Benares must be peculiarly well adapted to correct and recover; by a gradual collection and corrections of the books still to be met with (although in a dispersed and imperfect state) so as with care and attention and by the assistance and exertions of the professors and students to accumulate at only a small comparative expense to government a precious library of the most ancient and valuable general learning and tradition now perhaps existing in any part of the globe.

"The second principal advantage that may be derived from this institution will be felt in its effects, more immediately by the natives, though not without being participated in by the British, subjects who are to rule over them, by preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindu Law, and proving a nursery of the future doctors and expounders thereof to assist European judges in the due, regular and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people."

Among the rules framed for the College one was that all the teachers should be Brahmans, except the Professor of Medicine who should be a Vaidya, and the Professor of Grammar, who may be of the same caste.

In 1795 the first student of the College who from his name appears to have been a Bengali, was appointed to the office of Pundit in the Civil Court at Sahabad.

Abuses having come to the notice of the Government regarding the malpractices of the first Rector of the College, a Bengali Pundit of the name of Kashinath Tarkalankar, and of other Pundits, a committee was appointed in 1798 for enquiring into their conduct, and they were dismissed as it was found that the names of

fictitious scholars and pandits had been entered in the pay bills. The President of the Committee Mr. John Neave, declared the Rector to be the greatest villain he ever saw. Mr. Brooke, judge of Benares, was the President of the Managing Committee of the College, and in January 1804 he recorded a minute in which he alluded to "the disrepute into which the College of Benares has been suffered to fall," and said that

"The college, instead of being looked up to by the natives with respect and veneration, is an object of their ridicule; instead of an assemblage of learned Hindus, it resembles a band of pensioners supported by the charity of government."

Henry Colebrooke, Professor of Law in the Hindu College in Calcutta, was accordingly approached for the selection of a successor to the Principalship, but Maniram, the Pandit who attended on Colebrook, on whom the choice at first fell, having become a victim of cerebral derangement, Ramananda Pandit of Jaipur was ultimately selected. In 1809 Lurgacharan Bidyabagis, a student of the college was recommended as fit to fill the office of Pandit in the judge's court at Bihar. In 1811 the Governor General in Council proposed to establish Sanskrit Colleges at Nadia and Tirlhut, but nothing came of the proposal.

We read that shortly after this the Pandits of the College were prohibited from granting vyavasthas or decisions on questions of law as a corporate body. The Rig-Veda professorship was abolished, but was re-established in 1805, as "it was a matter of dispute if any Pandits, now living, are acquainted with the sacred books, so as to explain them." In 1813, Ramprasad Tarkalankar, evidently a Bengali Professor of Nyaya or Logic, who bore a high character for learning and attention to his duties, was pensioned, as he was 103 years old, and entirely blind. He was awarded a pension of Rs. 50 per mensem with a purwana (certificate) testifying to the committee's approbation of his services. Another Pandit, Jayram Bhat, however, came into disrepute as it was found that some of his pupils were concerned in criminal offences, and the pundit was not himself without suspicion of malpractices.

It appears that from 1809 to 1813, 7865 leaves of *poothies* had been examined, compared and revised by the Pundits,

and a learned Pundit was appointed to the charge of the library to assort, compare and revise the books.

In 1820, the Managing Committee deputed H. H. Wilson and Captain Fell, two eminent Sanskrit scholars of their day, to report on the progress of the college, but their report was far from encouraging. They said that, very little proficiency had been attained by the pupils, that not a single pupil was capable of discharging the important function of being an expounder of Hindu law to the English courts, that the course of study in the Vedas did not introduce the students to any sort of acquaintance with the subject of their studies, and that all that the Professors themselves were able to communicate was the mechanical repetition of unintelligible sounds. Regarding the medical class, they held it to be advisable to admit students of the medical caste as well as Brahmans into the college. Government, in a resolution, accepted their suggestion for the appointment of a European superintendent and selected Captain Fell for the purpose, and the professorial chairs were reorganised, annual prizes and scholarships were instituted, and disputations of the scholars in the presence of the committee and the Indian gentry, were initiated. The results of such reorganisation soon became manifest. Students came from Nepal, the Deccan, and the Punjab. Chandra Narain Bhattacharya, the most celebrated logician in India, was now the Professor of Logic, and we find it recorded that

"The Nyaya class is much improved, and its reputation is considerably increased. I am sure I do not err in saying that it is esteemed the first class in this very difficult branch of Sanskrit literature at Benares. But this is no more than might be expected, considering that it is instructed by a Pundit of such eminent acquirements as Narain Bhattacharya."

The attainments of the higher students of the Vyakarana class were

"calculated to raise them to an equality with any of the private classes of the most celebrated teachers of this useful branch of study at this place, where proficiency in it is so highly prized."

Captain Thoresby, who succeeded Captain Fell and from whose report we have been quoting, however reports that the Dharma Sastra [Law] class had never attained to much excellence; we also find that an attempt to engraft a knowledge of Persian on the Sanskrit scholars proved a failure. Regarding the Veda classes, Captain Thores-

by made a most discouraging statement. One of the professors was superannuated and the other was 'when in his proper character, a professed trafficker and money lender.' 'What proficiency,' asks Captain Thoresby, 'can be expected from the pupils of teachers of this description.' The Veda pupils were lads of low origin and unambitious minds, and their object was to commit to memory certain portions of the Vedas which would enable them to play the part of underling priests. The protracted existence of Veda classes would according to the learned superintendent, 'be a stain upon the institution, and could reflect no credit on us.'

The remarks of the General Committee of Public Instruction on the proposal to abolish the Veda classes deserve to be quoted in full.

"The Local Committee has concurred in the recommendation of Captain Thoresby to abolish the Veda classes and constituted as they hitherto have been, I see no objection, the sole object of tuition having been the recitation of such parts of the ritual as are still in use, agreeably to fixed cadences and intonations, without any attempt to explain the sense of the original passage. As observed by Captain Thoresby the only end of this institution was to enable indigent and ignorant Brahmans to gain a livelihood as underling priests. Although, however, we concur in the arrangements adopted by the Local Committee we should regret to see the study of the Vedas altogether excluded from the Government colleges as it would be by its abolition at Benares, there being no Veda class in the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. The act itself might be misconstrued into a design to obliterate that which is the basis of the original Hindu system, and it would certainly contribute to the total loss of works which are valuable for the light they throw upon the history of the Hindu religion and Sanskrit language. The Vedas exercise but little influence upon the present practices of the Hindus, and much of their language is obsolete; if wholly neglected, therefore, they will soon become unintelligible. Without therefore attaching undue importance to the study, we should wish it to be cultivated to a sufficient extent to provide a few Pandits able to explain the ancient text. We should accordingly propose to keep one class for the perusal of the Vedas, with the commentaries attached to them, not with the same object as heretofore, but for the purpose of understanding their purport and interpreting their language."

In May 1828 the Hon'ble the Court of Directors wrote from England :

"We have hopes that the energy and intelligence of the General Committee will render the Hindu College at Benares a more useful institution than it has hitherto proved." "In conclusion, it is proper for us to remark to you ... that ... the first object of improved education should be to prepare a body of individuals for discharging public duties. It may, we trust, be expected that the intended course of education will not only produce a high degree of in-

tellectual fitness, but that it will contribute to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and supply you with servants, to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust. To this the last and highest object of education we will expect that a large share of your attention be applied; we desire that the discipline of these institutions may be mainly directed towards raising among the students that national self-esteem which is the security against degrading vices, and we particularly direct that the greatest pains may be taken to create habits of veracity and fidelity, by inspiring the youths with a due sense of their importance...

Thus the idea of introducing a leaven of English education among the scholars of the Benares College with a view to fit them for the subordinate ranks of the public service was mooted. In a letter of the Government dated 1823, we find it stated that in the construction of the proposed Hindu College in Calcutta, the resolution of Government to introduce European science as far as practicable, should be kept in mind. In 1829 the Secretary of the Managing Committee wrote :

"The next suggestion I have to offer is of a still more important nature than the foregoing, for the object is to stock the mind of a certain portion of the rising generations with true and useful knowledge and to communicate instruction in that kind of literature, an acquaintance with which will tend to assimilate tastes and feelings and modes of thinking, reasoning etc., between those so educated and their foreign governors; if successful in the execution, the scheme may incalculably be beneficial in its result both morally and politically."

And then he proceeds to lay stress on "the propriety and expediency of imparting a knowledge of the English language and of European literature." The result was the establishment of a Government English school at Benares, and the proposal to appoint a European Headmaster was objected to by the General Committee on the ground that

"the plan is more likely to be cordially received by the native community if commenced with the assistance of able native teachers only; many amongst those students of the Calcutta College whose correct representations of dramatic characters and well-written theses have been noticed in the public prints must be fully qualified in every point to give instructions to the pupils of Benares....."

In 1830, two pupils from the Hindu College of Calcutta, were accordingly appointed teachers to the English seminary at Benares, their names being Gurucharan Mitra and Iswarchandra Dey. At the same time Government intimated to the pupils of the Benares Sanskrit College that in the nomination of Government vakils in the native Courts and agents with the

Commissioners, familiarity with English will on all occasions be considered to constitute a recommendation to preference. In 1833 the Medical class of the Hindu College was proposed to be reconstructed on the lines of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, in which instruction both on the Indian and European systems was imparted, theoretic instruction being confirmed by clinical observations in a small hospital, the patients in which were attended by the pupils of the class, the English language being made the medium of instruction in the European system, and it was inferred that the prejudice which had so long kept Bengali Brahmans from joining the Medical class did not prevail among the classes of Brahman pupils of Benares. The proposed medical class was however never established.

In 1837, the professors of law of the Calcutta and Benares Colleges were dismissed as there was preponderating evidence that they were actuated by corrupt motives in the exposition of the law on the point submitted for their opinion. The practice of referring questions of law to these pandits was also discontinued about the same time.

There was a great disinclination among the pupils of the Sanskrit College to study the natural sciences, and there was a strong bias in favour of astrological studies, as it was a paying profession. The abolition of stipends was the greatest blow struck at the College. As Pandit Kashinath Shastri put it :

"Formerly the poorer classes of students of the Sanskrit College of Benares used to come to the city from different parts of India and enter the college but some of them have left it at present on account of their stipends being cut; they who live at Benares do not attend the college for they spend their time in worshipping gods and trying to obtain alms."

Some members of the General Committee were in favour of causing the number of pupils to fall off, as it would make it appear that the institution was unpopular and thus have the way for its abolition. These gentlemen were convinced of the inutility of Sanskrit education, but others, like Raja Kalisankar Ghosal, were strongly in favour of retaining Sanskrit. Sir E. Ryan, the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction, wrote :

"It is singular, but I believe perfectly true, that this college since its first institution in 1792 has not produced one eminent Sanskrit scholar."

In 1841, Captain Marshall visited the

College and examined the pandits and scholars and reported that the institution would not attain to respectability and utility until it had a good superintendent and an admixture of something practically useful with its classical course, and above all of the countenance of the sympathy of Government. In 1844, J. Muir, C. S., was appointed the first Principal of the College, and the English and the oriental seminaries were united under him, though the acquisition of English was not considered obligatory.

In 1845 the Court of Directors appointed Dr. J. R. Ballantyne to the Principalship of the Benares College. The report drawn up by Dr. Ballantyne at the close of 1846 contains some very interesting particulars. We quote below a portion of it:

"Finding in the College records reiterated complaints of the bad style of Hindi written by the students of the Sanskrit College, and also various indications of a desire on the part of Government that some improvement should be made if possible in this department, I early set myself to consider what might be best to be done.....I appealed to one of the most intelligent of the party [of students] to state his real opinion on the subject. His answer was to the following effect: We do not clearly understand what you Europeans mean by the term Hindi, for there are hundreds of dialects all in our opinion equally entitled to the name and there is here no standard as there is in Sanskrit. If the purity of Hindi is to consist in its exclusion of Mussalman words, we shall require to study Persian and Arabic in order to ascertain which of the words we are in the habit of using everyday is Arabic or Persian and which is Hindi. With our present knowledge we can tell that a word is Sanskrit or not Sanskrit, but if not Sanskrit it may be English or Portuguese instead of Hindi for anything that we can tell. English words are becoming as completely naturalised in the villages as Arabic and Persian words, and what you call the Hindi will eventually merge in some future modification of the Urdu: nor do we see any great cause of regret in this prospect.

"In reply to this I urged that it was not the duty of himself and of his brother pundits to leave the task of forming the national language in the hands of the villages, but to endeavour to get rid of the unprofitable diversity of provincial dialects by creating a standard literature in which one uniform system of grammar and orthography should be followed; the Pandits of Benares, if they valued the fame of their city, ought to strive to make the dialect of the holy city the standard for all India by writing books which should attract the attention and form the style of all their countrymen.....They were by no means easily if at all contented with my assurance, that to translate from the common language of their countrymen into a language known to comparatively few is not to produce what we Europeans call a work of public utility. I pressed upon their attention the fact that they know no language besides Sanskrit and their mother-tongue; that they could write correctly no language but Sanskrit and that therefore

unless they chose to learn English so as to become able to propose in Sanskrit such a work as Bapu Deo's Algebra, they could hope to make themselves useful public writers only by qualifying themselves to translate out of Sanskrit and not into it; at present each man could write only the patois of his native village, spelling it after his own fancy. I recommended to their notice the Hindi version of the Prem Sagar as the best standard of Hindi Grammar and orthography....."

Referring to the object of founding the College as stated in Mr. Duncan's letter quoted above, Dr. Ballantyne writes:

"These terms appear to contain the germ of nothing beyond the conciliating of the natives of India by paying a graceful compliment to this language and literature, and of perhaps providing better educated Pandits to act as legal counsellors than could otherwise have been always met with. For many years all the efforts of the various gentlemen who took an interest in the college appeared to have been directed to the increasing of its efficiency in these respects.....The object of such an institution, I conceive (and I understand Mr. Muir to have considered) ought to be this, to produce Pandits, not merely with Sanskrit learning equal to that which can be acquired in the native schools, but with minds so far tinctured with European habits of thought as shall render each of them in some degree a moral light among his countrymen. Many people look on such a proposed object as chimerical; it will assuredly be hard to effect, but we shall gain nothing by aiming at anything lower. I do not propose to substitute new studies for any portion of the course of Sanskrit study pursued in the college. All improvement must be in the way of addition, not of substitution. The most perfect English education bestowed upon a young Brahman, however great a blessing it might be to himself, would exert no beneficial influence beyond his own breast, if unaccompanied by the amount of Sanskrit education which is indispensable for securing any degree of respectful attention to his words.....The great influence which the Europeanised ideas of the learned Brahman Ram Mohan Roy, exerted upon the native mind of Bengal, when contrasted with the comparatively slender influence exerted by well educated and intelligent men of a different class [*i.e.*, who have received a purely English training], has always struck me as pointing to the combination of conditions which we must strive to bring about if we would aim successfully at raising the native character....."

At the end Dr. Ballantyne proposed the constitution of the college as follows:—

(1) that it should be the primary object of the college to teach all the most valuable branches of Sanskrit learning free of cost, (2) a secondary, but not subordinate, object of the institution should be to teach the best works in the English language to the most promising and advanced pupils, (3) the study of the capabilities of the Hindi language with a view to its improvement and its fixation will be required of the highest class of scholarship holders. The first and second of these principles were accepted by the Government. In

November 1847 the first stone of the new college was laid by His Highness the Raja of Benares and R. Neave, Esq. C. S. The college building was completed in 1852, at a cost of £13,000. The amount was subscribed by Government and by many English and Hindu gentlemen and ladies. In 1847-48 the study of English was introduced into the Sanskrit College. At first, in Dr. Ballantyne's words, it was an "interesting experiment," but subsequently the experiment became crystallised into the Anglo-Sanskrit Department. Its existence has coloured the whole history of the Pathshala after 1848. In 1868, Government gave an assurance that it intended to promote the development of the vernacular languages with which Sanskrit is so intimately connected. In 1877, during a period of financial pressure, the Anglo-Sanskrit Department was abolished, in spite of the protests of Mr. Gough (the Anglo-Sanskrit Professor) and Mr. Griffith, the Principal. Mr. Gough pointed out that the Anglo-Sanskrit Department was the modern and progressive side of the Sanskrit College; that it had reasonable success, and a liberalising tendency on the rest of Indian scholars at Benares; that western philosophy, notably that of Mill, Bain and Hamilton was being used as a supplement, and a silent corrective of Indian philosophy; that the department had not been altogether inactive in the development of Hindi, and of knowledge generally, for works of both Berkeley and Locke had been translated into Sanskrit, and there was a monthly publication issued called *The Pandit*. In 1883, Dr. Thibaut regretted that the Pandits were hardly doing anything towards research in any branch of Indian literature and antiquities. Since the abolition of Anglo-Sanskrit department of the College, there was, according to him, no longer any opportunity for the Pandits to make themselves acquainted in some degree with Western thought or culture. Sir Alfred Lyall thereupon endeavoured to ascertain through Mr. Griffith, then Director of Public Instruction, the opinions of two experts, e. g., Dr. Thibaut, Principal, and Babu Pramada Das Mitra, formerly Assistant Professor of the Sanskrit College, on the question of the development of Sanskrit study in the East along the lines of western thought. The memoranda drawn up by both these learned gentlemen

are of permanent interest to those interested in Sanskrit education, embodying, as they do, the views of two opposed schools of thought on the subject, and it will be necessary to quote at length from them.

Dr. Thibaut wrote :

"The task of the old Anglo-Sanskrit department was to give to young men who had been brought up in the Benares Sanskrit College and had there become competent Sanskrit scholars, as much of a liberal English, or European education as they, considering their time of life and previous training, were able to assimilate. The branches of European literature and science to whose study the members of the department devoted themselves varied considerably at different times according to the bias of their professors. Under Dr. Ballantyne a good deal of attention was given to natural science; while Mr. Gough was professor, European metaphysics and psychology were the chief subjects of study. But the leading idea remained at all times essentially the same, viz., to superimpose on a liberal Sanskrit education a liberal European education. The results obtained under this system were certainly very satisfactory, and the department could point to more than one of its former pupils of whom it had just reason to be proud."

If the department was to be revived, it might, according to Dr. Thibaut, propose a somewhat different aim. Instead of giving to Pandits a general English education, the task should be to aim at 'converting the Pandits of the old school into accomplished Sanskrit scholars in the European sense of the word.' Dr. Thibaut continues :—

"I do not by any means wish to underrate the Sanskrit learning possessed by the professors and many of the students of our Sanskrit college. Their deep and extensive reading, their most accurate knowledge of the technicalities of the Sanskrit Shāstras, and their command of the Sanskrit language may well raise the envy of European scholars. On the other hand, not even the best of our Pandits can be said to possess a critical knowledge of the Sanskrit literature and language. They know nothing of the history of their language and the place it occupies among cognate languages. They have no idea of the gradual growth of their literature and the fact that it mirrors different phases of national and religious life. They are quite unable to discuss intelligently historical and chronological questions. They proceed most uncritically in editing texts, &c. &c. And yet it appears only natural that in institutions maintained by a European government some efforts should be made to render the study of Sanskrit more critical and—viewing the matter from a European point of view—more fertile than hitherto.

".....The Calcutta University insists on too high a standard of English, and so far precludes a sufficiently deep and accurate study of Sanskrit—a conclusion justified, I think, by the condition of Sanskrit learning in our English colleges affiliated to the above named institution. The Punjab University, on the other side, does not exact any knowledge of English, and thus leaves the Pandit exactly as he is."

"The selected students.....would, while studying English in the Anglo-Sanskrit department continue to read Sanskrit in the Sanskrit College.....the higher they advance the more care would be taken to render them acquainted with such English books as would have a more direct bearing on their Sanskrit studies and enable them to form wider and more enlightened views of Indian literature, history and antiquities—books for instance, like Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Max Muller's and Weber's Histories of Sanskrit Literature, the Essays of Colebrooke and Wilson, &c., (to mention only a few of the many suitable works). The students might finally be made acquainted with the elements of Comparative Grammar and the researches of European scholars in the history of Indian languages. Last of all—and this is a point to which I would attach great importance—the ablest and most advanced students of the Department would under the guidance of their professor attempt to turn their acquired scholarship to use by attempting independent research in the wide and unexplored fields of Sanskrit literature. There is certainly no lack of ability for work of this kind among the Pandits; what they want is careful direction and guidance. If the latter are given, we may before long see scholars of this province coming forward to take, as they ought to do, a part in the investigation of their country's past.".....

"Benares is still the foremost seat of Sanskrit learning and the Government college by far the most eminent among the different Sanskrit schools in Benares. It might therefore be pointed out with full truth to wealthy natives that any contributions for the purpose of furthering the study of Sanskrit in our college would well become men anxious for the progress of learning and education and especially interested in the advancement of studies in classical language and literature of India.".....

We now turn to Babu Pramadadasa Mitra's letter. He put in a vigorous plea in somewhat emphatic language for the preservation of Sanskrit learning in the form in which it obtained among the Pandits of the old school, and betrayed a somewhat contemptuous attitude towards historical scholarship. The attempt to convert the Indian Pandit into a Sanskrit scholar of the European type would, in his opinion, prove 'a sad mistake and a positive failure.' He would lose in depth and intensity without gaining in critical scholarship. The historical theories and conclusions of European Orientalists 'are not altogether free from errors, errors sometimes serious and radical.' So long as there is ample range for the imagination and consequently for the unconscious introduction of misrepresentations due to religious prejudice or race feeling, it will be quite possible for two scholars equally learned to draw conclusions diametrically opposed from the same data, according to their respective mental bias. As for the expositions of religious and philosophical systems by western Sanskritists, "learning in

Sanskrit has not yet so completely died out of its native land as to require the Pandits themselves to resort to the works of European scholars (however valuable they may be for their countrymen or persons unacquainted with the Sanskrit language for the purpose of gleanng the most correct notions about their own religious and philosophical systems." "The most confident and learned European Sanskritist will not deny that he has yet to learn a good deal about the numerous philosophical systems of India, and this he can hardly hope to do without the aid of Pandits of the true Indian type." The great authors of India have not indeed laboured to furnish materials for a conjectured history of the rise and growth of a national and religious life—Sanskrit literature does not contain a single work on history proper—but there are higher objects aimed at by the Sanskrit scholar. Sanskrit literature is studied by him for intellectual delight and moral elevation, for the culture and wisdom that they afford, and "it is desirable that that class of men who study them deeply should be encouraged to study them still more deeply and to flourish and grow in numbers as well as in intellectual vigour." The Pandits will not be able to acquire sufficient mastery of the English language from the course of instruction proposed to produce English works embodying the results of their research; nor will they ever "be able to acquire that power of historical research and criticism which in European scholars is the result of historical and classical training in a wide range of subjects." As for the course of study, it should, in Mr. Mitra's opinion, comprise English works on constitutional history and political economy, the principles of jurisprudence, science, and philosophy: in short, such subjects as address themselves much more especially to the reasoning powers than to memory. The "Reprints for Pandits" (with annotations) from English philosophical works, and the synopsis of science both in English and Sanskrit, published by that great scholar, Dr. Ballantyne, were also recommended by Mr. Mitra as they produced men like Pandit Vetthal Sastri, "who combined a profound knowledge of Sanskrit philosophy with such considerable attainments in European thought as enabled him to translate and publish in Sanskrit the first

Book of Bacon's *Novum Organum*." Selections from Griffith's *Ramayana* and Wilson's *Vishnu Purana* and *Hindu Theatre* were also recommended as a pleasant mode of learning English. "The course of studies hinted at above will no doubt enlighten the minds of the Pandits with truths altogether new to them, enlarge their views, and enable them with advantage to compare the philosophies of the East and the West. This end will be far from being compassed by books dealing with subjects already for the most part better known to them." Nevertheless, Mr. Mitra does not ignore the value of historical criticism, but he thinks it occupies, or should occupy, a distinctly lower place in the scheme of Sanskrit study. He says:—

"To train up a class of men combining Eastern wisdom with Western enlightenment will no doubt be admitted to be an object well worth aiming at by the organisation of a special department. Nay, I believe the want or paucity of such men is seriously felt.....The Department should (for the most part) be joined by such students of the Sanskrit Department (and their number is not small) whose intellectual bent, capacity or taste is not suited for the study of those higher branches of Sanskrit Grammar, and the subtle and recondite works on *Nyaya* and other philosophy, which affords so rigorous a discipline to the minds of others and prepare for that depth and accuracy of knowledge which is recognised in the memorandum [of Dr. Thibaut]....."

After pointing out that one of the objects of the scheme proposed by Dr. Ballantyne was to create a vernacular literature consisting of translations from works on science, history, and philosophy, Mr. Mitra concludes with the following vigorous appeal:

"In conclusion, I would humbly but strongly protest in behalf of that learning which has from remote antiquity had its most celebrated seat in this city, which has been cultivated with such eminent success for almost a century in the Sanskrit College, that it would be better not to establish any Department at all than to establish one that may eventually lead the Pandits "to turn their backs upon the old ways and lines of study"—(not for acquiring 'scientific' truths; but for furnishing their minds with historical conjectures);—ways and lines of study which I may say have produced the very literature that has engaged and still engages the earnest and admiring attention of many a liberal-minded European scholar....."

Mr. Griffith, in forwarding the views of both Dr. Thibaut and Mr. Mitra to the Government, referred to the latter as an old and esteemed pupil of his, and agreed generally with the opinion expressed by him. Mr. Griffith thought that Dr. Thibaut wrote exclusively from the point

of view and in the interest of the Sanskritists of the West. The Pandit had many excellences of his own, and should not be radically reformed. "Babu Pramadadasa Mitra writes from the point of view of a liberally educated but patriotic native gentleman, who loves the ancient language, philosophy, literature, and religion of his country, and can at the same time appreciate the advantages of adding, as he has done, to the learning of the Indians some acquaintance with Western thought, literature and science."

Dr. Thibaut's rejoinder is worth notice. He says:—

"I certainly do not hesitate to admit in the first place that the Hindus have a right to expect that their national learning should be maintained and fostered to a certain extent, and in the second place that the intrinsic value of that learning is a very high one.....I will only add that even from the European point of view the maintenance of the old learning appears highly desirable, as it will be a long time before European scholars have learnt from the Pandits everything that the latter can teach them about Sanskrit learning and philosophy."

"The second point on which I see myself obliged to make some remarks in connection with Babu Pramadadasa's letter concerns the ultimate aim of any Anglo-Sanskrit Department, whatever its special course of studies may be. Here I must confess I do not understand Babu Pramadadasa's position. If, as he appears to wish, the mental attitude of the Pandits with regard to the literature and culture of their own country is to remain entirely unchanged, I do not see on what grounds the establishment of any new Department can be recommended. For in what manner will an acquaintance with the sciences and the literature of the West affect the minds of the Pandits? Babu Pramadadasa Mitra says in one place that it will be the task of the Department 'to train a class of men combining Eastern wisdom with Western enlightenment.' But how can things be combined which in very many points are of an essentially conflicting nature? When the Pandits, after having read in the *Vishnu Purana* (a work whose study Babu Pramadadasa recommends) that the sun revolves once in 24 hours round Mount Meru, find it stated in English books on astronomy that the earth revolves round its own axis, they necessarily will have to choose between the two doctrines. If they accept the European teaching, after a special department has been established for their enlightenment, their views regarding the 'intrinsic value' of the *Vishnu Purana* will certainly undergo some modification. Or again what will they think of the physiological doctrines forming part of the *Vedanta* system after having learnt from European books the true constitution of the human body? Instances, as the preceding one, taken from natural science, are particularly striking; but analogous instances from other departments of knowledge might easily be quoted. Everywhere the Hindu will have in the end to confess to himself that the absolute value of his country's literature is smaller than he used to think before he had begun to study English books. If we were really afraid of such a consequence, it would certainly

be better to leave the Pandits entirely to their old ways and guard them from western enlightenment of any kind.....The special course of reading suggested in my memorandum in addition to the general study of English would certainly have the effect of redirecting to India and Indian things the attention of minds which otherwise might allow themselves to be attracted too much—too much at least for the wishes of patriotic Hindu—by the culture and sciences of the West. The Department would thus, with regard to the study of Sanskrit literature, be in the attitude of a person who while taking with the one hand gives with the other.

"I do not wish to criticise here in detail the remarks made by Babu Pramadadasa on the results of European research in Indian matters. A controversy of this point would recommend itself only if Babu Pramadadasa Mitra were fully acquainted with all that has been accomplished during the last 30 or 40 years by the scholars of England, France, Germany and America; and that he is really so I do not feel convinced, in spite of the very decided tone of his judgments. I will only state as a fact known to me from my own experience that Pandits of a more advanced type gladly avail themselves of English books on Indian history, literature &c., in order to make up for deficiencies in their own learning, and that I have more than once consulted European dictionaries and grammars of Sanskrit for Pandits desirous of knowing if a certain word or grammatical form was to be found in their literature. That not all the results of European scholarship are equally well established must be admitted; all men are liable to err, and if I had to quote a striking instance of scholars equally learned drawing conclusions diametrically opposed from the same data, I should refer not to the European interpreters of the Veda [as Mr. Mitra does], but to the metaphysicians, Hindu or European, whose writings Babu Pramadadasa Mitra recommends for study. Still many of the results alluded to are sufficiently well settled to form legitimate subjects of instruction, and are as a matter of fact already to be met with in the simplest Indian school books. A plea in favour of the historical way of looking at things would lead me too far; I only make the remark that if the Pandits had possessed and did possess a little of that historical spirit which Babu Pramadadasa appears to rate so low, we—including the Pandits—would not have to regret at the present time the irretrievable loss of so many of the most important works of Sanskrit literature and the endeavours made by Government to rescue from final loss as much as can yet be rescued would be rewarded by considerably greater success."

Lastly, Dr. Thibaut says that instead of being employed in creating a vernacular literature consisting of translations of works on science, philosophy and literature, as Babu Pramadadasa recommends, the proper task to be taken in hand by the students of the Anglo-Sanskrit Department should be work more or less intimately connected with Sanskrit literature, such as the preparation of Koshas of the different Hindu Shastras, Anglo-Sanskrit and Anglo-vernacular dictionaries, and learned and accurate editions of Sanskrit texts &c. "Translations of English books are

best undertaken by those who have studied English and the different branches of English science most thoroughly, i.e., by men who have been brought up in English Colleges."

In July 1884, the final views of the Government were thus expressed:

"The first point to be secured is such an acquaintance with English as may enable Hindu students of Sanskrit to read and understand the works of English writers. This gained, their course of reading can be directed towards those branches of learning which bear upon Sanskrit literature."

At present (1907) the four Pandits of the Sanskrit College "are household names among scholars in India and Europe," so says the concluding portion of the Government publication from which this article has been compiled. It alludes to the endowment of Rs. 45,000 created by the Hon'ble Munshi Madho Lal for Sanskrit scholarships, and to the "Sanskrit Improvement Committee," and observes that:—

"The practical suggestions lie in the direction of scholarships, studentships, a hostel, a library, the appointment of a well qualified European professor or professors and finally, the cataloguing, by a competent scholar, of that mass of valuable Sanskrit manuscripts which already exist in the library of the Queen's College—a task heavy but of the utmost importance, a task that cannot but result, as experience in the West has shown many a time, not only in the proper arrangement of knowledge, but in the increase of it."

We have now completed our survey of the history of the Benares Sanskrit College and we may recapitulate some of the main points. The original object with which the institution was founded in 1791 was, as we have seen, partly to conciliate the Hindus by evincing an interest in their sacred language and classical literature, and partly to produce Pandits capable of assisting English judges in expounding Hindu Law. When Persian was replaced by English in the courts and offices, attention was directed towards imparting instruction in English to the pupils of the College along with Sanskrit which continued to be the main subject of study. The absence of original work by the scholars led by and by to the introduction of an Anglo-Sanskrit Department with a view to encourage the students to translate English works into Sanskrit and the vernacular and take part in research into the history of Sanskrit literature and Hindu life and thought. This led to a keen controversy, ably conducted on both sides,

as to whether Pandit of the old type should be made to reinforce his knowledge, deep, extensive, accurate, and technical, with the critical, historical and philological knowledge of the west. This controversy has not yet come to a close, but we in Bengal may refer to our experience in regard to the Calcutta Sanskrit College as a safe guide in these matters. Pandits deeply learned in the Shastras and imbued with the spirit of Hindu philosophy and literature, like Mahamahopadhyaya Chandrakanta Tarkalankar, have certainly their uses; they keep the ideal of learning high, and are living representatives of the traditional culture and spirit of the ancient sages. They form a very necessary corrective to shallow and superficial learning, which is sometimes associated with the names of European Sanskritists. At the same time, men like Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar have shown that depth of classical learning is no bar to the advancement of vernacular literature by means of translations from European and Sanskritic sources. Nevertheless, it is in the main true, as Dr. Thibaut says, that the development of vernacular literature must be the work of men educated principally in European literature and science, as the example of most Bengali writers from Bankim Chandra Chatterji downwards amply demonstrates. Lastly, Babu Pramadas Mitra was certainly wrong in thinking that the Pandits would never be able to acquire the power of historical

research and criticism. Scholars like Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri in Bengal and Dr. Bhandarkar in the Deccan exhibit the truly beneficial results flowing from the union of Sanskrit learning with the critical, historical, and comparative methods of the west. It is scholars of this type, more than the Pandits of the old school, that are more and more needed in the interest of the development and regeneration of our national life and faith. It is they who will give a rational exposition of our culture, traditions and ideals, and help to fix our legitimate place among the highly civilised nations of the world, and point out with the unerring finger of scientific investigation the reasons of the decay of that civilisation and the means of resuscitating it. The newly created Hindu University, in its theological side, is expected to foster the growth of scholarship of this kind; and by so doing give that fulness and vitality to our national life which is, or ought to be, one of the main objects of that University. When the learning of the orthodox Pandit, much of which is dry and barren, is rendered fruitful and instinct with potent ideas, a new day will have dawned for the rejuvenated Hindu nation which will then be in a position to shake off the deadweight of the age-long accumulation of rusty formulas, and march forward under conditions more favourable to success in the strenuous competition of the modern world.

POLITICS.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF TAGORE IN EUROPE

BY JAMES H. COUSINS.

IN the month of August, 1912, I indulged in my first "Continental" holiday. A long and stiff session in school teaching terminating in annual examinations, had been followed by an unexpected appointment to a summer course. The appointment carried with it remuneration which, being equally unexpected, could only fitly find an unexpected outlet. Nothing short of Paris could meet the requirements of the occasion.

But Paris has—or rather, had then—a trick of "extras." The closest calculation of conducted tours, all-found, could not provide an arithmetical mesh sufficiently fine to hold all possibilities of little fish escaping into deep waters of explorations which, even in the virtuous light of day, transformed themselves into francs and centimes. It therefore became necessary to find a less leaky habitat for the tail-end of the month, and Fate, and the worst

railway system I had till then known, landed me in the historical and quaint city of William the Conqueror, Bayeux in Normandy. In its neighbourhood I found the little town of Balleroy, with its exquisite church designed by the architect of the Louvre, and a comfortable hotel managed by a stout widow with the largest smile and the smallest quantity of English possible, that is, none.

That year made a record in rainfall in Western Europe. Fortunate individuals who wandered as far eastward as Copenhagen smiled pitifully on those of us who dwelt under the Atlantic cloud—but there were compensations. A line announced itself in a note from a friend who happened to be staying at her seaside house on the coast of Normandy, to the effect that as we were all evidently destined to be drowned, we might as well perish together. The note added: "Mr. Yeats is here." I thanked God for the deluge that floated us (speaking maritally not editorially) into the more immediate precinct of one of world's master singers than lecture platforms or the crush-room of the Abbey Theatre in Dublin.

Our luck turned out to be greater than our dreams of it. Instead of one poet, we had two: one in the flesh, the tall, dark, ever-distinguished leader of the Irish literary and dramatic movement; one in the spirit; almost, as it were, in a pre-natal state awaiting birth in the English language, but living royally, vitally, in the splendid imagination and enkindled joy of another: one was Yeats, the other Tagore. I have often wondered if the immortal singer of the songs of the spirit in the East has come near a realisation of the place that his songs occupied in the mind of the immortal singer of the songs of the spirit in the West before fame had ratified them. When I had the great joy, four years later, of coming face to face with Rabindranath in his Calcutta home, I had a mind to clear up my wonder, but it was as difficult to break through his interest in the work of Yeats and his fellow-singers and to get him to talk of his own work as it had been in Normandy to get Yeats to talk anything but Tagore. After all, I suppose, it does not matter much to the individuals whether or not they realise in what relationship they stand to one another. They cannot add an inch to their stature, for each is supreme in his

place: nevertheless, to others, not at their height, there must be something stirring in the spectacle of a poet of transcendent genius standing on the housetop of enthusiasm, proclaiming, on the slightest provocation, the splendours of the genius of a brother poet.

At that time, Rabindranath was a name unknown in English letters, but a few at the heart of things literary were in the secret of a coming revelation. Yeats carried with him a manuscript book containing the poems of Tagore which he was then prefacing for the India House edition of "Gitanjali." He read—or rather, chanted as only he can—every one of the poems, adding to their inherent quality a glory of music and interpretation. Time has blurred the ear's memory of those after-dinner recitals, but it has not falsified the first conviction that those little mouthfuls of lyrical prose were among the abiding things of the Soul, and that they would work a beneficent revolution in English literature, since they entered it at its highest—in the purest of musical speech, full of the authenticity of creation, rather than the adumbrations of translation, and glowing with a spirit that was new to the West, yet essentially in affinity with the spirit of the seers of all time, who are also the utterers.

My first impression of Tagore's poetry, made through ear-gate, was that of direct statement of subjective experience akin to that of Maeterlinck and Emerson, but differing from Maeterlinck in its wonderful clarity, and from Emerson in its equally wonderful simplicity. It seemed to move at an altitude far above all derivation, and with a sense of finding in the history of religion, philosophy and literature—a gratifying, but hardly essential, corroboration, not a source of justification. This was not, of course, felt as a pose or a conscious quality, but rather as the concomitant of spiritual authenticity that is at home in all lands and new in all ages.

I did not see "Gitanjali" in print until Macmillan's edition came out. Then it came upon me in a crowded tramcar in one of the dirtiest and most odoriferous districts of Liverpool. I put the book in my pocket to while away a forty-five minutes' journey by mean streets among a crowd of tired women and squirming babies, interspersed with the silk hat of

suburban respectability going to evening church, and the sharp odour of alcohol from labour off duty and having "a good time." I had to hang on to a strap by one hand—my seat having gone to a lady—but I had taken the precaution to cut my "Gitanjali," and so it was not difficult to hold it, and turn the pages when required.

I learned then the meaning of a "joy-ride," and I fancy my fellow-passengers felt something of its radiation, for I had to pass the book to my companion to share the glow of re-discovery which showed itself in brightened eyes and heightened colour as Trance and a chanting poet's voice built themselves in the midst of the drabness and stench of our physical environment, and the eye gave confirmation to the ear in hailing the wonderful new thing in poetry,—a voice that had no need to speak of truth, or of beauty since it was itself beauty.

One might, I suppose, rest satisfied with the exalted pleasure of such experiences, but after all, they are somewhat of the nature of refined sensuality unless they touch some deeper level of the being than the exclusively aesthetic in thought or feeling. Their influence must be ephemeral unless one's own consciousness supply the medium of fixation, and this can only be done by thinking around the aesthetic impacts, finding their inter-relationships, and their relationships with the great facts and intuitions of life. Very possibly Tagore would resist any attempt to systematise him, and quite rightly, for he is not a system but a life. At the same time, since he is a life, an organism of spirit, he must preserve a symmetry and coherence in his parts. Every line, every thought in his writings, hangs upon every other, and it is in the discovery of the "hang of them" that those outside himself can put their image of him in their shrine, the *Bhoga murti* to which they can present the offerings of thought that would wither under the eye of the very-God. The mind is, as the "Gita" says, the slayer of the real, but it is also the path to the real for those on the hither side of inspiration. In creation, the artist may, nay must, overleap it; in understanding, we cannot.

That is my excuse, if not my justification, for having found in the "Gitanjali" a series of poems which, organically, though

not chronologically, presented a coherent view of the life of humanity, and its relationship with the universe, and which may, I think, be regarded as Tagore's message to the world. In reading a new poet, I instinctively search for his "greatest" word, that is, a declaration that has springing out of it the greatest range of branches and twigs of vision and thought. That attained, the rest of the poet's utterances put on an illuminating perspective.

Tagore's greatest thought is, I believe, his enunciation (72)* of the unbroken perfection that he conceives to be the basis of all manifested being. One works through all degrees of lives (64), so that the visible Creation is not merely symbolised as, but actually is, the Body of God (61). The poet, therefore, always sees the Divine working through the human (57), and he sets up a personal relationship between himself and the Divine (66), and conducts his life through reliance on the Great Life (6) of which his own is a part. That Great Life is within the conscious reach of every one (71) and the fulfilment of its law is Love (14), a Love that is no renunciation (68), but purifies its members (3) for sheer joy of making them fitter instruments to express the Great Life.

What distinguishes Tagore's expression of his vision from western poets is that his religion and philosophy are not departments of his work, but its "fundamental ether," its vital substance. His religion is without theology, though not without personality: his philosophy is without argument, though not without rationale. The outstanding quality that shows in every line of his poetry is *life*, but not the little span of sensation and lower thought that is the western connotation of the word amongst minor poets and minor critics. His affinities in English literature are Herbert, and Vaughan, and Crashaw, and among living poets the seer-singer of the Irish renaissance, A. E., and the highland and mystic-singer, James L. MacBeal Bain; but while these are Tagore's spiritual kindred, he has as comrades the whole hierarchy of song and one of the most fascinating speculations as to the future is the influence that Tagore will

* These figures refer to the page in Macmillan's "Gitanjali."

expert on English literature. He comes to it, not as a translation, but as a powerful original; post-Whitman in technique, that is, uniting the freedom of *vers libre* to logical architectonics. He has bettered the mechanics of the younger English

poets, but he has done more: he has let loose a spirit of eclecticism in thought and phrase that will put an end to the fallacy of equating vulgarity with democracy in letters, and help to accomplish the much-needed poetical Restoration.

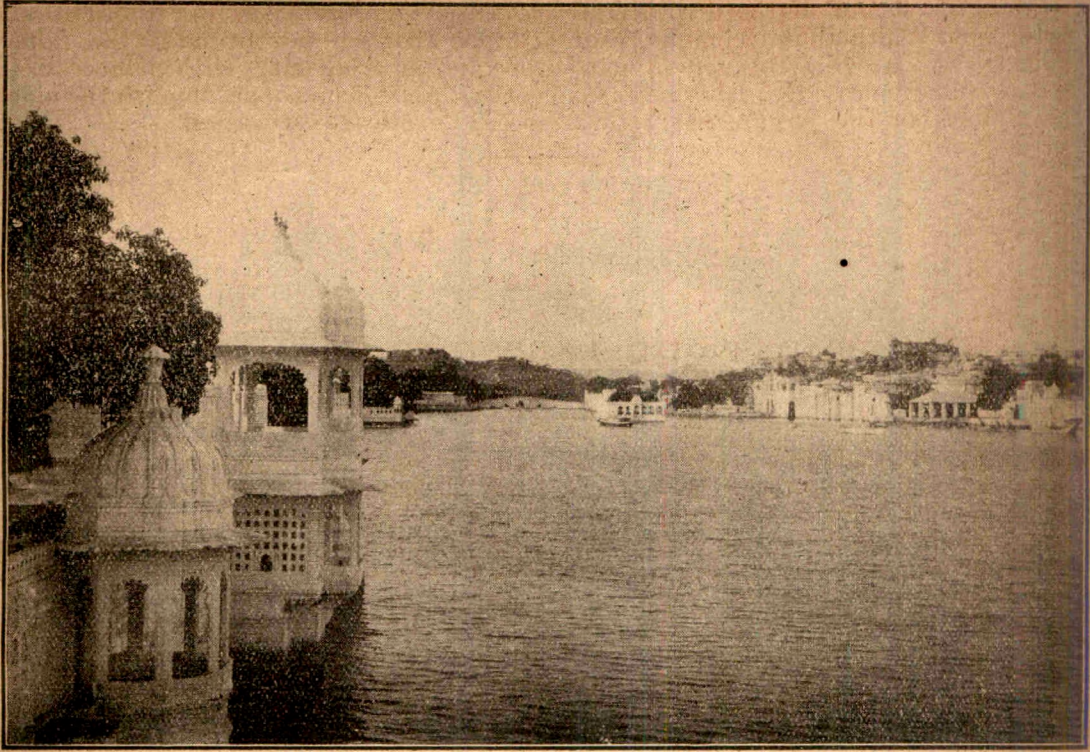
UDAIPUR—THE FAIRY CITY OF INDIA

BY LYNFIELD.

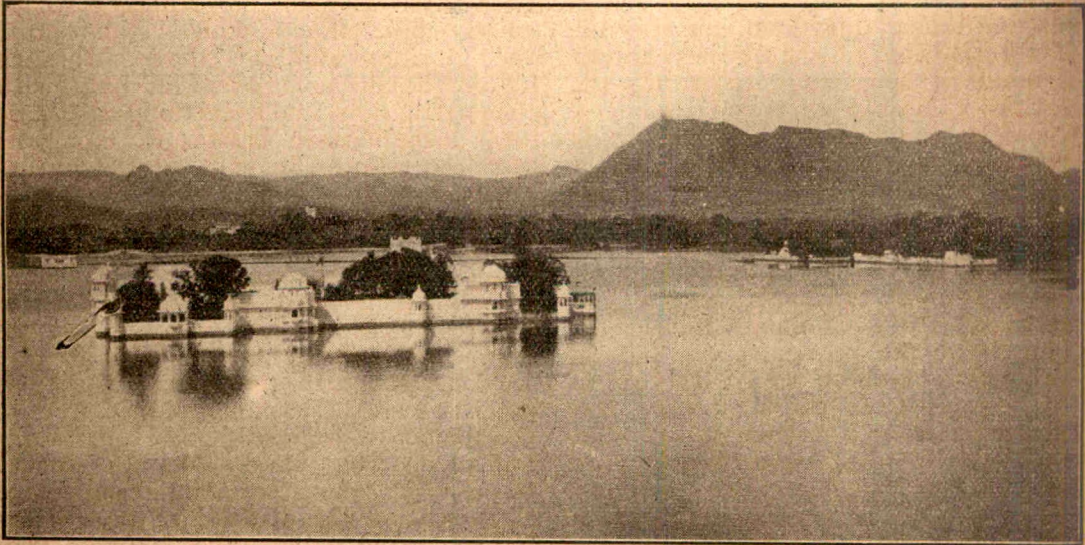
INDIA is a land of infinite variety, and on every hand are to be seen examples of magnificent construction, strong and apparently impregnable fortresses, buildings of pure marble, with the most elaborate workmanship, mosques of surpassing beauty, and temples cut out of the solid rock to provide a home for their many gods. But the city of Udaipur stands alone. Here there is "in its perfection the fairy palace of one's childhood, just such a long cataract of marble terraces and halls falling into waters of a mountain-circled lake." Udaipur certainly reminds one, as no other place in India, of the wonderful imaginations of fairy land, and it is not to be regretted that all these schemes evolved in the minds of the rulers of India, for the utilisation of Udaipur's natural resources, have come to nought, and that the city is still the same as it was a hundred years or more ago. There are changes of a minor kind, but Udaipur remains conservative, and the very men who were keenest on improvements before they visited the place, are quite content that this remote and unhackneyed city shall remain untouched. Udaipur is off the beaten track, and on this account it does not receive the attention it deserves from the sight-seer. But the construction of a branch railway line from Chitor has done something toward making the journey comfortable. Udaipur not only appeals to the imagination on account of the fairy-like scenery but because the ruler of this State is over-lord, not only of the State of Mewar, but in a sense of all India. "Were free election," writes one, "to be made tomorrow among the native competitors for the kingship of India, no one would dare to stand

against the Maharana of Udaipur. For the Maharana of Udaipur is the two hundred and fortieth descendant in right line from the Sun, and primate and pontifex secular among all who hold the Hindu faith."

It is difficult to conceive anything more beautiful than the situation of this city. It is true the approach by rail is through a barren, even plain, with scarce anything but cactus hedges in the way of vegetation, and the traveller is scarcely prepared for the sight of the great lake, with its white palaces on its banks, and studded with little islands on which also are small white palaces which stand out in the glorious sunlight that bathes the place. The lake, known as Pola Lake, is the chief attraction, and everything else pales into insignificance besides it. Yet without the palaces, in spite of the natural position and surroundings it would lose much of its attractiveness. The two islands of most importance are the Jag Mandar and the Jag Newas, and these islands are covered with white marble palaces, in the grounds of which are tall palms and banana trees which afford a welcome shade in the midday heat. In order to visit these islands, in fact, to go on the lake at all, a special permit is necessary, but as a rule these are not difficult to obtain, and the Maharana places his boats at the disposal of the visitors. In one of the palaces the Emperor Shah Jahan took shelter when a young prince, from the anger of his father, Jehangir; in another some of the refugees in the time of the Mutiny were received and protected by the Rana: from another Sir John Outram, when taunted by the Rana,



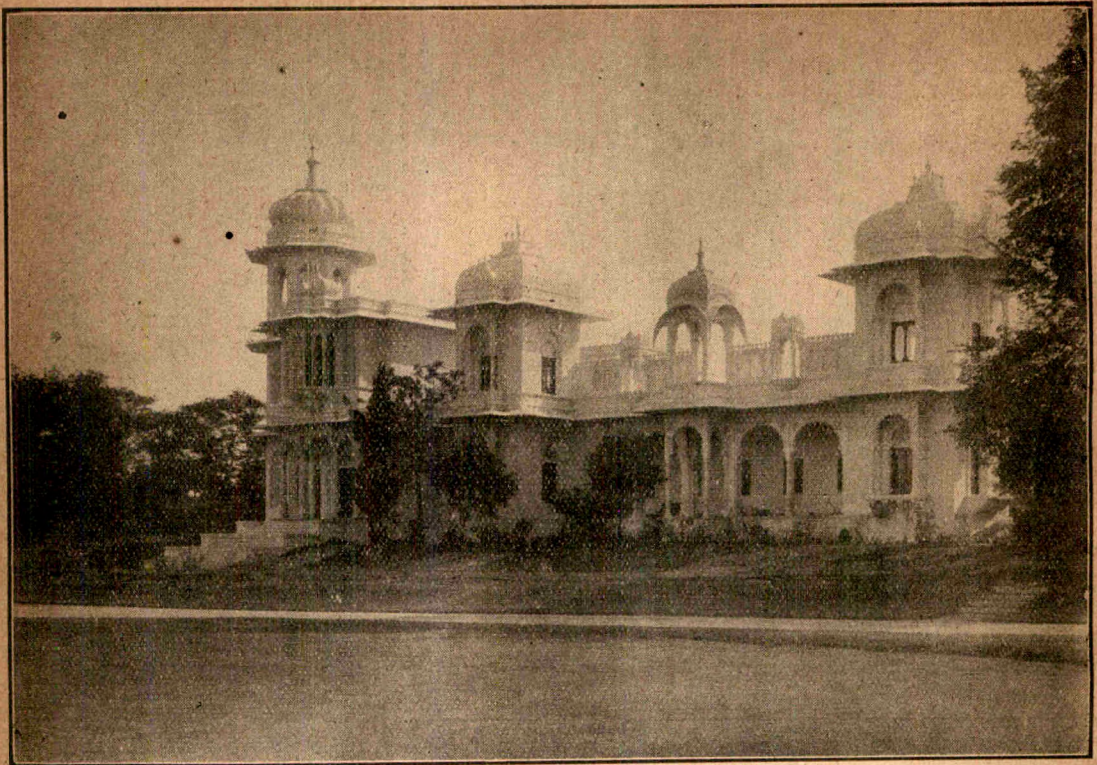
General View of Lake and City from an Island.



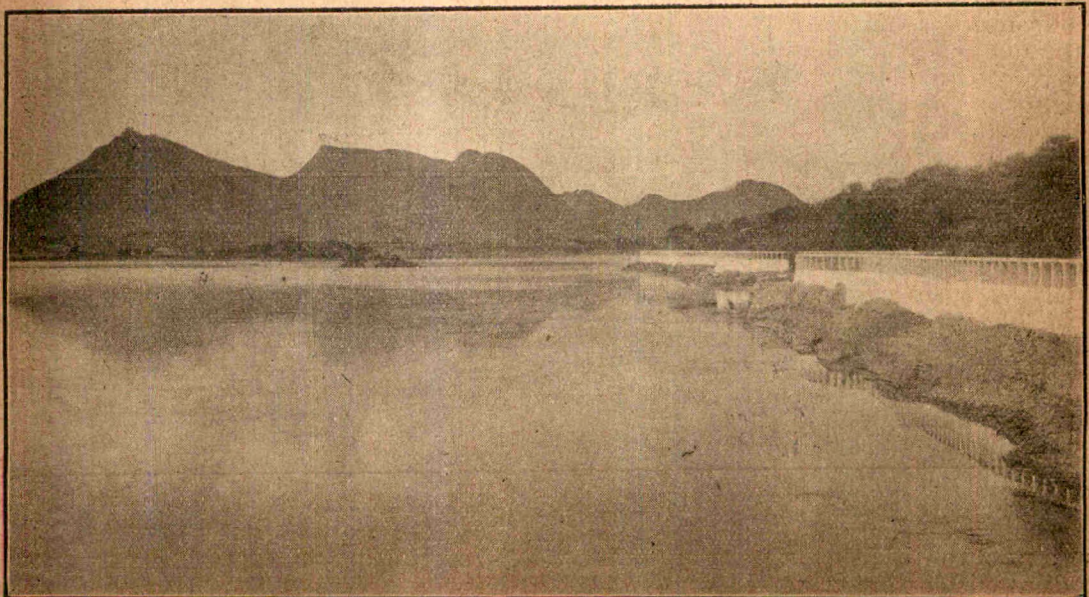
The Jag Mandar.

sprang into the lake, swarming with crocodiles which were being fed, and swam to the shore. Many tragedies have taken place in the water summer palaces, but it

is scarcely possible for the visitor to imagine such scenes in these glorious surroundings. Speaking of these palaces Percival Landon says, "Tier upon tier the



The Museum, Udaipur.

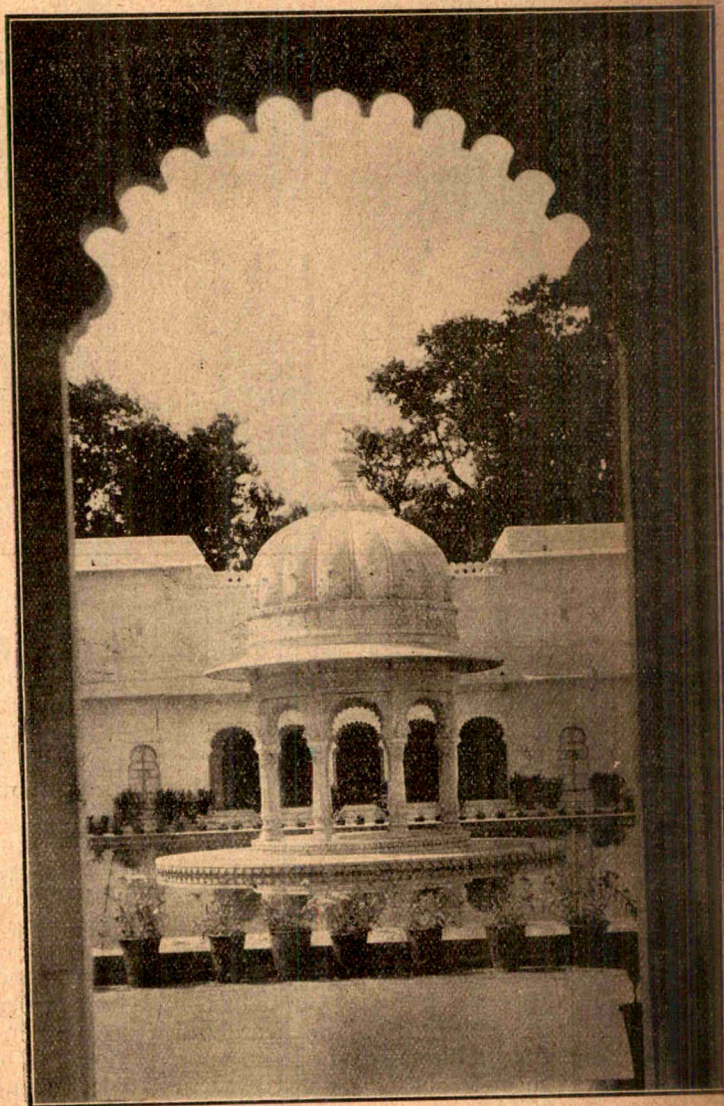


The Tank from which Udaipur is supplied with water.

snowy walls and terraces rise from the very ripples of the lake, where under the kiss of the wind their reflection makes a matted tangle of white. Here and there the whiteness of the half-translucent architecture is relieved by a touch of green where a banyan or a group of acacias rises from the walled-in garden plot, but the same quick white, of half a hundred shades and values, argent in the sun and veiled-blue in the shadows, spreads along the palace wall or points itself into the dome and pinnacle of the roof till the upper line cuts the blue of the air, white from end to end of the thousand feet of the palace sky-line,—white, white, and, from end to end, white." It would almost seem a sacrilege to introduce anything artificial to improve the grandeur and picturesqueness of the lake, but, from the account of visitors, it would appear that the illuminations always arranged on the occasion of the visit of the Viceroy or a member of the Royal family, even add to the fairy-like effect. Along four miles of architecture the small lights are hung in festoons, and reflect their lights on the still waters of the lake. Then follow the displays of fire-works and coloured lights which make a gorgeous sight, an almost unequalled specimen of Oriental splendour. Hours may be spent rowing over the lake, and resting in the cool of the palace gardens, from which one can obtain splendid views of the surrounding hills, and the nearer land palaces.

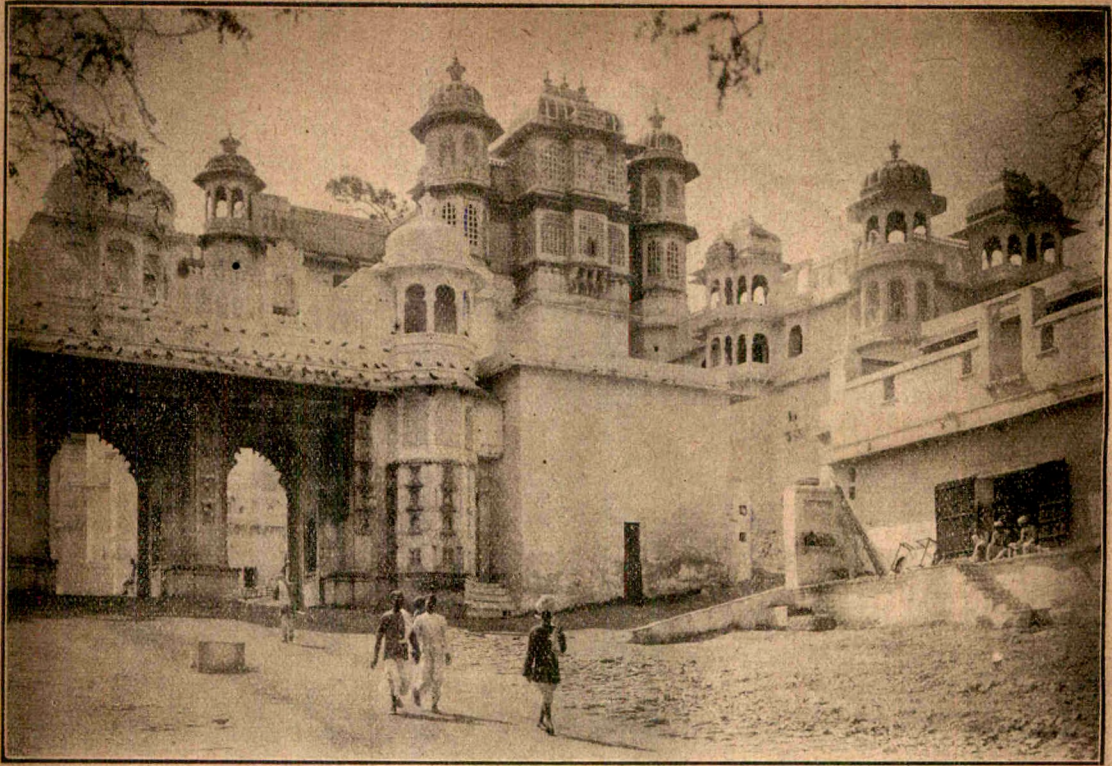
From one point of view it would be well to pass by the land palaces, for unfortunately, the interiors are too modernised. Seldom does one find an Indian modernised palace in good taste, and Udaipur is no exception. There is a gaudiness altogether foreign to palaces in

western countries. If the scheme were Oriental instead of Occidental the brilliant colours etc., would seem in place. Nevertheless, it is interesting to visit one of these palaces. The Royal Palace, right on the bank of the lake, is a most imposing pile of granite and marble, of quadrangular



A Zenana Garden at Udaipur.

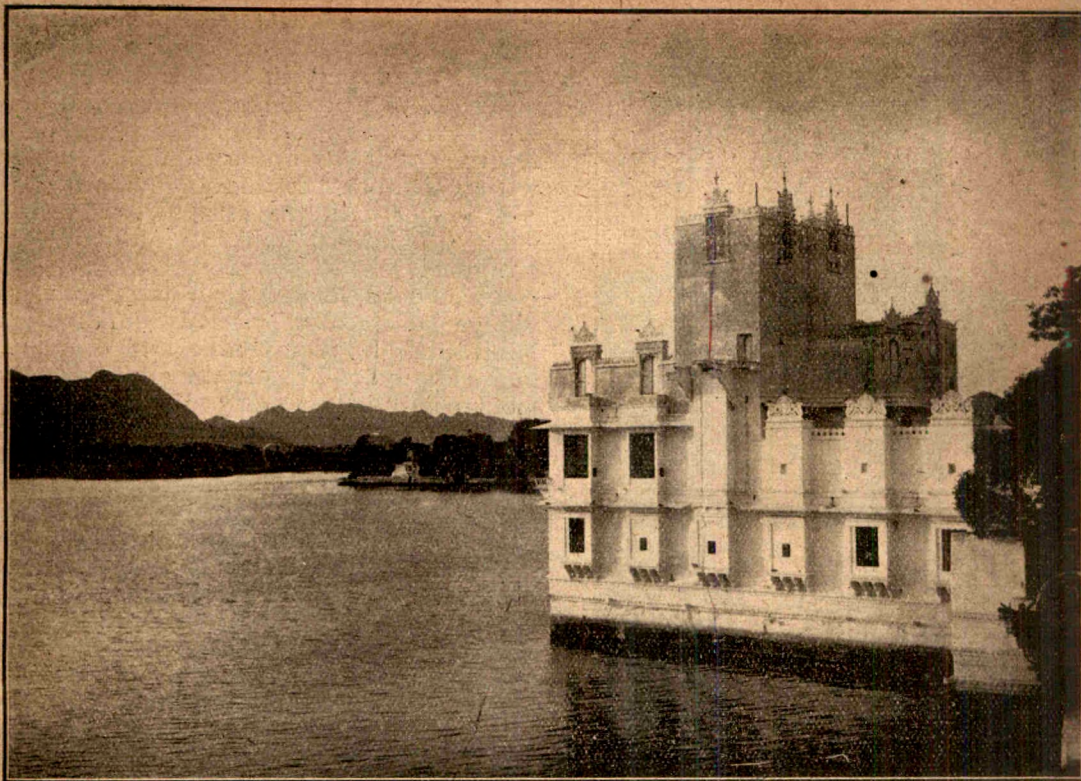
shape, rising about one hundred feet from the ground, and flanked with octagonal towers, crowned with cupolas. There is a wide, open terrace, from which one can obtain a view of the city and valley, bounded by the distant hills. Some of the royal apartments open on to this terrace.



The Udaipur Palace.

Very interesting too, are the bathing ghats which lie to the north of the lake. Here hundreds of men bathe and meditate every morning, each absorbed in his own ritual. The women and children are also there, the former engaged in washing the cloths and household idols, the latter in gambolling about in the shallow water. The visitor is generally taken by the boatmen to see what is certainly a unique sight. Every evening large numbers of wild pigs are fed by order of the Rana. At a fixed hour the servants set apart for this task, make a call, and soon from all parts of the wild jungle one sees hundreds of these wild ferocious beasts dashing toward the open place where the food is thrown to them from above. There is a tremendous uproar, and not a few battles between the wild pigs themselves in their scramble for the food. A man's life would be of little value, if by misfortune, he happened to find himself below at this time of the day.

There is very little of interest in the city itself, though its inhabitants are well worthy of study. There is a very delightful zenana garden belonging to one of the members of the Royal family, some distance from the lake, and visitors are generally taken there. Of course the private zenana garden is completely closed to strangers, but there is an outer garden most beautifully kept. It is a typical Indian garden. There are tanks of water, with luxuriant plants on every side, there are cool shady corners in which to rest in the heat of the day. But wherever the visitors may be, his thoughts are on the lake, and he is not satisfied till he can return to quietly row about the silent lake and watch the ever-changing sun effects on the water and the palaces. Udaipur is a dream, and it is difficult to realise that what is before one is something real and not a product of the imagination.



One of the Island Palaces at Udaipur.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE YOUNG WOMEN OF INDIA

BY FRIEDA HAUSWIRTH.

DEAR SISTERS:—

YOU do not know me; I have known and wished you well for a long time, and this because of the admiration and high esteem I feel for the brave struggle for education and the integrity of the Hindusthanees students I have met in America, and because of my love for and study of all things Indian.

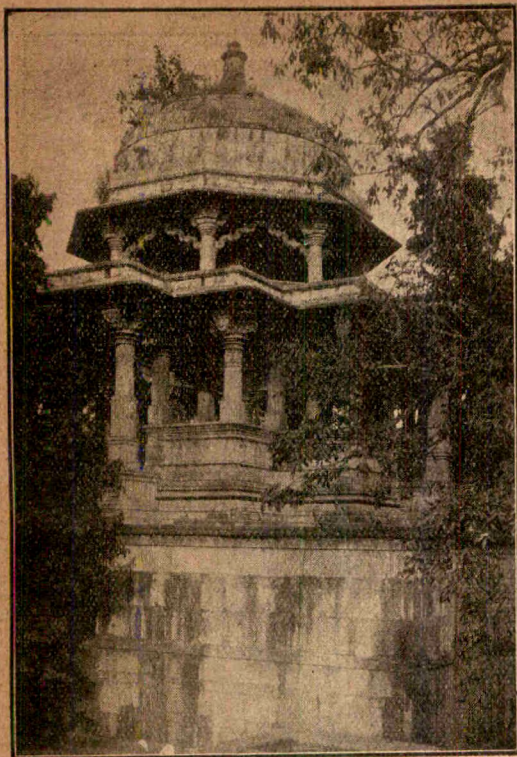
Your beautiful country with its patient, suffering people can calmly point to a high, proud civilization at a time when my barbaric forefathers dwelt in caves or roamed about, clothed in the skins of wild beasts, unable to claim a nation or a country as their own. But to-day no child of my birth-nation, whether boy or girl, faces the world with less than nine years of nine months schooling, while the

great mass of your people now lack that inestimable asset with which to face life.

It is not my purpose to delve into the causes of this reversion. It is because I know that the need of your own, your people's and your country's new development will increase the great urge to tread, in spite of obstacles, the pathway which leads to higher education, that I now write this letter.

In this new striving some of you will reach for what lies near at hand, some will strike out farther and wish to visit and study in foreign lands. Some of you, hampered financially, may need to seek the place best fitted to let you win your education by your own efforts.

To those of you, whom such effort may bring to the shores of America, I offer whatever value the communication of my



One of the Tombs of the Mewar Kings.

own experience may enclose. I am one of those who have travelled the path you may want to chose, and have won to the end of the journey, know the struggles to be faced, the broadening effect a college education is able to give, and the feeling of security and assurance and helpfulness with which one faces life so equipped.

It is worth all the struggle, and that is what I aim to tell you about,—the struggle!

I was born in a little Swiss mountain village of scarce a few hundred inhabitants. In this village and especially in my family, to be born a girl meant that from childhood higher education and a bigger field of action and interests was denied. To know how to read, write, cook, sew, serve, marry and raise children in just the same way as our great-grandmothers had done in that purely agricultural valley was considered all-sufficient, no matter how the world meanwhile had changed.

From the age of six onward I was receiving the usual, compulsory Public School education. Those who obtain the systematic, intermediary training which alone entitles to matriculation in all higher



A Red Indian Woman at Work.

schools and universities, branch off from the "People's School" at the age of eleven or twelve, and enter the "Secondary School." I was denied this privilege, though my brothers attended the Secondary School and later were encouraged and enabled to leave home and attend schools and universities in our large cities.

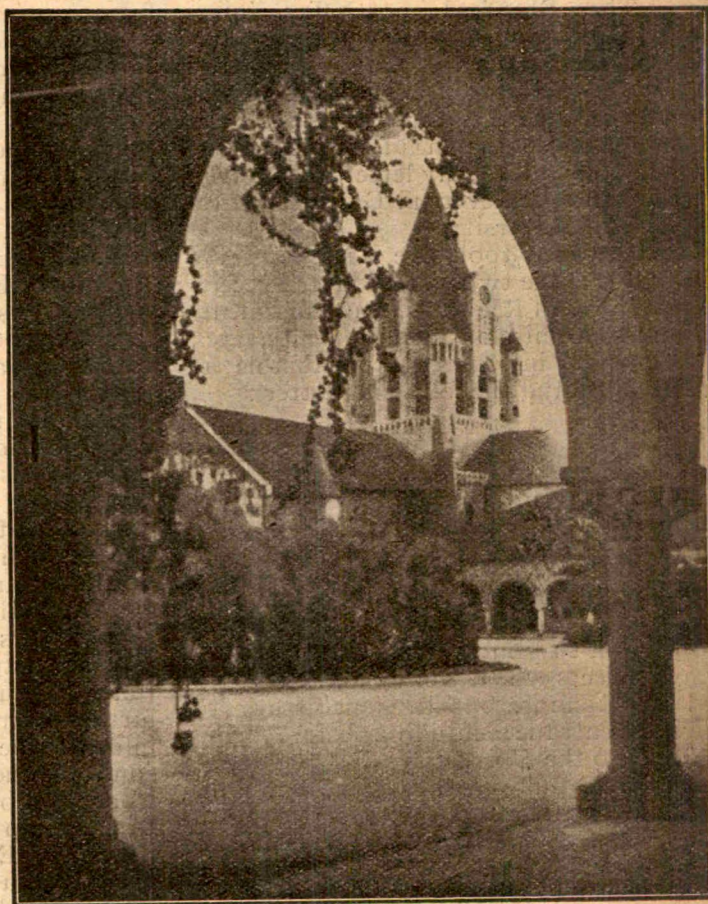
The scattered crumbs of a wider knowledge carelessly thrown about by them whenever they returned to spend their vacations, gave me a vague, but intense desire to learn more about that great, wide outside world in which they were moving. Yet it was only natural that I should find myself absolutely without sympathy and champions, opposed and thwarted on every side, when it became clear that I longed restlessly for unusual experience and for the broad educational field monopolized by men. Among my family and among the simple villagers some adjudged me "queer", some lazy and attempting to elude the simple homely duties intended for all girls.

In spite of the serious disability of having missed the intermediary schooling, I began after my fourteenth year, and the death of my father, to make misdirected, vain attempts to get what I wanted on my own account. I left home to learn the French language and later attended a course in a domestic science school. These uncentered efforts here and there to grasp at higher education proved largely futile, void of a larger purpose and outlook, and left me dissatisfied. I became filled with a sense of the discouragement and uselessness of my individual struggle against a ruthlessly exclusive, rigid system of education in the land of my birth. But this very failure only served to stamp me in my own mind as an "outsider", to impress me deeply with the need of gaining admission some-

how, somewhere, into an ordered, accredited, educational career.

Meanwhile the resources at my disposal, without interference, were getting dispiritingly low; too low to carry me far in Switzerland even, had I been admitted to the higher institutions on full standing. In this extremity, at the age of twenty-one, I turned to America.

I had read and heard of the wider opportunities of entrance and of self-support



Cloistered Quadrangles of Leland Stanford Junior University.

at the American universities, especially those of Western United States of America, and I decided to do or die. In what very little information I had about these universities, some chance remark and chance picture (that of a double row of stately palms leading to large, yellow, arcaded buildings topped with red roofs) had fastened the name of "Leland Stanford Junior University," California, on my mind. I

wrote to the "Rectorat" of that university a letter asking for information concerning entrance requirements, my own chances for admission, opportunities for "working one's way through college." * Owing to the difference in faculty and office terminology between European and American universities, my letter most happily, in view of what followed, failed to reach its intended destination. On the European continent, the "Rector" of a university is its President, the "Rectorat" the President's office. The Stanford post-office interpreted "Rectorat" as intended for "rectory," or parsonage, and judged that the only person at Stanford, who could possibly qualify as recipient for my letter, was the Dean (the religious head, of the University. In consequence my letter was given into the hands of Reverend Gardner, Dean of Stanford University.

Rev. Gardner took the letter to the Registrar. Some two weeks later I received in the form of Registers, Announcements of Courses, Admission Requirements, etc., all the printed information obtainable at a university, and the following letter :

STANFORD UNIVERSITY,
Office of the Registrar. July 28, 1906.

Miss Frieda Hauswirth,
Meiringen, Switzerland.

Dear Madam :

It is impossible to give any definite information as to credits.† There would be no objection to your trying examinations in any subjects which you would feel qualified to attempt, but it is necessary to secure full entrance standing before being admitted to the University.

It is doubtful whether you would be successful in securing any position until you have become thoroughly established at the university.

Very truly yours :

O. E. Elliott,
Registrar.

This letter certainly sounded rather discouraging, especially in view of the fact that for the success of the whole enterprise I needed the unquestionable assurance of

work to be able to meet its expenses. At home no one knew of my plans and of this correspondence and I knew I could not count on any help beyond my own resources. I figured out that I had just enough money left to enable me to take the trip from Switzerland to California, but not enough to support me until I would "have become thoroughly established at the university."

While still debating whether I should take the leap into an absolutely unassured future or not, a personal, cordial, encouraging letter arrived from the Dean. A correspondence developed between the Dean and myself in which he gave me a great deal of detailed information, both warning and assuring, especially insisting on the point of good health for such a venture.

Through him I found out that there existed the Board of American College Entrance Examinations in New York. Anyone passing the examinations given by this Board could thereby secure entrance into almost all the great American universities and colleges. I wrote to the Board and received the printed examination questions of the two preceding years and was also informed that examinations were given not only at a great number of points in the United States, but that arrangements could be made to hold them at almost any point of the world under some accredited official supervision, such as postmasters, etc. Upon application I might take them at Geneva, Switzerland, during June of the following summer. After further correspondence with the Dean, he informed me that, should I fail to pass in some of the New York Board examinations, I would then be permitted to try to make up any deficiency in the regular Stanford Entrance Examinations held every August before the autumn term opens. I determined against waiting to pass the examinations in Geneva, because it might crowd my plans too much to expect to take the examinations there in June, then travel to California to take the August examinations should these become necessary. I was afraid such a rush might destroy my chances of entering Stanford that same year. I decided to start for California early next spring and to take both the New York Board and the Stanford examinations there. I felt that being near the university I expected

* Earning expenses while studying.

† Credits are the units, or marks, by which preparatory work is rated, 15 credits (the number requisite for entrance into College) being the equivalent of 4 years of High School (Secondary School) training.

to enter would give me great advantages in preparing for examinations.

Meanwhile I spent the winter studying by myself as best I could in preparation, taking those printed examination questions sent to me as a guide.

My correspondence with the Dean culminated in a generous invitation to stay in his family upon arrival at Stanford, until I should find employment. This example of American hospitality was not induced by recommendation, powerful patronage or special standing; I had none such. It was due solely to the broad human sympathy and understanding of the Dean and his wife, and to the interest aroused by my earnest desire to obtain an education at whatever cost.

In view of the fact of how very much the successful outcome of my correspondence meant to me, I have never been able to convince cold reason that the incident placing my initial letter into just those hands was pure chance, not destiny,—part of the underlying current of great power which sweeps all life onward and upward.

I left my Swiss Alps in April 1907. My favorite brother, then a student of the University of Bern, accompanied me to Basel on the northern frontier of Switzerland. I think I suffered my greatest pang of definite homesickness right then, as a turn of the night-train for Paris swallowed the sight of him, standing on the station platform.

Having studied none but Swiss geography in school, I had during the past winter felt the need of poring over maps of the world. I had a good general idea of the geography of the United States, but could not have told that I had started on a trip covering about 8600 miles, or 30° of latitude. All I knew was that it would take me about two weeks to reach my destination and I felt absolutely confident of my safety and success.

I had eagerly planned to be able to spend one day in what had appeared to me a fabled dream-city, Paris. My concrete knowledge of Paris was very limited, but two things stood out as magnets in my mind: the Eiffel tower and the Louvre. The size of the first I had never been quite able to imagine; the second was to me a symbol of all the beautiful things I had hungered for. My train reached Paris in the gray chill dawn and the confusion

and noise, of even these early morning hours, in the metropolis somewhat dampened my assurance and enterprise. I took refuge in a restaurant and dallied over breakfast as long as possible, then, rallying courage and hope, I faced Paris. Suffice it to say that I reached my train at eleven o'clock that night drenched from a sudden rain, tired and in great confusion of mind, emotions, and nerves. I had not seen the Eiffel after all, but I had seen the Louvre. I remembered distinctly only four things: Somewhere in the streets a vividly painted lady, a blind deformed beggar, and in the Louvre the Venus of Milo, and a huge Alabaster bathtub of Nero's time.

Dishevelled and with clothes still wet, into which the color of my travelling rug had run in an ugly blur, I reached Havre the following morning. From the top of a bus, which joggled me roughly over cobble-stoned streets to the wharf, I caught a delighted, breath-bating glimpse of numberless steamermasts and rigging against a blue sky, of the ripples in the muddy, but sun-lit waters of the harbor. I know that the color of hope and joy is just the wonderful, opalescent gray-blue of the ocean into which my ship, La Touraine, sailed that morning.

After a day of slight distress caused by the ship's fateful motion, my ocean-trip proved most delightful. I made friends with a party of young French people who constantly played games on deck. It was only when watching the sun sink into the limitless, homeless waste of the ocean, that my mood turned gray a bit. At such times I went off to play chess with a Catholic priest, who illy hid his blushing vexation over defeats.

On the seventh day I joyously greeted the huge Statue of Liberty rising out of the waters of New York Harbor, and watched the outlines of the "sky-scrapers" grow distinct against the morning sky.

With the knowledge that I was now actually in America, an intangible something, the need of self-assertion perhaps, rushed through me. I felt as if I were already a student of Stanford University and therefore "belonged", and must act like it and not show ignorance, or weakness, or stupidity. More than I actually felt, I assumed to be experienced, efficient, and privileged, and did not keep my Stanford intentions hidden when I came in contact

with people. I believe this attitude, in addition to travelling second class, helped me to get through the immigration department and the customs house without difficulty.

However, I did not venture into the heart, much less into the by-paths of New York, for this city of four million people was too vast and I knew too little of where to go and felt too much alone. I merely went to the railroad office to choose the route to California and buy my ticket for the 3000 mile trip across the continent. In my mountain home I had so often longed to see the ocean and the desert, both symbolic to me of the Vast Unknown. The ocean I had seen: there now remained the desert. I decided first to go from New York to Niagara Falls, then down to Kansas City, and let the Santa Fe Railroad take me through the vast arid land of New Mexico and Arizona.

New York overwhelmed me with its rushing, torrent-voiced, complex, man-built vastness; Niagara Falls soothed me with the simple, changelessly-changing vastness of nature force. My soul expanded and grew big with wonder: it all seemed such a fitting and natural preparation for what was in store for me—the exploration of the sacred fields of knowledge.

Leaving Buffalo near Niagara Falls, the train carried me along the shores of Lake Erie on to Chicago, then into the great plains, still water-soaked from the spring-thawing, across the yellow waters of the Mississippi, and still farther on into endless miles of plains. Closing my eyes, I could vividly picture the waving prairie grass with its man-high sunflowers, among which wild buffalo herds grazed quietly till the Red Man on his horse flashed upon them like a streak of lightning. Opening my eyes, I saw through the car windows the rich, cultured lands and settled homes and prospering towns of the white man, from which all trace of the Red Man had vanished; and I felt at once sorry and ashamed and glad.

I made no friends on the train, desiring to watch alone the endlessly changing picture outside and to dream undisturbed. About the fourth day we reached the deserts of New Mexico. As eagerly as I had observed the Negro porter on the train, I watched for the signs of the Red Indian's

life in these regions, and was delighted when Indian women and children began to crowd the train to sell their wares of baskets, beads, and sunbaked pottery. To contact these other races was so interesting to me that I would gladly have spoken to them had opportunity offered.

The desert! How well could I understand the famed love of the Arab for his home! The weird mystery and color-spell of the distant tablelands across flat desert spaces at sunrise and sundown, the still brilliance of noonday, the uncanny bloom of big dream-flowers in the midst of waterless wastes, left the greatest impress of my journey. From the windows I had noticed some especially delicately colored, large, cup-shaped flowers on gray-green stems. Somehow they seemed to me to embody all the weirdness and wonder of the desert. I was determined to pluck one and keep it always. Towards evening of the fourth day the train stopped at a watertank in the midst of a houseless, treeless, sandy waste. In the gathering dusk those flowers called and beckoned to me. After hurriedly inquiring of the porter, I judged I had time enough to pick just one bloom. The stem of the first flower was tough and thorny and I struggled unsuccessfully to break it, and ran over the land to the second and third blossom that lured me on, for, glancing backwards, I saw the train still motionless. Wrapping my handkerchief around my fingers, I finally succeeded in breaking off the creamy, rose-tipped flower. As I straightened up, the train gave its signal and started moving. I rushed towards it through the retarding sand sickening at the thought of being left alone on the darkening desert, miles and miles away from human habitations. Someone noticed me and wildly waved from the car windows, and the porter, standing on the steps of the last car, shouted to me. I don't know if the train slowed down again a little, I only know that the porter clutched my arm and literally flung me onto the train, and we glided on into the desert night. But I had my flower!

Then we reached California. Passing through a broad, spring-green valley of southern California, I looked out over the plain towards the soft-rolling hills and my eyes fastened on a broad hillside of radiant golden yellow. Never had I seen nature's brush dash on such a huge splash of sunny color anywhere. It was the glor

of the "California Poppy," the State flower,—and California's welcome to me!

The Dean of Stanford had kindly offered to meet me at the train and for this purpose I was to telegraph the time of my arrival. When leaving New York, I had not been able to definitely ascertain how long my journey would take, and so delayed the message. My desert experience intimidated me so that I did not leave my train again anywhere, and as I did not know that I could have ordered the porter to send my telegram, the strain and rush of the trip brought me all the way to California without having sent my message to the Dean. I had literally accepted the New York information that my train would take me to San Francisco, and so was quite unprepared to find myself, at the terminus of the railroad line, in a town called Oakland. I had no exact geographical idea of just where I, or Oakland, or San Francisco was, and where and how I would find Stanford University. I was ushered onto a ferry-boat that carried me out into the bay of the "Golden Gate." Never shall I forget the joy and fear of that glorious morning, as I stood on the deck of this boat in the brisk morning wind sweeping in from the Pacific Ocean, and saw the tower of the high Ferry Building and the house-crowned hills of San Francisco rise out of the silvery ripples of the bay.

At the Ferry Building I obtained the information that Stanford University had no railroad station, that in order to reach it I had to go to the town of Palo Alto, an hour's trainride distant from San Francisco, but that I must first cross this city to another railroad station before being able to take train for Palo Alto. All this seemed so involved. In addition I discovered that, on account of labor strikes, the streetcars of San Francisco were not running and that it was not easy to obtain cabs. Tired and strained from the lonely trip of two weeks, these new issues loomed up disproportionately confusing to the breakfastless girl in the strange town. Had I known that each large station in the United States has a "matron," whose business it is to look after travelling girls, I would have been spared all this anxiety and my transfers would have been made easy.

I finally managed to secure a cab, release my baggage, and upon arriving

at the other station, sent my telegram to the Dean. When I stepped out of the train at Palo Alto, his friendly face met me and made me realize more deeply than before the value of the human smile.

I arrived during the Stanford University graduation festivities in May, and the witnessing of these fired me with a further, and almost painful zest, a deeply reverent ambition to be "one of those who wore the cap and gown", one of those who "knew." At that time I could not for the world have formulated a definite idea of just what I wanted to know. Had I been asked, I would naively have answered "all things", so little had my scattered efforts and the intensely local, mountain-valley-reading-writing-arithmetic-schooling I had received in Switzerland opened my outlook and discernment for the things beyond its walls of crags and glaciers, or my perception of my own special needs and aptitudes. But in that "all things" which I longed to know, to understand, lay a hidden country of wonderful magnetic mysteries and powers. I have since often smiled at the childlike respect I then paid to the symbol of knowledge, "the cap and gown", but it helped me to understand the power of symbolism in all things from a child's doll to the stone-hewn god of a race.

Arrived at Stanford, my whole remaining fortune consisted of two dollars and fifty cents, therefore my first efforts were to find work. Through the help of the Dean I obtained on the tenth day a position as governess in a family at fifty dollars a month and all living expenses. It seemed a fortune. I had to instruct one pupil in all the common school-subjects, six hours of teaching daily. In addition to the actual teaching she was under my steady surveillance from seven thirty in the morning until eight thirty at night. Not until after that was I free to prepare for the following day's work with my pupil and also for the coming college examinations.

While in that position, I took at Stanford the examinations of the New York Board,—sealed questions sent from New York, opened, answered, and sealed again in the presence of Stanford professors, and returned to the jury in New York City.

As before-mentioned, I had studied without tutor or schooling some of the subjects in which I was examined. All examinations were held in English, a tongue

with which I was not thoroughly familiar. The knowledge of this disadvantage prepared me so that I was not overwhelmingly surprised or disappointed when the answer came that I had failed,—fallen short of the fifteen credits required for entrance into the University. The returns accredited me with only eleven one half. I could not help but feel that, counting all odds, even the eleven one half credits signalled a definite achievement.

Once more after the thirteen-hour-days of work with my backward pupil came the periods of further eager preparation. I included some new subjects I had studied in German only, subjects in which I had never read one line, much less thought of, in English. It was no easy task, but it was the only opportunity left for gaining admission to a systematic course in higher education.

The strain proved too much; I failed to succeed in my position as governess and lost it after two months. The house in which I had spent these weeks stood on a hill overlooking the University buildings and grounds. On an afternoon of brilliant California sunshine which made the fair Santa Clara Valley below me vibrate with heat, I started to walk down that hill. Half way down, in full view of the University, I seated myself under a tree—behind me a house which signified failure,—before me the red, tiled roofs of my coveted goal which at that moment seemed more difficult of attainment than ever before. Under that tree, with pride wounded, the sense of failure heavy upon me, utterly sick at heart, ashamed, lonely, rebellious at fate, I went through the bitterest hours of my sojourn in America.

On reaching the University, I found that the family of the Dean was away to the mountains on the three-month summer vacations. The Campus* was deserted, students and professors all being away. It was as if I had suddenly stepped out of the spring-meadow of my dreams into a snow-blown cemetery.

It was imperative for me to find work and a place to live; but little work was to be had and I felt timid. Eventually I found employment as helper to a landlady

who rented rooms to girl students. I cooked her meals, helped her sew, and prepare the empty house for the expected occupants. It held but one guest then: a woman-instructor of the University, doing special summer work at the library. To her I opened my heart, glad of her warm sympathy, and found in her my first American woman friend.

Here I had sufficient leisure to prepare for the examinations and remained till the girls began to arrive. The very first arrival was the daughter of a Senator, a dear little freshman,† who, because of her homesickness, wept bitterly on my shoulder. I wondered how a girl with the rare good fortune of living near her family, and of being helped by her father to the splendid privilege of higher education, could cry?—cry!—Had education so little value to those who obtained it without effort? Then the miraculous: I, the foreigner, comforted her! To me it was a strangely significant position; my heart grew big with the joy of it: more alone and poorer than I had ever been in my life, still I was able to comfort, give. I was helping an American girl!—It gave me the sense of belonging, of being at home. Why, I realized all at once that irrespective of national or other divisions, I was one of and at one with the glorious band of free womanhood crowding to the fountains of knowledge. Insignificant as seems this little incident, which brought to me the feeling of solidarity with American girls, yet it is etched on my memory with letters of fire. That feeling of sisterhood, of mutual need and helpfulness, never left me, but increased as I came to know more of the girls and admired their openheartedness and independence, their freedom and courage.

Sisters of India,—I feel sure that the American girls will give you what they gave me; and they will profit by the contact of mutual interests and ideals. Your brothers, the Hindustanee students, have paved the way for your reception, and many American women will extend you a glad welcome. Race prejudice is not strong in academic circles and I am convinced that you will meet with even less than your brothers. At this time, the

* Campus designates the ground owned by American Universities, on which the University and sometimes dwelling-buildings are situated. The Stanford University campus contains about 1000 acres.

† "Freshmen" are first-year students. The four years of college are divided into Freshman, Sophomore, Junior and Senior classes.

only Hindu girl studying in the high-schools of San Francisco, is a welcome and respected fellow-student and greatly liked by the faculty.

To return to my narrative: In August I passed my Stanford examinations and received all the entrance credits required and one to spare. Think of it, one to spare! After my former failure, can you imagine what that meant?

Unfortunately when stepping down from my chair after the history examination, I fell and sprained my ankle and therefore began my Stanford career, attended my first lectures, on crutches. But though I limped on crutches—I was really soaring on pinions in a sunlit limitless sky. I was nearing my goal.

(To be concluded).

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: A HINDU'S IMPRESSIONS AND A STUDY: by Lala Lajpat Rai, Calcutta, R. Chatterjee, 210-3-1 Cornwallis Street. Price Rs. 2-3-0 pp. 421.

In several ways the problems of the United States are similar to those that face us, and this led Mr. Lajpat Rai to think that an account of them and of the manner in which they have been dealt with in the United States might be of some help to Indians. Mr. Lajpat Rai travelled widely in the United States and came into personal contact with the leaders of the various movements described in the book, and his exposition may therefore be taken to be thoroughly authoritative. Indeed, a large portion of the book consists of extracts from various publications not easily available to outsiders. These extracts are often very interesting and instructive, but sometimes they go too minutely into details and are rather tiresome. The author does not touch all the phases of American life and activity and in this he has acted wisely, for it would be impossible to deal even cursorily with all of them within the compass of a single book. The volume before us is highly instructive and stimulating reading, and Mr. Chatterjee has rendered a patriotic service by undertaking its publication. To the fact that he has read the proofs himself we owe the almost total absence of printing mistakes—no mean achievement for an Indian publisher of an English book. The get-up and binding are excellent, and so are the few illustrations with which the book has been embellished. Considering the quantity of valuable matter compressed within its covers, the price seems to us to be exceedingly cheap. Had the book been brought out by an English firm, the price would certainly have been higher.

The problem of school education in the United States is by no means easy to solve. In some schools in Boston, New York and Chicago the children of the immigrants speak as many as 25 different languages. In certain factories and workshops of these cities the languages spoken are even larger in number. But in spite of these complications, almost every child is put through a course of primary education extending over eight years. The expenditure on education is simply stupendous.

There are twenty Universities which spend from 30 lakhs of rupees annually to one crore and 30 lakhs of rupees. The total income of the University of Columbia is over two crores of rupees, that of Chicago over a crore, those of Harvard and Wisconsin, nearly a crore. And yet each of these universities is a private institution. Evidently the Americans consider gifts in the cause of education to be the best of all kinds of gifts, for in this respect they stand unsurpassed in the world. In the Panama-Pacific International exposition, the following statement was exhibited in big capital letters by the United States Government:—

(1) "The State that fails to educate dooms its children to industrial subjugation to those states that do educate. More than once have nations lost their land for lack of education.

"Shall we prepare our children to hold this land?"

"(2) The School, the University, the Laboratory, and the workshop are the battlefields of this new warfare. The weapons which science places in the hands of those who engage in great rivalries of commerce leave those who are without them, however brave, as badly off as were the Dervishes of Omdarman against the maxims of Lord Kitchner. Shall our children be Industrial Dervishes?"

The special features of the American system of Education have been summarised by Mr. Lajpat Rai. They are:—(1) The absence of any special schemes for the sons of the richer section of the people of the United States. "Its Rockefellers, Carnegies, and Morgans can purchase empires. Yet their sons are educated in the same schools in which the sons of the ordinary day labourers learn their A.B.C." (2) A very large part of the school education is in the hands of women. Most of the Grammar schools, and the majority of the High Schools, are staffed by women. (3) Boys and girls study in the same schools and colleges from the Kindergarten upwards. (4) The American Educational institutions are centres of social life. School buildings are freely used for social functions and public recreations. (5) American games are even more risky and dangerous than those prevailing in English schools. (6) Schools and Colleges give every possible encouragement to self-supporting boys and girls. Such students are not looked down upon either by the staff or by their fellow-students. The students who sweep or clean rooms or attend at

table at dinner time do not lose their social prestige in any way among their mates on that account. (7) All matters relating to discipline are under the control of a council elected by the students themselves, so that the Government of these little republics is in the hands of the students. (8) The Presidents of the American Universities wield the greatest possible influence on the public life of the country. Education is intimately connected with politics, and it is the duty of those connected with education to help to solve the vital problems that affect society.

A good deal of valuable information has been garnered in this book on the American Negroes, the pariahs of the United States. On the 1st January 1863 they were emancipated by President Lincoln, but "today the Negro is politically as much a zero in the South as he was before the emancipation." Mr. Booker Washington and his (white) American friends who endowed the Tuskegee Institute were in favour of the industrial training of the Negro as opposed to higher education, but the new school of Negroes, led by such brilliant writers as Dean Miller and others, "insinuate that those who champion the industrial training of the Negro at the cost of facilities for higher liberal education, do so with the motive of keeping him down. Their ideal of an educated Negro is an efficient servant, an industrious and intelligent mechanic, or carpenter, or mason. They do not want Negro thinkers, or writers, or publicists; nor do they want the Negro in the higher professions, which produce politicians and leaders. They are prepared to educate him according to his present position in life, to improve his earning capacity up to a certain limit; to increase his efficiency and value as an economic factor of the lower order; to enable him to live a clean contented life on the lower rungs of the ladder. They do not want him to be so highly educated as to claim perfect equality with the white in all the departments of life, political, intellectual, religious, moral and economic. Intellectual equipment of a high order leads to aspirations which are incongruous to the ruling class and they, therefore, are anxious to dry up the very fountains from which these "aspirations spring." As Dean Miller says: "Develop the man; the rest will follow. The final expression of education is.....in terms of Manhood which is the substance and summation of all.....That education of the youth, especially of the suppressed class, that does not make insistent and incessant appeals to the smothered manhood (I had almost said Godhood) within, will prove to be but vanity and vexation of spirit.....A race, like an individual, that compromises its own self-respect, paralyzes and weakens its own energies.....The educated Negro must express his manhood in terms of courage, in the active as well as the passive voice; courage to do as well as to endure; courage to contend for the right while suffering wrong; the courage of self-belief that is always commensurate with the imposed task. The world believes in a race that believes in itself, but justly despises the self-bemeaned.....If you would perpetuate the industrial incapacity of the Negro, then confine him to the low grounds of drudgery and toil and prevent him from casting his eyes into the hills whence come inspiration and promise.....The most effective prayer that can be uttered for the Negro is, 'Lord, open Thou his eyes.'" Yet in spite of these complaints, Mr. Lajpat Rai is of opinion that generally speaking, the Negro has better and larger facilities for education than the Indians have in their own country. For one thing, the illiteracy of the race has been cut down to 45 per cent. There

is a second feature of the education of the Negro which puts an Indian to indescribable shame, viz., the education of the Negro women. In the (Negro) University at Atlanta, more than one half of the students are girls.

There is no State established church in America, but the Christian denominations having churches and organisations number several hundreds. Mr. Lajpat Rai thinks that there is neither an utter lack of spirituality in America, nor are they intensely religious. "If religion means devotion to a principle, material or spiritual, America has plenty of it. There is enough of singlemindedness in American life." The desire for pleasure and power is the dominating passion of the western man and woman. Serious thought and serious work is only a means to an end, —the acquisition and the accumulation of power, power to possess, power to enjoy, even power to do good, power to serve. The decline of faith is thus described by a widely-read writer: "Men long for a basis of life which shall be as credible to the intellect as it is inspiring to the soul.....And this is what at present they have failed to find. The church, they say, feeds the heart at the expense of the brain.....The church offers peace at the expense of truth." The New Thought movement is considered by many to be the most spiritual and promising movement in America. It is steadily gaining in strength and adherence. Some of the ideas associated with it are: —that disease is of mental origin instead of material; that right thinking brings health to the body and prosperity to one's affairs; that right thoughts about oneself heal perverted appetites and desires; that knowledge can conquer death; that self-mastery gives one power to control the elements; that God-love in the heart will destroy all enmity on the part of people, animals and other creatures; that there is no limit to thought and its power except what thought puts upon itself. A great feature of this movement is the healing of bodily and mental disease.

The chapter on charity and social service is profoundly interesting and highly instructive. Mr. Lajpat Rai truly says that the very fact that there is such a great need for charity shows how defective society is in every country—while it perhaps raises the giver, if he acts in a spirit of duty, it certainly lowers the one who receives it. But he recognises that "so long as the world is what it is, it is next best that charity should be administered, not by individuals, but by organisations [as in America]; that it should be administered as a social obligation and a part of national duty rather than simply as an outcome of pity and sympathy [as in India]." "Whatever else may be said of the people of America, it cannot be said of them that they are not charitable. It rarely happens in the world that those who have most, give most. America is, however, an exception.....But what is most instructive about the charities of America is their thorough organisation and the scientific spirit which underlies them." "This is a land of extremes. While you find here perhaps the biggest crowd of sharpers, cheats and scoundrels in the world, men who have no scruples to rob or cheat even the orphan, the widow and the helpless, you come across perhaps the largest number of men and women who have dedicated their lives to the service of the Lord and Humanity. While the credal chains are loosening, the broader interests of true charity and true humanity are being strengthened. All this is very creditable, stimulating and refreshing. But what is even of greater value is the evolving of a scientific spirit in the administering of charity and

the application of scientific methods in preventing misery and removing poverty and distress. Business methods and humanitarian instincts are combined in making charity effective, not only in the immediate relief of the sufferer, but also in providing a normal and a healthy future for him. The object is immediate relief as well as future prevention,—individual help as well as national efficiency. The thoroughness with which charity and social service work is conducted in this country is amazing. It is one of the biggest departments of human activity in which the national Government, the State, the city, the church, the private benefactor, the scientific investigator, the scholar, and the business expert, all cooperate.....The work of these organisations, the investigations made by their agency, the facts brought to light by them, the experiments made by them in relieving and preventing distress, the knowledge gained by a study of the needs of the different strata of society covered by their activities, throw such a flood of light on human problems and social science as to form a material help in the advance of civilisation and in the intelligent progress of humanity."

The author passes on to the Philippine Islands, where the political and educational progress since the American conquest has been wonderful. The declared policy of the American administration has "for its sole object the preparation of the Philippine peoples for popular self-government in their own interests and not in the interests of the United States." The opposition to the adoption of an Imperialistic policy is based on broad humanitarian principles as well as self-interest. It is opposed to both the letter and the spirit of the Republic. In the adoption of a policy of Imperialism the Americans see a menace to their own liberties and the eventual and sure involving of the Republic in international wars. This is a very strong proof of the political wisdom of the people, as well as of the fact that they possess a political conscience much in advance of the rest of the world.

We have already referred to the prominent part taken by women in education. A chapter is devoted to her activities in all spheres of life. There are, for instance, over 1300 women lawyers and nearly ten thousand women physicians. Women in America are almost on a par with men, and in Mr. Lajpat Rai's opinion they are not losing their 'femininity.' About one-fourth of the women in the United States are wage-earners. In the crusade against slavery, women took an intensely active part. There is no large movement on foot in the States with which she is not intimately connected.

Regarding caste in America, the author says that "the worst features of the code of Manu find their parallel in American life.....To me it seems that the Hindu Aryans of India never applied the colour bar so rigidly as the Christian whites of the United States of America are doing today, in the 20th century of the Christian era.....It is ridiculous, therefore, to talk of the existence of the caste system as a bar to political advancement on the lines of the West; nor does it lie in the mouth of the American missionary in India to talk disparagingly of Hinduism for that reason." But of course this applies in full force only in respect of the relations between the whites and the Negroes. As between the whites themselves, there is of course class distinction, which, however unjust, is much less injurious than rigorous division into an almost endless ramification of castes. Mr. Lajpat Rai says: "The rigid caste system we have in India is, without doubt, a social curse and

cannot but be denounced in the most unmeasured terms," and he points out "the paramount duty which Hindus owe to our society and to our country, removing the obnoxious caste barriers that stand in the way of social consolidation, intellectual progress and political advancement."

The status which India enjoys in the great comity of nations is well illustrated by Mr. Lajpat Rai's observation: "Those Mahomedans who can pass as Persians or Turks, or even as Egyptians, are better treated. The Indians (called Hindus regardless of their creed) are however universally despised in other than learned or cultured circles....." Mr. Lajpat Rai is enthusiastic in his praise of the Indian student in America. He "is a prodigy of enterprise and industry and resourcefulness. The story of his struggle against adverse circumstances reads like romance. It makes one proud of the coming generation of one's countrymen.....My complaint against them is that on their return home they do not display that spirit or that respect for labour which pulled them through in this country."

The most profoundly practical question for us has just been touched upon in the short chapter headed "some observations on civilisation." ".....no one can deny that the Western people have had wonderful success in tapping all the resources of humanity, physical and intellectual;.....and that at the present moment they are the masters of the world." Yet Mr. Lajpat Rai has not been able to free himself from the feeling that all is not well with them. ".....If civilisation means a reign of truth, honesty, brotherhood, justice, and equality; then what passes under the name of modern civilisation is not a genuine article.....The world is still dominated by merit; by power and by force—not even benevolent force but aggressive force." "If on the other hand civilisation means the negation of the world, a negation of its reality, a refusal to face it by renouncing it,—a contentment which might bring servility, and an idealism which might end in political bondage, humiliation and disgrace, even then I am unable to reconcile myself to it. In fact if a choice were given to me between the two I would rather choose the former than the latter.....The choice lies between extinction and Europeanisation, unless they [the Oriental nations] can find out a mean by which they may be able to retain the best parts of both and evolve a new and a more humane civilisation of their own. That is the problem before the East, and on the solution of that problem depends the future happiness of the world. When and how it will be solved is in the womb of the future."

We have given only the barest outline of some of the instructive matter with which the book abounds, and leave the readers to profit by the perusal of the entire book. The addition of an index would have enhanced the usefulness of the book for purposes of reference.

II 'MODERN RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN INDIA : by J. N. Farquhar, M. A. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1915. 10s-6d net. pp. 457.

The writer of this review was no stranger to the polemical discussions in which Mr. Farquhar used to take so active a part when he was connected with the Calcutta missions, and is therefore free to confess that he did not take up the book with any prepossessions in its favour. But he is sincerely glad to be able to say that he has risen from a perusal of the book with his esteem for the author distinctly enhanced. It is certainly with no desire to be presumptuously patronising that he records his sense of the

great advance both in breadth and depth which the author has made since those days in his study of the Hindu religion. With increasing knowledge has come greater sympathy and humility, and we can assure the author that "the possibility of totally misconceiving the forces that have created it [the Indian spirit], of fastening one's eye on externals and failing to feel the beatings of the heart," which he apprehends, has, in the book before us, been reduced to a minimum. In saying this we do not by any means intend to convey that Hinduism should be perpetually eulogised and that all that is objectionable and degrading in Hindu life and society should be glossed over. But what we mean to say is that only a sympathetic study of the religious life of the Hindus can give the author that insight and penetration and authority which is essential to endow his contribution with permanent value in the field of thought.

The success of the Theosophical Society, and the hatred against European races which was manifested in the Indian unrest, have considerably jeopardised Christian missionary propagandism, and, these dangers to the missionary cause, which Mr. Farquhar holds most sacred, have led him to make the following sapient observations: "If in spite of exposures which would destroy almost any society, members still remain true to Theosophy, it is clear that it must meet certain needs of our day which otherwise do not find satisfaction.....the Theosophical Society is first of all sympathetic to all religions. It has assumed a generous attitude, the attitude of appreciation and friendliness.....The depths to which Mrs. Besant habitually descends in defending Hinduism will hardly be believed. There is scarcely an exploded doctrine, scarcely a superstitious observance, which she has not defended with the silliest and most shameful arguments.....But there is another side to all this. It is a simple matter of fact that for several decades Hindu and Buddhist thought and civilisation were most unjustly depreciated and unmercifully condemned by missionaries, by Europeans in general, and even by some Hindus. Only a few Orientalists escape this censure. There was thus really good reason for a crusade in defence of these systems." Again, "We must also frankly acknowledge that every piece of self-complacent, ill-informed, unsympathetic criticism of Indian religion, society, and life, whether written by tourist, missionary, or official, helped to inflame the sense of wrong and to embitter the resentment....." These two extracts will give a fair idea of the point of view which the author has conscientiously attempted to maintain throughout his exposition of Hindu religious movements which are so antagonistic in some respects to his own Christian faith.

The book before us is of course not an exposition of Hindu religious movements alone. The Islamic movements in India are also shortly discussed, e. g., the rationalism of Sir Syed Ahmed, and the heterodox movement started by Ghulam Ahmed of Qadian. The reforming schisms like the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, and the Arya Samaj necessarily occupy a prominent place; and theosophy and the exposure of its frauds and miracles and its quarrels with the Christian missionaries take up a disproportionately large space. Here and there we meet with minor errors in detail; and the religious and political bias of the author peeps out in odd corners, as for instance, in his detection of Christian influence in every Indian movement of reform, or his approval of the overthrow of Gokhale's universal primary education Bill. But on the whole, what strikes us is not that

the bias should be there at all, but that there is so little of it. And we must speak in high terms of the author's industry which enabled him to gather such a mass of useful information regarding the main currents of religious life in India, commencing from the beginning of the nineteenth century down to the present day.

The very classification of the subject and the main heads under which it has been divided shows the author's true grasp of historical perspective. He begins with an account of (1) movements favouring vigorous reform, e. g., the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj. "All these movements oppose idolatry and caste and none of the leaders have been ascetics. Of all the religious movements of the nineteenth century the Brahmo Samaj has, without doubt, proved the most influential." This is followed by an account of (2) reforms, tempered by defence of the old faiths, as in the Arya Samaj, the Radha Swami sect, the Deva Samaj etc., culminating in (3) the full defence of the old religions, and under this head we have an account of Theosophy, the Ramkrishna Mission, Caste conferences, the Bharat Dharma Mahamandala, and sectarian movements all over India. "There is a wonderful outburst of freshness, energy and initiative. Many forms of new efforts and organisation appear. The most pronounced line of thought is a growing desire to defend Hinduism, and an increasing confidence in its defensibility." There are also other chapters on social reform and service; religious nationalism, and on the significance of the various movements.

All the prominent religious leaders, e. g., Ram Mohan Ray, Devendranath Tagore, Keshubchandra Sen, Madam Blavatsky, Dayananda, Ramkrishna, Vivekananda, etc., have been sympathetically described. It is not of course to be expected that all will agree with the author's estimate of these men and women and their relative influence and importance, but few will, I believe, dispute that in its general outlines it is fairly accurate. Among the powers shaping the thought-current of contemporary India, the *Modern Review* unfortunately has come in for a vigorous attack at Mr. Farquhar's hands. He says: "Under the impulse of national feeling, the tables were completely turned: not only the religious but everything Oriental was glorified as spiritual and ennobling, while everything Western received condemnation as hideously materialistic and degrading..... The *Modern Review*, perhaps the best and the most representative of the monthlies at present, frequently contains a good deal of bombast; and the youthful graduates who speak and write of Hinduism have far too much of Vivekananda's swagger about them." Elsewhere, in this book, Vivekananda is said to have "exercised a fine influence on young India in one direction. He summoned his fellow countrymen to stand on their own feet, to trust themselves, and to play the man; and his words were not without fruit." So the swagger of the "young graduates" [why necessarily 'young' ?] is perhaps only their desire to play the man. It is not our purpose to defend the *Modern Review*—this can safely be left to the far abler hands of the editor* but it seems to us that the standpoint from which we have reviewed Mr. P. N. Bose's "Illusions of New India" as recently as in the last number of this magazine, before we had read a page of Mr. Farquhar's book, is a complete refutation of the charge.

We proceed to give some extracts from the book which may prove interesting. According to Dr.

* He does not care to do it—Editor, *M. R.*

Griswold of Lahore, "Pandit Dayanand Sarasvati was a man of large views. He was a dreamer of splendid dreams. He had a vision of India purged of her superstitions, filled with the fruits of science, worshipping one God, fitted for self-rule, having a place in the sisterhood of nations, and restored to her ancient glory. All this was to be accomplished by throwing overboard the accumulated superstitions of the centuries and returning to the pure and inspired teachings of the Vedas." Mr. Farquhar proceeds to show that it was highly probable that Dayananda's statements about the Veda were not matters of conviction but of diplomacy, that he thought that a religion must have some superstition as its basis, and that he had chosen the infallibility of the Vedas, because nothing else would be accepted by Hindus. And on this ground Mr. Farquhar prophesies that the Arya Samaj will not have a great history, for the false interpretation of the Vedas will crumble down as enlightenment proceeds. Ramkrishna "impressed all who came in contact with him as a most sincere soul, a God-intoxicated man; but what distinguished his message from the teaching of others was his defence of everything Hindu and his theory that all religions are true." The author recognises that the progressive tendency in the various caste conferences is stronger than the conservative, and that they are movements of religious and social reform. But he quotes the following from the *Indian Social Reformer*: "The idea of caste conferences has always been repugnant to us, even when they have for their object the prosecution of social reforms. The caste sentiment is so ingrained in the Hindu mind, it so deeply permeates every fibre of our being, and it so thoroughly colours our outlook, that it seems to us that the only effective course for those who wish to see this state of mind altered, is resolutely to cut themselves off from anything savouring of the idea.....An occasional European like Mrs. Annie Besant may allow her intellect to play with the idea of caste without much practical effect. Her nervous system is strung to different social ideals, and mere intellection does not produce conduct. But with one who is born a Hindu and who believes caste to be the great monster we have to kill, only one attitude is safe and possible. He must not associate himself with any movement which, under whatever name or pretext, aims at setting up caste to its goal and standard. To the subtle poison of caste, its self-complacency, and its pharisaism, the Hindu nervous system has for centuries been accustomed to respond. Unconsciously, the best and most resolute of reformers are apt to have the old monster taking liberties with them if they slide into the attitude of acquiescence in such movements." Regarding the Bharat Dharma Mahamandala the author says: "Through its extreme orthodoxy the Mahamandala has won the adherence of numerous ruling princes and sectarian pontiffs; and tens of thousands of young Hindus are ready to applaud both its theological position and its propaganda; but of the many thousands who shout approval there are very few indeed who are willing to lay hand to the work. The contrast between orthodoxy and such bodies as the Brahma Samaj or the Arya Samaj in this regard is very striking, and very significant: there is no spontaneous living energy in the orthodox community. Then thinking Hindus all over the country disapprove very seriously of the reactionary character of its teaching." The author then quotes a passage from the *Leader of Allahabad* which says: "It is so

very reactionary in its religious and social tendencies and activities that far from promoting the well being and advancement of the community, it does a lot of harm—whenever it does anything at all, that is to say." The Mahamandala, however, is a bold attempt to gather together the whole of the Hindu people in a single organisation, and "the foundation of such an organisation is in itself a portent. Hinduism has never in the course of its whole history been a single organisation...Nor until now has the Hindu ever felt the need of union for defence." The Arya Samaj, the most successful of modern reform organisations, has thrown off all the trammels of superstition except the doctrine of the infallibility of the Vedas. Will not that bright day ever dawn on Hindustan, when the Hindus, gathering under one united organisation like the Mahamandala, will be able to throw off the yoke of this last stronghold of orthodoxy and superstition, and open themselves out to the light of truth and knowledge from every quarter of the globe, taking their firm stand on the glorious culture and traditions of their great Indo-Aryan progenitors?

One-sixth of the whole population of India, a vast mass of humanity out-numbering all the people of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, are known as the outcastes, untouchables, panchamas, or the depressed classes. These untouchables, as soon as they are baptised, receive a new standing and are no longer untouchable. Hinduism thus puts a most tempting premium before these communities for their wholesale conversion to Christianity. As the Tiyas on the west coast of Southern India said in their address to Mrs. Besant in 1904: "When you visited Calicut you were admitted as a guest in one of the palaces belonging to a member of the Zamorin's family. This was rendered possible by the fact of your having become a convert to Hinduism. But as we are Hindus by very birth we are prevented from approaching the place.....Even the sight of us within close proximity is a source of pollution.....If under the circumstances we are to gain admission to places accessible to you, we find a way to it through you. And it is this:—It is impossible for us to be born Christians. We shall therefore become Christian converts first and then turn Hindu as you have done. This will relieve us of our disability as you have cured yourself of your disability." Truly does Mr. Farquhar say: "Yet, in spite of many cries of danger the conscience of India has been waked. Men realise that it is *wrong* to hold down the outcaste. Then the new Nationalist consciousness feels so distinctly the need of unifying the nation and of strengthening every element in the population that the problem of transforming these fifty millions of crushed Indians into vigorous citizens is felt to be one of the most pressing national problems."

The characteristics of the era of religious nationalism have been thus described by the author. "In this new era, we have the assertion of the full independence of the Indian mind. The educated Indian now regards himself as a full-grown man, the equal in every respect of the cultured European, not to be set aside as an Asiatic, or as a member of a dark race. He claims the right of thinking his own thoughts; and he is quite prepared to burn what he has hitherto adored and to create a new heaven and a new earth. This adult self-confidence was immeasurably strengthened by the victory of Japan over Russia. Every Asiatic felt himself recreated by that great event. To all Asiatic lands it was a crisis in race-history, the moment when the age-old flood of European

aggression was turned back. The exultation which every Indian felt over the victory lifted the national spirit to its height and gave a new note of strength to the period. The patriotism of to-day makes the feeling which inspired the Congress seem a very bloodless thing indeed. Men now live at fever-heat, carried beyond themselves by a new overmastering devotion to the good of India. But there is clear sight as well as passion. The new nationalism is much more serious and open eyed than the thin old politicalism. It is burdened, tortured, driven forward by the conviction that the whole national life needs to be re-inspired and reborn. Finally, whether in anarchists or in men of peace, the new nationalism is willing to serve and suffer." Regarding anarchism we have this fine passage: "Anarchism flung itself against the British Government and fell back broken. The whole movement was a pitiful piece of waste, —waste of energy, patriotic feeling, literary skill, and human life. One cannot look back upon it without a very heavy heart, as one thinks of all the dignity and worth of the character and feeling which were perverted and flung away. But the same high love for India and will to be spent for her sake have found healthy channels for themselves along various lines. In all these movements the main notes of the period ring out very distinctly: the end in view in each case is the national advancement; the religious sanction is always in the background, even if it is not distinctly expressed; the work is of the nature of unselfish service; and high passion inspires the whole."

Regarding Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the author speaks thus: ".....he is the very flower of the new nationalist movement representing at their very highest the noblest motives that have stirred the people of India since the new century began. His position is central. Though he is the son of Devendranath Tagore, he no longer holds his father's religious position. He expects, as he said to me a few months ago, that the regeneration of India will come through gradual change within the body of Hinduism itself rather than from the action of any detached society like the Brahma Samaj...."

The value of the work done by Theosophy is thus estimated: "It has certainly popularised, in Europe and America, a number of the best Oriental books, such as the Upanishads and the Gita, and has taught Theosophists to sympathise with Orientals and think of them as brothers; while in India it has helped to restore to the Hindu and the Buddhist that self-respect which tended to evaporate amid the almost universal depreciation of Oriental thought, life and art."

It would be unfair to Mr. Farquhar if, before closing our review, we failed to give another extract from a passage occurring in the last chapter of his book in which he expresses his innermost conviction, as a zealous Christian, that Hinduism is doomed. "The triumphant revival of the old religions with their growing body-guard of defence organisations, has been accompanied by *continuous and steadily increasing inner decay*. This most significant of all facts in the history of these movements seems to be scarcely perceived by the leaders. They believe that the danger is past. This blindness arises largely from the fact that they draw their apologetic and their inspiration almost entirely from Ramkrishna, Vivekananda, Sister Nivedita, Dayananda, and Mrs. Besant; and it is clear that neither capable thinking nor clear-eyed perception can be bred on such teaching as theirs.....While the apologists have been busy

building their defences these last forty years, Western influence has been steadily moulding the educated Hindu mind and rendering it altogether incapable of holding the ideas which form the foundation of the religion. Hence we have many defences of idolatry but no faith in it." But as Sir John Seely said long ago, there is such a thing as 'the superstitious dread of superstition,' and we are convinced that idolatry is not the rock on which the ship of Hinduism will founder, because the real significance of it is well known even to illiterate Hindus, and the underlying belief in the oneness of God is deeply imprinted on the Hindu mind. Mr. Farquhar, however, says that the doctrines of Karma and Transmigration are no longer seriously believed in, and so caste has no religious basis left. The Vedic schools are dying; Asceticism is clearly dying. The monasteries of Sankaracharya are on the way to extinction. From all these indications Mr. Farquhar draws his inference that the days of Hinduism are numbered. But it may be permitted to a Hindu to hope that Hinduism, which has survived the shock of ages and outlasted all the ancient civilisations of the world, inspite of 'the very serious trampling under foot,' to quote Mr. Farquhar, involved in foreign subjugation, is not destined to die. No strait-laced creed impedes its latent capacity for expansion; its philosophy is admittedly in harmony with the most advanced scientific thought of the day—which is more than can be said of any other religion in the world. If the present condition of Christianity is to be judged from such popular hand-books as Draper's 'Conflict of Religion and Science,' and Bury's 'History of Freedom of Thought,' it would seem that Christianity is in its last gasp. The bombardment of the Rheims Cathedral by the Germans was denounced by the entire civilised world not because a 'house of God' had suffered disaster, but because a splendid work of art had been destroyed. As a writer in the *Century Magazine*, referring to this incident, says, Apollo has triumphed over Christ. And yet Mr. Farquhar no doubt thinks that Christianity stands in no danger and the church which persecuted Galileo looks approvingly on while the Society for the Promotion of *Christian* knowledge, with exquisite if unconscious humour, stamps its name on text-books on astronomy issued under its auspices. Hinduism is co-extensive with the culture, traditions, and the civilisation of the Indo-Aryan race, and has been well defined by a thoughtful Hindu to be what the majority of Hindus at any given time think and do. To us it seems that whether Hinduism will live or die will depend on her adaptability to her environments. Mr. Farquhar draws attention to the close parallel between the Roman religion and Hinduism, and implies that the fate of the former is also reserved for the latter. Apart from the fact that primitive Christianity was far different from its modern representative, Hinduism, as Sir Herbert Risley points out in his 'People of India,' is as adaptive as Paganism, while it is stronger than the latter in ethics and metaphysics and weaker only in national sentiment. But the patriotic sentiment has made its appearance in the country and vivified the entire national consciousness in a manner never dreamt of before, and the beneficent results of its reforming activities have been well described by Mr. Farquhar himself in the book under review. Therefore the leaders of progressive Hinduism are not mistaken when they think that the decay of ritualism and the progress of rationalism in Hindu religious movements are not symptoms of

inner decay, but rather the contrary. The various liberalising movements in the bosom of Hinduism are a sure sign that the life of Hinduism is not extinct, and already there are those in every part of India who, like the Aryan Brotherhood in Bombay and the Arya Samaj in the Punjab, led by their patriotic feeling, are looking earnestly forward to the day when, purged of its greatest blight, the caste system, Hinduism will once more truly deserve the name of Sanatan Dharma or Everlasting Religion which it is its proud privilege to bear.

POL.

Ahana. BY AUROBINDO GHOSE: *The Modern Press, Pondicherry.*

The poetry of Aurobindo Ghose is a meeting-place of European classicism and Asiatic universalism. It is inspired by the philosophy of the Vedas: it is shaped and atmospherised like Greece, or the Greece that is dimly incarnate in English poetry. That is probably why—in view of the co-ordination that philosophy sets between outer and inner—Mr. Ghose, an Indian, writes in unimpeachable English, and is compelled by extraneous circumstances to write and publish his poems in European India. The French connection is not quite clear. It may be the nearest territorial approximation to Greece: from the literary point of view, Ghose and French modern lyrical fervour are not synonymous, though something of the large quietness of Hugo might be credited to him.

What strikes one most in the poems in "Ahana" is the difference between Mr. Ghose's focal point of poetical vision and that of all but a very small minority of writers of verse in English. Nothing is celebrated by him in song for its own sake. The poet's eyes perpetually go behind the thing visible to the thing essential, so that symbol and significance are always in a state of interfusion, and only on the rarest occasion, as in "Evening", does the significance precipitate itself as an obvious and somewhat inartistic tag. For a companion to Mr. Ghose's double-sightedness; the glimpsing simultaneously of norm and form, we have to pass beyond the confines of Europe, and listen to the spiritual songs of AE. The Irish poet has not the patience and expansiveness of his Aryan brother, but in heart and vision they are affined. Mr. Ghose sings thus:

All music is only the sound of His laughter,
All beauty the smile of His passionate bliss;
Our lives are His heart-beats, our rapture the
bridal

Of Radha and Krishna, our love is their kiss.

AE sings:

We liken love to this and that, our thought
The echo of some deeper being seems.
We kiss because God once for beauty sought
Within a world of dreams.

Normally there is a high manasic (thinking) quality in Mr. Ghose's poetry, but it is saved from being mere philosophical argumentation in verse by his eclectic taste in image and phrase. When he escapes into pure sight and speech, he gives us a wholly delightful thing like "Revelation", which stands self-existent in its own authenticity and beauty.

Someone leaping from the rocks
Past me ran with wind-blown locks
Like a startled bright surmise
Visible to mortal eyes,—
Just a cheek of frightened rose
That with sudden beauty glows,

Just a footstep like the wind
And a hurried glance behind,
And there nothing,—as a thought
Escapes the wind ere it is caught.
Someone of the heavenly rout
From behind the veil ran out.

I would venture to suggest to Mr. Ghose that in letting slip such beings from the unsullied Eden of his genius he is giving us something that will spoil our taste for more concrete and less living work. He cannot escape dignity and wisdom (though once he stumbles on tautology when he writes the line

Expunged, annihilated, blotted out;) but we could sometimes spare the dignity and wisdom when they come as an anti-climax, poor minted coin of the brain, like the long whipping of the European dead horse of materialism that somehow or other manages to come after the veritable alchemy of the imagination of the first four stanzas of "In the Moonlight."

If now must pause the bullock's jingling tune,
Here let it be beneath the dreaming trees
Supine and huge that hang upon the breeze,
Here in the wide eye of the silent moon.

How living a stillness reigns! The night's hushed
rule

All things obey but three, the slow wind's sigh
Among the leaves, the cricket's ceaseless cry,
The frog's harsh discord in the ringing pool.

Yet they but seem the silence to increase
And dreadful wideness of the inhuman night.
The whole hushed world immeasurable might
Be watching round this single point of peace.

So boundless is the darkness, and so rife
With thoughts of infinite reach, that it creates
A dangerous sense of space, and abrogates
The wholesome littleness of human life.

That, despite a couple of well-worn rhymes, is superlative. We look toward its author for more and more of its kin. J. C.

INDIAN FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION: by N. M. Muzumdar, B.A., B.Sc. (London), Barrister-at-Law. Bombay. Price 2 annas.

This is a lecture delivered before Indian Economic Society, started under the auspices of the Servants of India Society of Bombay, by Mr. N. M. Muzumdar, till lately Professor in the Sydenham College of Commerce of that city, and constitutes the first of a series of pamphlets which the society proposes to publish from time to time. The subject selected by Mr. Muzumdar for his discourse is a very important one, though so vast and intricate that it is hardly possible to do full justice to it in the course of a single lecture. Necessarily, therefore, he had to confine himself more or less to general outlines. But the manner in which he has handled the different topics is sufficient to mark him as a master of his subject. Many would perhaps wish that his criticism of some of the well-known abuses in the existing financial administration of India were not so tame, on the ground that it is only by a vigorous exposure of such abuses that Indian publicists can ever hope to make any impression on the bureaucratic official mind. That, however, is a matter of opinion. On the whole, we regard the lecture as a highly successful one; and if the society can keep up this standard of excellence in its later publications it will be doing a service in the cause of popular education in India.

which University Extension lectures do in other countries.

It is very fortunate that societies for the study and discussion of economic problems of vital interest to the country are growing up on all sides. We would like to suggest that these societies and associations instead of working alone, each on its own lines, should try to establish some sort of co-ordination in their work. By doing so they would be much multiplying their own efficiency, and their utility for public good would also be considerably enhanced.

PROSAD. CH. BANERJEE.

THE COLLEGE ST. MARK : *by C. B. Young, M.A. The Christian Literature Society for India, price Rs. 12.*

According to the Preface "This commentary is prepared with special reference to the needs of educated Indians, especially non-Christian college students." We do not think it is adapted to their needs. The students who are interested in the gospel of Mark will wish to know the truth about it, not merely so much of the truth as the missionary thinks it judicious to tell. But we see here omissions which ought not to occur even in the shortest and most elementary commentary. Take the very beginning:

- The text is
2. Even as it is written in Isaiah the Prophet Behold, I send my messenger before thy face Who shall prepare thy way ;
 3. The voice of one crying in the wilderness Make ye ready the way of the Lord Make his paths straight ;.....

The notes are

2-4. The meaning is 'Just as Isaiah prophesied that one should come before the Messiah to prepare his way, so John actually came to prepare the way for Jesus.'

2. *Before thy face.* The prophet here makes God address the Messiah, saying he will send in advance a messenger to prepare the way, like an oriental king, who sends couriers ahead to announce his approach.

Neither note tells a reader of average intelligence anything that he could not have seen for himself. It ought to have been pointed out that v2 occurs not in Isaiah but in Malachi. As it stands in the original, the passage is "Behold, I send my messenger and he shall prepare the way before me" (*not* "before thy face" as quoted in Mark). God is speaking and there is not the slightest reference either to John the Baptist, or to Jesus. The second passage does occur in Isaiah but this too is misquoted. The original is "The voice of one that crieth, Prepare ye in the wilderness the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God." The "one that crieth" is the prophet himself, and the reference is to the return of the Jews from captivity, not to Jesus or John. But it does not suit the missionary to point out that the author of the second gospel or more probably some other early Christian writer, misquotes and misapplies, the Old Testament. For that matter, in all the so-called prophecies, quoted in the New Testament, the true meaning of the words is perverted.

We have gone through the book and noticed that everywhere important points are omitted while on the other hand space is wasted on pious remarks more suited for a sermon than for a commentary. From a scholar of his college at Oxford and Senior Greek Testament prizeman a better book might have been expected.

GOD AS TRIUNE, CREATOR, INCARNATE, ATONER. *by W. H. T. Gairdner. Price 3 as.*

A priori arguments in favour of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.

The Muslim Fast, as 1½.

The book is worth six pice for the sake of the quotations it contains. It is not very controversial.

H. C.

I. SHAKESPEARE TERCENTENARY, 1916. *Published by the Saraswati Stage Society, Lahore.*

This is a Souvenir and Programme of the Tercentenary Celebration organised by the Saraswati Stage Society under the patronage of the University of the Panjab.

The Saraswati Stage Society was originally founded by Mrs. Richards a few years back for the benefit of the students of the Lahore Dayal Singh College where her husband Mr. P. E. Richards was a Professor of English. Last year, however, Mrs. Richards widened her sphere of activities and the Saraswati Society is now an Inter-Collegiate concern.

The aim of the Society is to develop Indian dramatic art by encouraging the writing of Indian plays and by arranging for their production. An illustrated account of "the Bride" and "Dina's marriage procession"—the first two original plays produced by the Society was published in the Modern Review some months back.

We wish the Society every success. Indian Dramatic Art at the present day is the monopoly of a professional class which is not exactly respectable and is consequently shunned and neglected by the greater part of the community. All attempts, such as those of the Saraswati Society, to redeem the dramatic art from its present evil association deserve to be heartily encouraged.

THE PATH. *By Edmund White. Pp. 375, Price Six shillings, London. Messrs. Methuen & Co.*

This book may be styled the Gospel of Western Wisdom. The central idea in the book, we are told by the author, is a development under changed aspects of the substance of his article "Brahmoism and Christianity as the Religion of the Future" which was published in No. 139, Vol. 70, of the Calcutta Review 1880.

Mr. White's hero, Sayyid Ali Husain was an ardent reformer who left home early in search of knowledge. He went to Europe and there became imbued with the spirit of Modern Progress. He came to believe that the real, present and tangible world is all that we are concerned with, and that all talk of a Future life or of the world to come is nothing but sheer nonsense. He went about preaching this Gospel of Practical Life as a zealous Christian might preach the doctrines of the Holy Bible. The Sayyid began his life-mission with an Address in his own native-town which shocked his family into denouncing him and caused his townsmen to expel him from the city.

The keynote of the Sayyid's message may be found in the following sentences taken at random from his lengthy address:—

"I repeat that, in the age in which we live, science and the arts founded on science are dominant factors of the wealth and welfare of man, and that no nation can endure except this great truth is next to the heart of her leaders."

And I teach that in this life here beneath the sun, is the supreme end of man : that through increase of

knowledge he shall become master of his own destiny and controller of the world.

But I teach that before he can securely advance on the new path he must be delivered from the phantoms sprung from his own brain.....from all vain hopes and fears of spirit world, of life after death and other humbug of a similar kind !"

III. FREEDOM'S BATTLE. By J. F. Worsley Boden, M. A. Pp. 77. Bombay. G. Claridge & Co.

This is a collection of some scholarly essays occasioned by the Great War which were originally published in the Madras Mail. The book is fittingly dedicated to the memory of the author's half-brother, Captain Hugh C. W. Boden who died fighting in Flanders in the cause of Freedom. The character of the book may be judged by the headings of some of the essays :—Nationality and Freedom, Militarism and Internationalism, the Nearer East and the War, the Fate of Austria and so on.

IV. BATTLE SKETCHES 1914-1915—Oxford Press. Pp. 206. 2s. 6d.

This book is composed of seven brilliant sketches full of interest and information from the pen of Mr. A. Neville Hilditch containing a graphic and vivid account of some of the most famous engagements during the first year of the War. The accounts of the Stand of Liege, the Campaigns in Cameroon, the Battles of Neuve Chappelle and Ypres are all illustrated with useful maps.

V. SHORT STORIES, by "Kusika." Pp. 175. Price As. 8. Mr. A. Madhaviah, Chepur, Chingleput Dt.

This is a reprint of about sixteen short stories which Mr. Madhaviah originally contributed to "the Hindu and the Social Reform Advocate" of Madras under the nom de plume of "Kusika." Like all the previous publications of this author, the stories in this book are not only amusing and well-written but also serve to point out some of the glaring defects in the social system of Southern India.

V. MISERIES OF THE BEARDED BOY. Part I. Pp. 254. Price Re. 1. For students As. 6. Printed by Babu Bishambher Nath Bhargava at the Standard Press, Allahabad.

The book which bears this enigmatic title is not a novel, a romance, a book of adventure or an imaginary tale. It is difficult to say exactly what it is. It may be the autobiography of the author who is spoken of by himself in the book as the "boy" or referred to by the still more indefinite personal pronoun "He."

The boy was compelled to leave home when quite young and to wander about from one place of pilgrimage to another friendless and foodless. He happened one day to drop his *lota* in a well and tried to make it come out by devoutly repeating some Sanskrit mantras which he knew by heart. The *lota* turned a deaf ear to all his entreaties and remained where it was—at the bottom of the well. That incident shook the boy's faith in the tenets and doctrines of Hinduism. He then embraced Christianity and we understand that he is a Christian still though he does not seem to entertain any very high opinion of the morality of some of his new friends. He has now fallen violently and madly in love with a reverend gentleman's daughter who is not at all favourably disposed. The boy, dejected and disheartened, has tried to poison

himself twice but has evidently a tough constitution and has survived to write this book.

We wish certain portions of the book had been expressed more decently, in phrases less coarse and vulgar.

VII. SNEHALATA. By Ramaswami Sastriar, B. A., B. L. Madras : Ganesh & Co. Pp. 12.

A touching poem illustrating the evils of giving or taking dowries.

VIII. VARASULKA (A SOCIAL PLAY). By R. S. Narayanaswami Aiyar, B. A., B. L. Pp. 31. Price As. 2. Published by R. Sankara Aiyar, Danaappa Mudaly Street, Madura.

This is a play on the same subject.

IX. ADVANCE INDIANS. By Rajni Chandar (F. T. S.). As. 4. Pp. 64. Published by Kalyanrai Varajrai Desai—Khadia—Ahmedabad.

This is an enthusiastic appeal to our countrymen to try and regain for our nation the high position which it once occupied among the nations of the world.

X. THE BARBARIANS OF ANCIENT INDIA. Thakur Rajendra Singh. Pp. 259. Price Rs. 1-8. Published by the author from Tikra, Biswan P. O. (District Sitapur.)

In this book the Thakur Sahib re-tells the familiar story of the Ramayana. He makes a striking comparison between the Rakhshas of Lanka and the Germans of to-day whom he calls the "Rakhshas of Modern Europe." The book is dedicated to "the gallant British, Indian and Allied Armies, fighting like the banded legions of Rama and Sugriva, against the ruthless Rakhshas of the modern world, in a war as righteous, as holy, as glorious as that celebrated in the imperishable epic of the Ramayana."

The aim of the author in writing this book has been to produce a text-book suitable for our secondary schools. The book is written in an easy, attractive style and is also well printed.

XI. Methods of Teaching Village Christians to read, Pp. 56. As. 2. Madras ; C. L. Society for India.

This is a small pamphlet in which Rev. H. D. Griswold makes some useful and practical suggestions for the benefit of the Missionaries engaged in the work of educating the depressed classes.

XII. His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga. Pp. 59, Madras. Ganesh and Co.

A short and, we must say, rather inadequate life-sketch of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. We hope Messrs. Ganesh & Co. will try to publish a more substantial biography. In the meantime of course this little booklet may be read with advantage.

XIII-XIV. Militarism. Pp. 30. One anna.

The Peril of Conscription. Pp. 24. One anna. Published by the Independent Labour Party, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, London.

Both these pamphlets are by Mr. T. Bruce Glasier, Editor of the Socialist Review. In the first pamphlet Mr. Glasier gives a brief but interesting historical sketch of the British Army System. In the second he discusses conscription from the Labour and Socialist point of view. Since these pamphlets were published England has actually adopted conscription and not a few of Mr. Glasier's theories have proved groundless. It is also interesting to note that a number of

Socialists who were anti-conscriptions before the war wisely realizing the practical needs of the hour have given their full consent and support to the conscriptionist measures adopted by the British Government recently.

XV. POOTLI : By *Ardeshtir F. T. Chinoy and Mrs. Dinbai A. F. Chinoy*. Pp. 214. London : T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. (Illustrations).

An interesting story of life and love in Bombay. Pootli, the heroine, is lovable both as she has been described by the authors and as she has been portrayed by the artist on the front page. Scenes of Indian life have been sketched by the authors as only writers belonging to the country and knowing the daily life by their personal experience could have done. The book presents a faithful portrait of some phases of the social life of New India which the influence of Western Civilization has brought into existence.

G. S. M.

I. LIGHT OF TRUTH or an English Translation of the SATYARTHAPRAKASH, the well-known work of *Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Founder of the Arya Samaj; Author of a Commentary on the Vedas and various works; by Dr. Jhiranjiva Bharadwaja, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons (Edin.); Diplomate in Public Health (Edin.); Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons (Edin.); Licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons (Glas.); certificated (with first class honours) in Tropical Diseases (Edin. Univ.). Published by the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (India). Second Edition. Pp. iv+328+vii. Price Rs. 3 or 4s net.*

The book needs no introduction and one willing to know the heart of the Arya Samaj should go through the pages of it. The Sanskrit portion of the book has been printed very inaccurately.

II. A LITTLE LIGHT TO MODERN HINDUS by *Pashupati Nath Mukherjee*, published by T. C. Mukherjee, Hattola, Bankura. Pp. 46, Price 12 Annas.

The pamphlet chiefly contains the author's reply to a book, "The Teachings of Swami Vivekananda" by the Rev. E. W. Thomson, M.A., in which the latter has "not only attacked the principles of the Swami Vivekananda but also has proceeded to prove the principles of the Vedanta and Upanishads to be vague and visionary which the greatest philosophers have not ventured to do."

III. THE PARAMATMA-PRAKASH by *Shri Yogindra Acharya*, translated into English with Critical Notes by *Richab Dass Jaina B. A., Vakil High Court, Meerut, with an Introduction by Champat Rai Jaina, Barrister-at-Law, Hardoi. Publisher : Kumar Devendra Prasad, The Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah (India). Pp. 15+60+vii. Price not mentioned.*

As the title of this book implies it exhaustively describes all the aspects of Parama-Atman 'Supreme Spirit.' It is written following the views of Jainism, but the contents except some well-known particularities of that faith appear to be nothing but Brahmanic or more specially, pure Vedantic. For instance, let us quote only one stanza (72) from the original which is in Prakrita and now issued in the *Ray-Chandra-Jaina-Shastra-Mala Series* :—

"Don't fear, O Jiva (man or soul) seeing that old age (जरा) and death (मरण) are of body; and know

that your soul (आत्मा) is He, who has neither old age nor death (अजर अमर) and is called पर ब्रह्म."

The English translation for which the author has taken great pains and succeeded to a considerable extent would have been more useful had he made it literal adding notes as he has actually done in the present edition. Sometimes the text in translation and his own explanation are so mingled and confused that one can hardly make them out without the help of the original. No care whatever has also been taken for transliteration of Sanskrit words with which the translation so much abounds.

In spite of it, we think, the book will greatly help in propagating the Jaina Philosophy among the English-reading people.

VIDHUSHSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

BENGALI.

SOUNDARYYA TATVA : (THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE BEAUTIFUL): by *Abhoy Kumar Guha, M.A., B.L. 1916. Price Rupees Two.*

In this book the author has discussed this fascinating though rarely handled and somewhat obscure subject in all its manifold aspects. He begins with a summary of the views of western scholars, both classical and modern. Then follows an account of the philosophy of the Rasa doctrine, as expounded by Sanskrit philosophers and rhetoricians, both from the spiritualistic standpoint, as in the Upanishads, as well as from the emotional standpoint, as in the *Bhakti* literature. The whole is then wound up with the author's own exposition of the subject in its scientific as well as metaphysical aspects. The author is of opinion that the highest expression of beauty is to be found in the Upanishads composed two thousand years before Christ, and that modern philosophy or literature has not been able to transcend it. The quotations from poets, philosophers, saints, mystics, and writers of all ages and countries with which the book teems would go to show that the author has left no possible source of enlightenment unexplored in his endeavour to elucidate the subject. But the book is no mere collection of materials, and it is herein that the author's special claim to distinction lies. He has thoroughly assimilated his subject, and made original contributions to it. He has not been weighed down by his erudition, and his illuminating analysis shows his easy mastery of treatment. The author is a specialist, but his specialism is based on wide general culture, and thus his exposition, though peculiarly suited to readers with a philosophical bent of mind, also appeals to the general readers. The bibliography appended at the end of the book shows how deep and extensive is his reading, and over what a wide field he has roamed in the quest after light. As a result of his devoted studies he has succeeded in producing a book of rare value, and has undoubtedly enriched the Bengali literature. His book belongs to a class of writings which are eminently calculated to add worth and prestige to our vernaculars, and it deserves to be introduced as a text book in our colleges for advanced students in philosophy. The get up and printing leave nothing to be desired, and considering the substance of its contents the price of the book is decidedly cheap.

POL.

HINDI.

SAPHALATA AUR USKI SADHNA KAI UPAYA—by *Babu Ramchandra Verma*. Published by the *Hindi Grantha Ratnakar Office, Bombay and printed at the Bombay Baibhav Press. Crown 8vo. pp. 148. Price rs. 12 and 10 according to binding.*

This has been based on certain English books which have discoursed on the art of success. The book has been subdivided under several chapters, the headings of the chapters being such as "Good use of Time," "Certain necessary qualifications," "Fate and difficulties." Very many useful hints have been given on these subjects and the book is not altogether devoid of originality. The printing and get-up are very nice; and no doubt the book will prove eminent-ly useful.

STRIVON KI PARADHINATA by *Pandit Rishishwar Nath Bhatta, B. A.* Printed and published by the *Rambhushan Press, Agra. Crown 8vo. pp. 166. Price—As. 10.*

This is a Hindi translation of John Stuart Mill's "Subjection of Women." Indians will not agree with all the views of Mill, but the publication of such books in the Hindi language, will serve to make it rich with bold and independent thoughts. The translation is simple and the sense has been conveyed in clear language. We must congratulate the author on his enabling the Hindi readers to have an insight into the master-minds of Europe and we hope he will follow with similar other publications.

ARTHASHASTRA by *Shree Giridhar Sharma*. Printed at the *Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay and published by S. P. Bros. & Co., Jhalrapatan. Crown 8vo. pp. 252. Price—Re. 1-4-0, bound copy—Rs. 1-8-0.*

This is an addition to the few books on political economy which have been published within recent years. The plan of the book is systematic and has been based on Mrs. Fawcett's Political Economy. The special feature of the book is that the author has tried to be explicit as far as possible and has not only been learned. But he could have avoided the use of many words of foreign origin which though used in common Hindi talks serve to make the language less chaste. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent and the suggestive questions at the end of each chapter will be found useful by beginners. This book may well form a text-book in any Hindi school when the teaching of Political Economy may be considered necessary.

ANUPRAS ANWAISHAN by *Pandit Jagannath Prasad Chaturvaldi*. Published by *Chaturvaldi Bholanath Sharma, 103, Mukhtaram Babu Street, Calcutta, F^o cap. 8vo. pp. 32. Price—As. 2-6.*

This is a reprint of a part of a very thoughtful and well-reasoned thesis read at the 6th "Hindi Sahitya Sammilan." The writer has tried to combat the idea of some Bengali gentlemen who would seem to think that the Bengali literature contains more "Anupras" than any other language. It has been shown that the Hindi language carries the palm in this respect. Quotations have been made from Hindi and Sanskrit writings and examples have been quoted from common phraseology and all phases of society. The author has clearly succeeded in his attempt.

COUNT TOLSTOY KA AIK BHARATBASİ KO LIKHA

HUA PATRA by *Bhai Kotwal, Prain Mahavidyalaya, Vrindaban. Printed at the Vidyalyaya Press, Vrindaban. Royal 16 mo. pp. 66. Price—1 anna.*

This is the Hindi translation of a letter written by Count Tolstoy to Mr. Gandhi. The simplicity of the Russian sage is reflected in this short letter as well and he has in his own thoughtful way tried to combat many of the views of the more advanced party in India. The translation is good. The get-up is fair.

URDU.

AVRAQ PARISHAN by *Lala Atma Ram Sahib M. A., Asst. Professor of Mathematics, Govt. College Lahore, Royal 8vo. pp. 168. To be had of Messrs. Ramkrishna & Sons, Booksellers, Lahore. Price Rs. 1-8-0.*

This is another of the publications of the Professor meant for juvenile reader and is no doubt much more helpful than the translations which are so often put in the hands of boys. The author has made his discourses on science very interesting indeed. We must have our own plans for such books and cannot copy English publications with any satisfactory measure of success. Viewed in this light and on account of its intrinsic merits, the book is eminent-ly useful. Commonplace subjects have also been taken up, e.g. a top, earthquake; and there is sufficient variety in the subjects dealt with to make the publication far from monotonous. The many blocks in the book have been decently got up. The language is just what would be suitable for a book of this nature and the get-up is excellent. We cannot but commend the book for wide circulation in schools.

DAR-USH-SHAFA, VOL. I., NO. I. Edited by *Babu Banshi Prasad Singh, Printed at the Taluqdar Press, Fyzabad and to be had of the Managing Proprietor of the Magazine at Fyzabad. Annual Subscription—Rs. 2.*

This is a monthly magazine which deals mainly with hygienic subjects, on which very useful hints are given. Some selected medicines have also been embodied in it. By-the-bye, the magazine also takes up some technical and scientific subjects. We see such magazines occasionally, but they are often of an advertising nature. Some departure has been made in this respect in this magazine. The language and get-up are good and the magazine will prove useful, though there are one or two better ones of this nature in the field.

KYA KAPIL NASTIK THA by *Shree Swami Dershananand Saraswati. Printed at the Arya Steam Press Lahore and published by Pandit Wazir Chand Sharma, Proprietor Vaidic Pustakalaya, Lahore Road, Lahore.*

This book has been mainly written for the purpose of combating the views of a book by Master Ramchandra Sabab on the subject. The author has critically examined these and by a reference to certain individual Sutras of Kapil, he has succeeded in proving that Kapilmuni was not an atheist.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

LAGNA GIT, by *Keshavlal H. Sheth, printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 15. Unpriced (1916).*

These few wedding songs are written with the view of inducing those ladies who live in the interior

in Gujarat and are still addicted to break out into unseemly song to give up their habit and come into line with their reformed sisters.

PASHUMANTHI DEV, by Mohanlal Vithaldas Gandhi, published by Jivanlal Amarshi Mehta, of Ahmedabad, Printed at the Union Printing Press, Cloth cover, Pp. 88. Price Re. 0-8-0. (1916).

This translation of James Allen's "From Passion to Peace" seems to be meant for a very select few, as the language is such that those whose culture is above the average only can understand it, and for them probably it would be useless, as they can read the English original with greater ease and benefit. The price is also beyond its deserts.

CHOKHER BALI, by Dhanshanker Hirashanker Tripathi, Published as above, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound Pp. 179. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1916).

This book is an attempt to introduce to the Gujarati reader the Bengali masterpiece of Sir Rabindranath Tagore. The translation bears all the undesirable marks of a translation, as while reading it we do not feel reading an original Gujarati book but a book in which much looks borrowed. The dialogues at least could have been couched in natural language, and not in those crisp, terse, and short phrases which appear so well in Dr. Tagore's book, but which are quite out of place here, as they have not been made as telling in their effect as in Bengali. The Gujarati title is also unfortunate as it is incorrect: *आखनी कर्णा* is not correct Gujarati. We use the locative instead of the genitive when we want to describe a mote or grain of sand going into the eye, and say *आखनां कर्णा*. The title also does not bring out the point of view from which the novel is written: That is tried to be explained in the preface. Here too the price is excessive.

APANO DHARMA, by Professor Anandshanker Subphai Dhruva, M.A., LL.B., of the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, published as above, printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad, cloth cover, Pp. 426. Price Rs. 2-8-0 (1916).

Prof. Anandshanker is one of our soberest writers and thinkers. An unassuming scholar of Sanskrit literature and Philosophy, he always loves to call himself a student. Unaggressive to the last degree, he says what he has to say fearlessly. Generally considered to be on the side of the old and the orthodox, his writings shew that he is neither the one nor the other, but always reasons himself into a particular position. This book is a collection of his many contributions to his beloved Monthly, the Vasanta, and to the Sudarshana and they set out his views on "our Dharma." They are very interesting, and portray the struggle that an individual born and bred in an orthodox family, with leanings and predilections on that side, undergoes, when he impartially, by means of his wide reading and cultured thinking, examines, checks, notes, and then finally casts his opinions steadfastly into a new groove. The book, therefore, it need not be said, is a valuable contribution to modern Gujarati thought, and as such to be welcomed. We think the price should when circumstances permit, be made popular.

DIWAN-E-SAGAR, by Jugannath Damodardas Tripathi, published as above, printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 526. Price Rs. 3-8-0. (1916).

For the last several years Mr. J. D. Tripathi who has assumed the *nom de plume* of Sagar, has worked himself into the belief that without a knowledge of Persian or Arabic, he has thoroughly grasped the spirit and secrets of Sufism, and has been able to combine them with the doctrine of Vedantism. Under that belief he has written a number of poems, a hotchpotch of *An-ul-Hakk* (the Sufistic formula for Oneness with God) and *Om* (a mystical Vedantic phrase). The book under review is a collection of many such poems. They are more or less in the nature of rhapsodies, at times wanting in a central, intelligible thought or idea, at times leading nowhere, at times incorrect in representing situations on lines found in Persian Literature (see p. 415 where the author speaks of a "bed-wound", when in Persian you would never find the bed of a Beloved referred to in that gross fashion), at times an odd mixture of English, Persian and Gujarati words (e.g., p. 416, the *Gazal* beginning with, "Dear! O Yes! Come on! yes! yes!" &c.). Where he uses words like Laylan (in place of the correct form Layla) or Laylat-ul-Kadar (instead of Laylat-ul-Kadr), one feels how the ignorance of the original language, in spite of the author's best endeavours to be as correct as possible, has given a color of artificiality to his work. These are but the first three parts of his large collection, and hence immature and imperfect. The latter compositions, we are sure, would shew maturer thought, and less verbosity. As an introduction into Gujarati Literature of this sort of Persian Composition, viz., the *Divan*—the book is the first of its kind, and hence likely to prove attractive at least for its novelty if nothing else. Where this imitation of Persian poetry is discarded and the author has written on other subjects, he has been able to make a fairly good show, and many of his poems are conceived in a spirit of patriotism, or self-sacrifice or a cognate feeling.

PRAVASINA PATRO, by Keshavlal H. Sheth, printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound. pp. 205. Price Rs. 2-0-0 1916.

The price of this book is out of all proportion to its worth. In the form of "Traveller's Letters" the writer has tried to combine entertainment with instruction on the social and domestic phases of a Hindu's life. The subject is treated in such a way that the reader does not feel fagged but on the other hand is drawn to it and likes to pursue it,

SAMAJ, by Maharanishanker Ambashanker Sharma, at the Dharma Vijaya Printing Press, Bombay, Paper cover, Pp. 77. Price Re. 0-6-0. 1916.

Mr. Narsinhadas Vibhakar, B.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, the publisher of this Vichar Pushpa Mala Series, has no doubt made a good choice in selecting Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Samaj for translation. We wish the execution were as good as the choice. It is a translation from a Hindi Version, and the language is full of provincialisms. The original is however so good and so virile, that no mistranslation or incorrect translation can destroy its effect. This thoughtful pamphlet deserves a perusal, we may say not merely a perusal but a considerable perusal.

ANANG BHASM, by Sakarlal Amzatlal Dave, B.A., printed at the *Jnan Mandir Press, Ahmedabad*. Thick cardboard, pp. 64. Price Re. 0-8-0. 1916.

This translation of Prof. Baine's novel, the *Ashes of*

a God, preserves all the delightfulness and orientalism of the original, and as the translator says, to appreciate its beauty, its reading should be finished at one sitting, otherwise its delicate touches are sure to be missed.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

In the May number of the *Mysore Economic Journal* Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra gives us his views regarding

University Education in India

an abstract of which is culled below. Mr. Mitra's views deserve to be seriously pondered over by the educational authorities. Says he :

The main incentive for collegiate study is not now culture or deep learning but diplomas for service and professions. True culture is farthest from the sight of most of our young men. Cramming is the means of passing through a number of successive examinations beginning with the Matriculation one following another successively after each two years. The London University system is the model which, however, I think has been sufficiently shown to be unsuitable to India. We require a system suitable to the genius of Indian youths, Indian ideas and tradition.

In one matter, however, I am in harmony with most of my friends—I mean the medium of instruction. The medium must be the vernacular of each province or State. Mysore must have the Canarese. English is a very difficult language to master and unnecessarily a long time is wasted in its study, in mastering its idioms and idiosyncracies. We see that even long study and practice are insufficient to make us write or speak as Englishmen. The Scotch has his idioms, so the Australians and Yankees. Why not make English a second language like Sanskrit or Arabic? Vernaculars,—mother tongues,—are easy of learning and writing in and much time would be saved by the adoption of them as medium. We may adopt the same scientific terms as Europe has, if there are no current Indian equivalents. Scientific terms are for the world and not for any particular country. It is undeniable that the Vernacular or Vernaculars of each province in British India and each Native State should be the medium of lectures. Professors coming from foreign countries may feel difficulty in learning Indian dialects and imparting lessons through their mediums, but they may, with a little industry acquire a competent knowledge of vernaculars. If they cannot do so, they should be considered as unfit to hold the responsible posts of professors. They must learn to speak in our dialects.

In my opinion the standard of Matriculation Examination, entitling a student to receive collegiate training, should be sufficiently high. The Matricula-

tion Examination should be the test for entering college life and not Government Service as Clerks. Service Examination should be different from Matriculation Examination. The syllabus for Matriculation Examination should be—

- (a) Complete knowledge of the vernacular dialect with facility in composition.
- (b) Knowledge of Sanskrit or Persian language and literature.
- (c) Knowledge of English as a compulsory second language, just sufficient to understand the meanings of technical words and expressions.
- (d) Histories of India, England, France, Greece and Rome.
- (e) Geography.
- (f) Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry and
- (g) Elementary Physics and Chemistry.

The standard of the London University Matriculation Examination may be the type.

No student should be allowed to appear for the Matriculation Examination before he has completed the age of sixteen, except in cases certified by the Head-master of the high school in which he student was studying for at least three years and two other teachers that the student is fit notwithstanding that he is below the age of sixteen.

There should be no division into classes of the result at the Matriculation Examination, no candidate having passed unless he secures at least one-half of the full marks.

After a student passes the Matriculation Examination, he should select his subject of study in collegiate life and devote himself to it for at least five years without any intermediate examinations. The bifurcation should be complete; there should be no plurality of subjects.

If the student selects Sanskrit he should select its particular branch—(a) Literature and Grammar including Philology, (b) Philosophy, (c) Vedas and Upanishads etc.

He may select (a) History, (b) Philosophy, (c) English, (d) Physics, (e) Chemistry, or any other Science, (f) Mathematics etc.

Each subject should be taught by one professor assisted if necessary by an assistant professor. The quarters of the professor and his assistant, if any, should be in one full apartment, where his or their students would also reside. The type should be the ancient Indian System of education under a great master.

As for professional education, where the subject of examination must be many, such as Law, Medicine, and Engineering, the system in vogue must of necessity be followed.

Shakespeare as a School-Lad.

Marie Corelli interprets the tercentenary of Shakespeare for boys and girls in a bright little article in the pages of the *East and West* for July. Though written for school-going children, we, who are out of school and grown-up, have read the article with profit and pleasure. Here are a few cullings :

Boys are all the "possibilities" of famous men. If we should go into a sculptor's studio and see lumps of clay occupying the space, we should not be able to tell which might be used for a statue of Apollo, or which for Hercules. It is the same thing with a school. Statues are not made there, but *men*—and no pains are spared in the making; but it is impossible to predict how they will turn out, when finished! In the case of Shakespeare, his first head-master, Mr. Roche, does not appear to have meditated with pardonable pride on the ability or progress of his pupil; nor have we any ground for imagining that Mr. Hunt, who succeeded Roche, ever patted William's remarkable head and said: 'Well done!'

To an imaginative mind books are the bread of life. Shakespeare must have devoured any and every book that came in his way. The love of reading is in itself an education, and his plays prove how much and how closely he studied the literature of his time. But, though he was destined for an immortal heritage of fame second to none, I do not suppose he showed the least sign of any such future distinction when at this school. Personally speaking, I think he must have been very much like other boys, up to all sorts of mischief, and that if he were a boy again now, we should not be able to pick him out as a genius. If we could do so, I am afraid it would rather go against him, as he might be tiresome and hardly a boy at all. I like to believe that he was probably what is called 'a handful,' brimming over with health and high spirits, full of 'vim' and vitality. I am quite sure he was not an apathetic or 'half alive' boy with only a dull sense of plod in his brain. He must have been alert and wide awake to everything he could see or hear or learn. But probably he was so little remarkable among his companions at school that if they noticed him at all, it might be only to 'rag' him on the personal subject of his expansive forehead and ask him if there was anything behind that big front door!

You may perhaps think it strange that I should choose to write on such a subject as "Shakespeare at School," when nothing is known of his school-days. But there is another School—far more important than this or any—which Shakespeare attended regularly, and where he became the most brilliant scholar the world has ever seen, carrying off all first honours—I mean the School of Nature. There he learned every lesson that was set before him, and certainly missed nothing. It was his close and sympathetic observation of small things as well as great, and his power of seeing *beyond* the material object to its spiritual significance that gave him such keen clearness of thought and mastery of language.

The chief thing to be learned from the very scarce details of Shakespeare's life, is that he sank himself altogether in his work, and in this sense was always 'at school'—that is, always studying men and matters,—always gathering new material from the miracle of life. The secret of happiness is, to be

thoroughly *alive*; to get a good grip on things both human and divine, and to express the full consciousness of this warm, inward vitality in both manner and speech.

It was the power and clearness of his thought that made the fame of Shakespeare; thought which was not for himself but for all the world, in one grand, comprehensive view, as though he stood on some vast height, overlooking this planet just as we might overlook a field from the summit of a hill. He saw all Nature spread out before him and Man *in* Nature; and from this imperial attitude of vision he wrote the truths which we—three hundred years after his death—know to be still true.

The Political Condition of India in the Time of Harsha

(7th Century A. D.)

To the *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajamik Subha* C.V. Vaidya contributes a well written article dealing with the subject mentioned above.

Mr. Vincent Smith observes in his "Early History of India" 3rd Edition, that when "the wholesome despotism of Harsha terminated by his death, India instantly returned to her normal condition of *anarchical autonomy*." Refuting this statement Mr. Vaidya says :

This is, I am afraid, a wrong and an unhistorical view. To those who look upon India as one country and who consider a despotic imperial rule as the only remedy for her political ills, the political condition which usually obtained in ancient India may appear as one of *anarchical autonomy*. But it must be remembered that India never was one kingdom at any time except the present, when the British rule has brought the whole country under subjection. India may indeed be called one country from certain aspects of race, religion and tradition, but it cannot be denied that it never was, at least in ancient history, one country politically. It generally consisted of a number of kingdoms and these were usually at war with one another. To apply to this condition the term *anarchical autonomy* would be a misnomer.

For what was the condition of Europe at this time or for that matter at any time in its history? Europe may fitly be compared to India in every respect. Exclusive of Russia, Europe is almost equal to India in extent and population and its people are practically of one race, namely, Aryan and of one religion, namely, Roman Christianity. In the seventh century Hiuen Tsang describes India as divided into about seventy kingdoms (Watters, vol. I, p. 140). Europe in the seventh century could not have been divided into less. England itself was divided into five kingdoms, France, Germany and Italy into many more. Indeed the condition of society, civilization and the means of communication in ancient times prevented the formation of kingdoms larger than those that existed in India or Europe at that time. And history shows that these kingdoms of Europe were constantly at war with one another. European history is indeed a terrible history detailing the constant and usually sanguinary wars waged by the several kingdoms with one another. Now would it be proper to describe

this condition of Europe as one of anarchical autonomy, or to make the comparison still more complete, to say that when the Empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces after his death, Europe reverted to her usual condition of anarchical autonomy? Even now when railways and telegraphs have made growth of large kingdoms possible, Europe is still divided into a number of small kingdoms which are not larger than the kingdoms in India described by Hiuen Tsang. If we take 6000 li or 1200 miles as the average circumference of a large Indian kingdom like Maharashtra, the area of an average large kingdom in square miles comes to about, 1,20,000 sq. miles. Or we may make a calculation in another way and divide the total present area of India viz. 18,02,629 sq. miles, by 70 and arrive at the area 25,752 sq. miles of an average kingdom in India as existing in the seventh century. The smaller kingdoms existing in Europe at this day, Belgium (11,373 sq. ms.), Holland (12,582), Portugal (32,000), Italy (1,10,632), Bulgaria (33,645), Roumania (53,489) and Greece (25,014), not to speak of the small states of which the German Empire is composed, are not thus larger than the kingdoms existing in India in Hiuen Tsang's days, and these states of Europe are normally in a condition of war. A decade does not pass without a fight somewhere, and yet these small states are alive and flourishing; and history cannot describe the normal condition of Europe as one of 'anarchical autonomy.' The mistake lies in looking upon India as one country or territory that deserved to be one country under one rule and hence, I apprehend, the use of the word anarchical.

The writer holds that the "main cause of the difference in the vitality of the nations in the West and the nations in the East lies in the entire divergence in the development of their political ideas."

The Indo-Aryans were indeed in the beginning imbued with the same racial tendencies as their brethren in the west. The sovereignty so to speak belonged to the people and the king was merely their leader and agent. There were public assemblies of the people which advised the king on all important matters. Taxation was levied apparently with the consent of the people. The later tradition that the people promised Manu one sixth of their land produce in consideration of his accepting their kingship contains the germ of this principle. Kings were often elected and in some tribes there were no kings at all, the people themselves regulating their affairs by a council of elders. In short in the earliest period of Indian history the political condition of the people was developing in the same direction as in the west. The state was still tribal and the same word in the plural indicated the state and the people, while in the singular it meant the king. In the Vedic and even in Epic times this was the rule. For example the Kurus, the Madras, the Panchalas, the Kosalas and so on meant both the people and the country; and the singular Kuru, Madra, Panchala and Kosala and so on meant the king. A similar state of things obtained in the west. The land was there also called after the people and the king was called by the same name. France was the land of the Franks, England of the Angles and Saxony of the Saxons: and France, England and Saxony meant also the kings of those lands. Thus the name of the people gave the name to the country and the king, both in the east and the west.

In the succeeding centuries this condition gradually changed. The people gradually receded from view, probably because they were now composed largely of Sudras and not of the Aryans as in previous time. The kings who were often non-Aryan and sometimes even foreign, gradually assumed absolute power. The people thus became accustomed to the rule of kings who were not of their own race and of the Kshatriya caste. They gradually ceased to take interest in politics, being less or never consulted and eventually came to believe that it was none of their business to meddle with state affairs. Particular persons of the three higher castes, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas did take some interest in politics being soldiers and officials, but the general body of the people, being Sudra, was debarred from all participation in political activities.

In India, on the other hand, especially in the north, the Dravidian lower classes were very inferior in capacities, and being different in complexion, features and habits remained distinct in position, social and political, and never struggled for equality of rights. Political power therefore gradually centred primarily in the higher classes, especially in the Kshatriyas and in the kings next. The king was invested with divine attributes in public estimation by superstition as well as by craft, and the despotic power of kings without any restriction by popular assemblies was eventually firmly established during the Buddhistic period of Indian history.

Such remained the political condition of India in the seventh century. The king was absolute and possessed despotic power unrestricted by the voice of any public assemblies. The kingdom and the people belonged to him, so to speak, as his private property. The kingdoms naturally ceased to be called by the names of the people. Among the seventy or so kingdoms mentioned by Hiuen Tsang only a few bear the name of the people. The old names of Kuru, Panchala, Anga, Vanga &c. are gone and we have the names of Thanaser, Kanauj, Karnasuvarna, Tamralipti and so on. They are named generally after the capital town or some physical feature of the country. The kings are not named after the people but after a Vansa or family as the Vardhanas, the Maukharis, the Guptas and so on.

And these families did not attain to kingly position by the consent or approbation of the people or by hereditary rights of several generations even, but by divine favour obtained, it was believed, by reason of austerities performed by certain individuals in their past lives. Under this superstitious view anybody might become king or had the right to become king if only he succeeded in establishing himself on the throne by hook or crook. The people and not only no political rights but had no hand whatever in the acceptance of kings, as per sons became kings by reason of their austerities performed in former lives. Under such a view of the organization of a state there can scarcely be born that national vitality which is the essential factor in the strength of nations. Naturally enough patriotism was a virtue which never arose in India. But the place of patriotism was supplied by the feeling of loyalty. The king being the absolute master of the state or the people, appointed by divine will the people could naturally be actuated only by the feeling of loyalty or love to the divine king.

In the Harsha Charita we find many such examples recorded by Bana and in these, servants or officers give up their lives simply for the grief they felt for the death of their sovereign. And if the royal family

continued steady on the throne for generations it did so not by the patriotism of the people, but by the loyalty of their servants and officers.

How the breaking up of Harsha's empire came about :

Harsha's Empire was the culminating point of the Buddhist period of Indian history, which was passing away. He founded and maintained an empire as strong as the Gupta empire and in the history of the following mediæval period no kingdom approached either the extent or the solidarity of Harsha's rule. Harsha again was one of the most righteous emperors in the history of the world, conscientiously endeavouring to secure the happiness of his people. And yet the political conceptions of the people remaining the same, he could not infuse into his empire any national vitality. On the contrary the very extent of this mass of kingdoms held up together by force, increased its aptitude to topple down at the slightest shock, like a pile of stone heaped one upon another without any cement. Of course, we cannot blame Harsha, for not introducing the cement. For, India had not evolved representative institutions, nor had the Indian intellect evolved proper conceptions of a political state. That department of enquiry remained a blank in the Indian intellectual activity. Harsha, therefore, could never have thought of giving to the people any rights of participation in the government of the country.

Under such a view kingdoms and even empires could not have any vitality; Harsha's empire fell to pieces, immediately his strong arm was removed from the administration. The subject kingdoms immediately became independent while Kanauj itself was seized by the commander-in-chief, Harsha having left no son. For in such a state of political views not only the virtue of patriotism cannot be fostered, but the contrary vice namely treason cannot but have ample scope to flourish. Every ambitious person who can by force or treachery seize the throne has the assurance that the people's allegiance will be transferred to him as a matter of course.

Discussing the causes which lead to the fall of a nation the writer says :

There can be no doubt that representative government creates a feeling of self-interest in the people which is the great backbone of a nation's strength. History indeed records the fall of the brilliant city-states of Greece and of Rome in spite of such national sentiment. But we must remember that that sentiment had been completely undermined in Greece and Rome by demoralization and luxury and hence it was that these states succumbed and fell. But they rose again when the same sentiment became strong. The Indian states on the other hand never developed the national sentiment at all and hence were never strong. They could not have developed into strong states in the succeeding centuries. On the contrary coming under the influence of certain causes which we shall discuss in another place they gradually became enervated and hence fell easily before the advancing tide of Mahomedan invasions.

In conclusion we read that

the despotic states of India of the seventh century were certainly strong as compared with the contemporary despotic kingdoms of Asia and it is hence that they could beat back the Huns who in Europe could not be beaten away. The prominent index of the enervation of a people is their employment

of mercenary forces and neither Hiuen Tsang nor Bana mentions any mercenary troops in the army of Harsha.

The Indian states of the 7th century, were generally happy and prosperous in spite of their despotic constitutions. The fact is that Indian thinkers had developed the theory that if the kingly power was divine the laws also were divine-made and incapable of change. The laws were laid down by the Smritis and no human agency had power to change them. The kings thus had no legislative power even with the consent of the people. In the west the king is looked upon as the source of all law. In India on the other hand law was ordained by the Smritis whose authority was supreme and unchallengeable. The duty of kings was simply to administer justice according to the divine-ordained law and to keep peace and order by the punishment of robbers and other evil-doers. They were to receive taxes from the produce of land and the profits of trade for performing this duty and even the amounts of the taxes so to be levied were fixed by the Smritis. The expenses of Government, as Hiuen Tsang testifies, were limited and the people with their highly religious nature were free from crime.

Says Hiuen Tsang :

"As the government is honestly administered and the people live on good terms, the criminal class is small. The government is generous and the official requirements are few. Hence families are not registered and individuals are not submitted to forced labour and contributions. Taxation being light and forced labour being sparingly used, every one keeps to his hereditary occupation and attends to his patrimony. The king's tenants pay one-sixth of the produce as rent. Tradesmen go to and fro bartering their merchandise after paying light taxes at the ferries and the barrier stations."

Dr. Sridhar V. Ketkar writes about

Historical Research in Deccan

in the pages of the *Indian Review* for June. The article provides interesting reading and traces the growth of the historical spirit in Deccan from the very beginning. "Historiography in the Maratha country," says the writer, "could be divided into four periods."

First of all, there is the period of the Maratha regime. During this period the Marathas had shown a considerable literary activity, and their energies did not spare the field of Historiography also. They had learnt from the Mohammedans the value and also practice of this noble art. To copy a few 'Bakhars' was at that time a part of the education of a young man who expected to enter the Government service as a clerk. A large number of Bakhars (chronicles) came into existence, and in writing them very important work was done by the Kayastha Prabhus, who are generally known by their more popular name Parabhus, though the people of other castes also had their share in the work. Biographies and family histories were compiled. Autobiographies and diaries by important men also came to be written. We have, for example, a short autobiography of Nana

Phadnavis still available. Some people used to write 'Tippanas' or the Memoranda.

These Bakhars were very inaccurate, the writers did not base their information on any records but on some things which they had heard. Their information is usually scanty, some of the information which they recorded has been borrowed from a very remote source, and the language of the Bakhars the modern taste will find disagreeable. Moreover their authors have often resorted to imagination. Cases of anachronism are plentiful. Add to the lack of culture of the Bakhar writers, the prejudices and intentional falsehoods found in the historians of every country and age, and then we shall get a picture of the Maratha historiography prior to the British rule. The Bakhar-writing did not really end with the Maratha rule. Some work of the type were compiled even after 1818; but they were written by men who had received their education during the Maratha rule, but who had lived to see the overthrow of their countrymen. Among these men could be mentioned Sohoni, who wrote a bakhar of the Peishwas.

The period after 1818, could be divided into two parts, the dividing point being the memorable year of 1857, when the Universities of Bombay and Calcutta were founded. During the first part, the printing presses were introduced. Men who came to front at this time, like Dadoba Pandurang, Hari Keshavji, Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar, were writing text-books for schools, and some other books, the aim of which primarily is to impart through vernacular the knowledge which was available only through English. To put in Marathi what was in English was the aim of almost all those who at that time were writing in Marathi. To translate from the English was the raging passion among the writers. Moreover, these men found historical literature in English regarding their own country. Those who learnt English began to compare the English literature with their own. Moreover, they did not have sufficient knowledge of Marathi literature or Sanskrit literature, because very few books were printed, and those who had good libraries at command were extremely few. How greatly were the educated men of those times ignorant of Indian literature would appear astounding to the people of to-day. Dadoba Pandurang compiled a grammar of Marathi language, a work which is studied even to-day. He was entirely ignorant of Sanskrit language when he wrote it. Another class of men who took part in the literary activity of the period, was that of men oriented in Sanskrit lore, that is, Shastris and Pandits. These men began to learn English after they finished their Sanskrit studies. Now Shastri Sathe, the most learned man of his times, began to study English at the age of sixty, and began to advise his young scholars to study English. Those who had studied Kanada, Jaimini, and Gadadhari, with their sacred Brahmin Masters, continued their studies in logic by reading the works of Hamilton and Mill at a later age. Similar was the case with the students of Astronomy. Strangely enough (or

rather we will not call it strange when we can understand the Psychology of it) this class, with the study of English, cultivated also a great deal of contempt for the traditional Sanskrit culture, and a great reverence for the European literature and intellectual tradition. Among such men could be mentioned Krishna Shastri Chipalonekar, who did a great deal to formulate the present Marathi prose style by writing a number of independent works and translating many books. His most important scientific contributions have been his essays on Marathi grammar which were primarily intended as a criticism on the grammar of Dadoba Pandurang. The first generation of the English educated men was that of those who studied Sanskrit language and literature first, and devoted attention to the study of Sanskrit much later. The work of this generation towards historiography and many other matters was that of bringing into Marathi what existed in Sanskrit. They did not exert to publish the old Sanskrit chronicles or to reconstruct a history critically with the help of document. Their effort was to bring into Marathi what is ready made—the productions of the English historians. The only effort made to reprint the earlier Marathi literature was devoted exclusively to print and publish the semi-sacred literature, and Gujarati poetry. In this task Parashram Pant Tatya Godbole, Madhav Chandroba, and Govind Raghurath Ketkar (the grand-father of the present writer) took prominent part.

During the first period of Maratha Historiography, Bakhars, Tawarikhs, and Kaijiyats, were considerably written, but their knowledge among the common people was not great. The learned classes shunned these, and they remained only with the official class. During the second period, the knowledge of history not only of the Marathas but of other peoples also was circulated considerably by some writers who translated or borrowed from English works. We now come to a third period in which attempt is made to popularize the Bakhar literature.

The Bakhars were disliked for their language, and new prose styles, modelled after the English styles, was being formed. Men educated in Sanskrit language and literature had introduced a new style of writing Marathi, discarding the style of Bakhar which contained such a large admixture of Persian words. So some new works were necessary to satisfy the people of new tastes. Moreover, a large number of Bakhars, which were written in the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th centuries, were unpublished. But this task was not undertaken until late. The newly educated men did not come in contact with the Bakhars to any great extent as they came from poorer classes, and the Bakhars remained only with such families which produced men of affairs during the Maratha regime. In fact, prior to 1870, there was very little printed literature excepting some semi-sacred poetical works.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Caste in America.

It has been said that one of the reasons why there cannot be self-rule in India is that there is no inter-marriage and inter-dining between castes and sects, and that there is also what may be called "touch-me-not-ism" in India. It is interesting, therefore, to find that the United States of America is the greatest (self-ruling) republic in the world in spite of the presence of all the retrograde, inhuman, unjust and unrighteous features of the caste system. *The Literary Digest* has an article on "Negro-segregation in St. Louis." From it we learn :

For several days before the people of St. Louis voted to segregate the negroes of the city, negro girls and women handed out circulars on the streets bearing a cartoon depicting a white man driving a negro before him and lashing his bare back, with the inscription "Back to slavery." And now that the two ordinances embodying segregation have been carried by a three-to-one vote in a centrally located city of 700,000 inhabitants, the *New York Evening Post* alludes ironically to "the two watchwords of democracy—emancipation and segregation," and the *New York World* deplores the attempt "to deprive black men of property, liberty, and hope." But the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* observes that "the separation or segregation of the races" which "pre-ails generally through the South" on cars, boats, and in public places "has caused no special injury to any one," and "has unquestionably tended to prevent friction between the races when traveling, which of old frequently developed into serious disturbances and what were called 'race-riots.'"

It forbids negroes to move into blocks in which as many as 75 per cent. of the occupants are white, and prohibits "the use by negroes in 'white' or 'mixed' blocks of any building or part of a building for a church, dance-hall, school, theater, or place of assemblage for negroes."

The segregation-campaign seems quite insincere to a writer in the *St. Louis Labor*, who says :

"The education of the negro, and providing him with proper means for a living, are more worthy of the thought of good people than to crowd him into conditions where life is unbearable. Crowding him back into the alleys and slums will not make for a better condition for the white man than for the black man."

Prohibition of Inter-marriage.

The American Journal of Sociology has an article on "The Legal Status of Negro-white Amalgamation in the United States"

from which we glean the following items of information :

"The constitution of six of the American States prohibit negro-white intermarriages. Twenty-eight of the states have statute laws forbidding the inter-marriage of negro and white persons. Twenty of the states have no such laws ; in ten of those latter states bills aimed at the prevention of negro-white inter-marriages were introduced and defeated in 1913."

"The Alabama constitution prohibits the legislature from passing a law legalizing the intermarriage of white persons and any descendant of a negro. This means that a person whose ancestry may be traced to a negro—even though that person has no detectable physical mark of negro ancestry—may not marry a white person."

"The Florida constitution prohibits intermarriage between white persons and others possessing even one-sixteenth or more negro blood. Many such persons do not physically show their affinity with the negro race."

"The other four states, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, by their constitutions prohibit the intermarriage of white persons and others having one-eighth or more negro blood."

"Four states appear from their statutes to acknowledge that the existing laws against negro-white intermarriage do not reach all causes of negro-white amalgamation. Three of those states have, in addition to laws against intermarriage, laws against cohabitation and against concubinage."

"Alabama is the only state which would seem to have attempted to reach all the causes of negro-white amalgamation. Her laws include this phrase : 'if any white person or any negro.....live in adultery or fornication with each other, each of them must, on conviction, be imprisoned.....'"

Those who wish to have a more comprehensive survey of the problem of caste in America should read Mr. Lajpat Rai's recently published work on "The United States of America."

Japanese Police.

F. Nishiguchi tells us in the *Japan Magazine* that

Though the police of Japan are worse paid than those of any other country in the world, they are regarded as efficient and faithful as any that can be found. This is due no doubt to the fact that in Japan ability and loyalty to duty are never made to depend on money. However much the Japanese official may like to a better salary and to improve his circumstances, he is not expected to show it, and the policeman is no exception to this trait. His pride must lie in the fact that he is an official of the empire rather than in the emoluments of his position ; so that it is very rarely that a policeman of Japan is found to

succumb to the influences of filthy lucre. Another reason is that most of the police force of Japan consists of men who belong to the old samurai families, who were wont to despise trade and all traffic in money. This is not so true to-day as it formerly was, since a great deal of new blood has come into the ranks of the police in recent years. A samurai will at any time prefer to take a poorly paid position in the police force to finding himself ranked among merchants or tradesmen. And though the national police are not ranked very high socially, they are nevertheless proud of their place as guardians of the peace and are inclined to glory in their purity of motive and honesty of life.

The writer also says :

The Japanese policeman is generally respected and trusted by his countrymen ; and he has to keep up a good appearance, in spite of his poverty, to deserve the respect in which he is held. His wife is entitled to be addressed as *okusan*, instead of *okamisan*, the title of a lower-class wife.

The ordinary Indian policeman is worse paid than the Japanese. He also does not feel that he is a servant of the people, because the empire and the nation are not identical, wholly or in part.

The National Condition of India.

Under the above heading Sogen Yamagami, professor of the Buddhist College of Sodo Sect, Tokio, contributes a readable article to the *Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association*.

Some of his observations are interesting, as for instance, speaking of the unification of India the writer says :

India is a crowded country with a large variety of languages and religions. The question that presents itself to me is this ; "Is it possible out of all this conglomeration to bring about a more united condition ?" In my opinion, this present condition need not necessarily remain so.

To unify the country called India would be a great thing. If a uniform ideal would but permeate their thoughts, a unity would quickly follow. This uniform ideal would build the nation up in a concrete whole, and bring about the necessary forms needed. Some people doubt whether such an ideal exists or whether the Indian is capable of such thought. Personally, I certainly think that the Indian is capable of such thought, and more than that, I certainly think that such an ideal exists.

Later on we read :

The Indian consciousness is continually looking within until its deepest depths have been fathomed. "What am I ?" "What is humanity ?" "What is the *atman*, the *ego* ?" have always occupied the Indian thought through the long ages.

The Japanese *Atama* for head, the foremost part of a human body, is derived from the Indian word *atman* or *ego*.

Speaking of political conditions India the writer observes :

Bengal was divided into two parts. There was every reason to think, that this partition was carried into effect. Bengal is the centre of the Indian intellectual, and the education is most widely spreading. Therefore, the influence was too powerful for the Government to rule as one presidency. There was one more thought in reference to religion ; the quarrel between the Hindu and the Mohammedans will reduce their mutual strength and hinder their development by themselves. In view of these considerations, Bengal was divided into east and west.

The writer proposes the following means to unite Japan and India :

We Buddhists in Tokyo should first of all erect a large building to enable the Indian students and commercial men to house. A good system of supervision of the students and every opportunity to increase or perfect their knowledge must be effected. If this be done in Tokyo, the capital of Japan, and perhaps one even in Calcutta, the old capital of India, it would induce many more Indians to visit our country. Without our making suitable preparations for our invited guests so as to give them every advantage, it is only imprudence on our part to expect any sympathy from those with whom we desire to be united. Let us then put out our hands so that the Indians will follow our example and give assistance and facilities to our travellers and merchants who go to India for sight-seeing or on business. Without such an arrangement for intercommunication, it would be impossible to have the desired unity between the two countries, or at least, when it does come, it will be sadly belated. Let us then commence these preparations at once and let religion be the cement to join our unity ; we have the same faith, same belief, and a stronger binder could not be found.

How to Modernize our Schools.

The *American Review of Reviews* for April contains noteworthy views of some prominent American educationists, on the abovenamed subject, which are of more than passing interest.

Dr. Abraham Flexner who "stands today in the first rank of American authorities in the field of educational science and administration", has the following :

MODERN CONCEPTION OF EDUCATION.

I suggest that, in the first place a man educated in the modern sense has mastered the fundamental tools of knowledge : he can read and write ; he can spell the words he is in the habit of using ; he can express himself clearly orally or in writing ; he can figure correctly and with moderate facility within the limits of practical need ; he knows something about the globe on which he lives. So far there is no difference between a man educated in the modern sense and a man educated in any other sense.

There is, however, a marked divergence at the next step. The education which we are criticising is overwhelmingly formal and traditional. If objection is made to this or that study on the ground that it is useless or unsuitable, the answer comes that it "trains the mind" or has been valued for centuries.

"Training the mind" in the sense in which the claim is thus made for algebra or ancient languages is an assumption none too well founded; traditional esteem is an insufficient offset to present and future uselessness.

A man educated in the modern sense will forego the somewhat doubtful mental discipline received from formal studies; he will be contentedly ignorant of things for learning which no better reason than tradition can be assigned. Instead, his education will be obtained from studies that serve real purposes. Its content, spirit, and aim will be realistic and genuine, not formal or traditional. Thus, the man educated in the modern sense will be trained to know, to care about and to understand the world he lives in, with the physical world and the social world. A firm grasp of the physical world means the capacity to state and to interpret phenomena; a firm grasp of the social world means a comprehension of and sympathy with current industry, current science, and current politics.

The extent to which the history and literature of the past are utilized depends, not on what we call the historic value of this or that performance or classic, but on its actual pertinency to genuine need, interest or capacity. In any case, the object in view would be to give children the knowledge they need and to develop in them the power to handle themselves in our own world. Neither historic nor what are called purely cultural claims would alone be regarded as compelling.

If the subject serves a purpose, it is eligible to the curriculum; otherwise not. I need not stop at this juncture to show that "serving a purpose," "useful," "genuine," "realistic," and other descriptive terms are not synonymous with "utilitarian," "materialistic," "commercial," etc.,—for intellectual and spiritual purposes are genuine and valid, precisely as are physical, physiological and industrial purposes. That will become clear as we proceed.

We must not only cultivate the child's interests, senses and practical skill, but we must train him to interpret what he thus gets to the end that he may not only be able to perceive and to do, but that he may know in intellectual terms the significance of what he has perceived and done. The modern School would prove a disappointment, unless greater intellectual power is procurable on the basis of a realistic training than has been procured from a formal education, which is prematurely intellectual, and to no slight extent a mere make-believe.

About

MODERN CURRICULUM

Dr. Flexner says:

The curriculum of the modern school would be built out of actual activities in four main fields which I shall designate as science, industry, esthetics, civics. Let me sketch briefly a realistic treatment of each of these fields.

TRAINING IN SCIENCE.

The work in science would be the central and dominating feature of the school—a departure that is sound from the standpoint of psychology and necessary from the standpoint of our main purpose. Children would begin by getting acquainted with objects—animate and inanimate; they would learn to know trees, plants, animals, hills, streams, rocks, and to care for animals and plants. At the next stage, they would follow the life cycles of plants and animals and

study the processes to be observed in inanimate things. They would also begin experimentation—physical, chemical, and biological. In the upper grades, science would gradually assume more systematic form. On the basis of abundant sense-acquired knowledge and with senses sharpened by constant use, children would be interested in problems and in the theoretic basis on which their solution depends. They will make and understand a fireless cooker, a camera, a wireless telegraph; and they will ultimately deal with phenomena and their relations in the most rigorous scientific form.

The work in science just outlined differs from what is now attempted in both its extent and the point of view. Our efforts at science teaching up to this time have been disappointing for reasons which the above outline avoids: the elementary work has been altogether too incidental; the advanced work has been prematurely abstract; besides, general conditions have been unfavorable. The high-school boy who begins a systematic course of physics or chemistry without the previous training above described lacks the basis in experience which is needed to make systematic science genuinely real to him. The usual textbook in physics or chemistry plunges him at once into a world of symbols and definitions as abstract as algebra. Had an adequate realistic treatment preceded, the symbols when he finally reached them, would be realities. The abyss between sense training and intellectual training would thus be bridged.

Of coordinate importance with the world of science is the world of industry and commerce. The child's mind is easily captured for the observation and execution of industrial and commercial processes. The industries growing out of the fundamental needs of food, clothing and shelter, the industries, occupations, and apparatus involved in transportation and communication—all furnish practically unlimited openings for constructive experiences, for experiments, and for the study of commercial practices. Through such experiences the boy and girl obtain not only a clearer understanding of the social and industrial foundations of life, but also opportunities for expression and achievement in terms natural to adolescence.

LITERATURE AND ART SUBJECT.

A realistic treatment of literature would take hold of the child's normal and actual interests in romance, adventure, fact or what not and endeavor to develop them into as effective habits of reading as may be. Translations, adaptations, and originals in the vernacular—old and new—are all equally available. They ought to be used unconventionally and resourcefully, not in order that the child may get—what he will not get anyway—a conspectus of literary development; not in order that he may some day be certificated as having analyzed a few outstanding literary classics; but solely in order that his real interest in books may be carried as far and as high as is for him possible; and in this effort the methods pursued should be calculated to develop his interest and his taste, not to "train his mind" or to make of him a make-believe literary scholar.

There would be less pretentiousness in the realistic than there is in the orthodox teaching of literature; but perhaps in the end the child would really know and care about some of the living masterpieces and in any event there might exist some connection between the school's teaching and the child's spontaneous out-of-school reading.

Of the part to be played by art and music I am not qualified to speak. I do not even know to

what extent their teaching has been thought of from this point of view. I venture to submit, however, that the problem presented by them does not differ in principle from the problem presented by literature. Literature is to be taught in the Modern School primarily for the purpose of developing taste, interest, and appreciation, not for the purpose of producing persons who make literature or who seem to know its history; we hope to train persons, not to write poems or to discuss their historic place, but to care vitally for poetry,—though not perhaps without a suspicion that this is the surest way of liberating creative talent.

The Modern School would, in the same way, endeavor to develop a spontaneous, discriminating and genuine artistic interest and appreciation,—rather than to fashion makers of music and art. It would take hold of the child where he is and endeavor to develop and to refine his taste.

Languages have no value in themselves; they exist solely for the purpose of communicating ideas and abbreviating our thought and action processes. If studied, they are valuable only in so far as they are practically mastered,—not otherwise; so at least the Modern School holds. From this standpoint, for purposes of travel, trade, study, and enjoyment, educated men who do not know French and German usually come to regret it keenly. When they endeavor during mature life to acquire a foreign tongue, they find the task inordinately difficult and the result too often extremely disappointing. It happens, however, that practical mastery of foreign languages can be attained early in life with comparative ease. A school trying to produce a resourceful modern type of educated man and woman would therefore provide practical training in one or more modern languages.

MODERNIZING HISTORY-TEACHING.

The fourth main division, which I have called civics, includes history, institutions, and current happenings. Much has been written, little done, towards the effective modernization of this work; so that though new views of historical values prevail in theory, the schools go on teaching the sort of history they have always taught and in pretty much the same way.

"Should a student of the past," writes Professor Robinson of Columbia, "be asked what he regarded as the most original and far-reaching discovery of modern times, he might reply with some assurance that it is our growing realization of the fundamental importance and absorbing interest of common men and common things."

MATHEMATICAL INSTRUCTION.

The Association of Teachers of Mathematics in New England has suggested "a one-year course in elementary algebra and geometry of a concrete sort, designed so far as possible to test the pupil's qualifications for future mathematical study; and Dr. Snedden has raised the question as to why girls in high schools or as candidates for college should be required to present algebra; he has also urged that a knowledge of algebra is of no importance to men following law, medicine, journalism, or theology. Professor Breslich, of Chicago, has been attacking the same problem vigorously from a not unrelated point of view. Without considering any point settled, it is clear that a Modern School which wiped the slate of mathematics and then subsequently wrote upon it only what was found to serve the real needs of quantitative thought and action might evolve a

curriculum in mathematics that we should recognize.

The writer goes on to say:

For the sake of convenience, the four large fields of activity have been separately discussed. But it must be pointed out that the failure of the traditional school to make cross connections is an additional unreality. The traditional school teaches composition in the English classes, quantitative work in the mathematics classes; history, literature, and so on each in its appropriate division. Efforts are indeed making to overcome this separateness, but they have gone only a little way. The Modern School would from the first undertake the cultivation of contacts and cross-connections. Every exercise would be a spelling lesson: science, industry and mathematics would be inseparable; science, industry, history, civics, literature, and geography would to some extent utilize the same material. These suggestions are in themselves not new and not wholly untried. What is lacking is a consistent, thorough-going, and fearless embodiment. For even the teachers who believe in modern education are so situated that either they cannot act, or they act under limitations that are fatal to effective effort.

In speaking of the course of study, I have dwelt wholly on content. Unquestionably, however, a curriculum revolutionized in content will be presented by methods altered to suit the spirit and aim of the instruction. For children will be taught merely in order that they may know or be able to do certain things that they do not now know and cannot now do, but material will be presented to them in ways that promote their proper development and growth—individually and socially. For education is not only a matter of what people can do, but also of what they are.

In the preceding sketch I have made no distinction between the sexes. It is just as important for a girl as it is for a boy to be interested in the phenomenal world, to know how to observe, to infer, and to reason, to understand industrial, social, and political developments, to read good books, and to finish school by the age of twenty. Differentiation at one point or another may be suggested by experience; but in the vocational training alone can one assume in advance its necessity. The Modern School, with its strongly realistic emphasis, will undoubtedly not overlook woman's domestic role and family functions.

About

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

we are told:

If children are to be taught and trained with an eye to the realities of life and existence, the accessible world is the laboratory to be used for that purpose. Let us imagine a Modern School located in New York City: consider for a moment its assets for educational purpose: the harbor, the Metropolitan Museum, the Public Library, the Natural History Museum, the Zoological Garden, the city government, the Weather Bureau, the transportation systems, lectures, concerts, plays, and so on. Other communities may have less, but all have much. As things now are, children living in this rich and tingling environment get for the most part precisely the same education that they would be getting in let us say Oshkosh or Keokuk. Again, the Modern School is as much interested in the child's body as in his mind.

It would, therefore, provide play-facilities, sports, and gymnastics. A study of the country day schools, now springing up, should tell us whether the Modern School should or should not seek to provide for the child's entire day. Some of this additional material, we already know pretty well how to organize and use; as for the rest, we shall have to find out.

Dr. Eliot advocates the following changes in the programs of American secondary schools:

The introduction of more hand, ear, and eye work—such as drawing, carpentry, turning, music, sewing, and cooking, and the giving of much more time to the sciences of observation—chemistry, physics, biology, and geography—not political but geological and climatographical geography. These sciences should be taught in the most concrete manner possible—that is, in laboratories with ample experimenting done by the individual pupil with his own eyes and hands, and in the field through the pupil's own observation guided by expert leaders. In secondary schools situated in the country the elements of agriculture should have an important place in the program, and the pupils should all work in the school gardens and experimental plots, both individually and in co-operation with others. In city schools a manual training should be given which would prepare a boy for any one of many different trades, not by familiarising him with the details of actual work in any trade, but by giving him an all-round bodily vigor, a nervous system capable of multiform co-ordinated efforts, a liking for doing his best in competition with mates, and a wisely applicable skill of eye and hand. Again, music should be given a substantial place in the program of every secondary school, in order that all the pupils may learn musical notation, and may get much practice in reading music and in singing. Drawing, both freehand and mechanical, should be given ample time in every secondary school program, because it is an admirable mode of expression which supplements language and is often to be preferred to it, lies at the foundation of excellence in many arts and trades, affords simultaneously good training for both eye and hand, and gives much enjoyment throughout life to the possessor of even a moderate amount of skill.

Dr. Lewellys F. Barker, the distinguished Johns Hopkins pathologist and professor of medicine points out the mistaken methods in science teaching. Says he:

The memorising of a mass of facts is far less important than a well-rounded education in fundamental principles, a certain training in methods of investigation, and, above all, the acquisition of the scientific habit of mind. A student at graduation can never be a finished product. He is only a beginner in his subject. What we must do for him is to prepare him in such a way that he will know how to continue his studies for himself after graduation, and we must see to it that he will be capable of making growth himself parallel with the progress that his science makes.

The learned writer concludes by saying:

The Modern School would "discipline the mind" in the only way in which the mind can be effectively disciplined—by energizing it through the doing of real tasks. The formal difficulties which the Modern School discards are educationally inferior to the genuine difficulties involved in science, industry, liter-

ature, and politics; for formal problems are not apt to evoke prolonged and resourceful effort. It is, indeed, absurd to invent formal difficulties for the professed purpose of discipline, when within the limits of science, industry, literature, and politics, real problems abound. Method can be best acquired, and stands the best chance of being acquired, if real issues are presented. Are problems any the less problems because a boy attacks them with intelligence and zest? He does not attack them because they are easy, nor does he shrink from them because they are hard. He attacks them, if he has been wisely trained, because they challenge his powers. And in this attack he gets what the conventional school so generally fails to give—the energizing of his faculties, and a directive clue as to where he will find a congenial and effective object in life.

The Modern School undertakes a large and free handling of the phenomenal world, appealing in due course to the observational, the imaginative, and the reasoning capacities of the child; and in precisely the same spirit and with equal emphasis, it will utilize art, literature, and music. Keeping always within reach of the child's genuine response should indeed make for, not against, the development of spiritual interests. Are science and such poetry as children can be brought to love more likely or less likely to stir the soul than formal grammar, algebra, or the literature selections that emanate from the people who supervise the college entrance examinations?

Fear does us little good. We can achieve nothing by being afraid; whereas men have achieved great things, by being the contrary. Nothing is more pernicious than implanting fear in young minds by suggesting to them the existence of imaginary bugbears. The fear thus implanted in the mind of a child is difficult to get over even when the child grows up. *The Spectator* has an interesting article entitled

The Infection of Fear

in which some light has been thrown on the psychology of fear. We read:

Fear is communicable like an infectious disease. Suggestion and imagination are as powerful as the most virulent bacillus to plant a disease. We have all read of the bound and blindfolded man who, having had a knife passed harmlessly across his throat, and hearing water dropping into a pail, died because he believed that he was bleeding to death. Many of us have listened to the noise of rats or mice or cracking furniture, or the gurgling of water in pipes, in the stillness of the night, and imagined it to be the footfall of a burglar. Among children fear is nearly always conveyed by suggestion. Children are proverbially afraid of darkness—"men fear death as children fear to go in the dark"—and yet few children are afraid of darkness as such. They are afraid because they have been told by foolish persons of ogres, and bad fairies, and ghosts, and cruel policemen who come at night for naughty children who cry. Boys have been known to work with a malignant success upon the fears of another boy till they wrecked his nerve. It was fun to them, but nearly mental death

to him. Make the abnormal appear the normal, and your standard is taken away and you yourself are lost. There is a well-known anecdote about a farmer who was induced to believe that his dog was a pig because every one whom he met on the road congratulated him on the fine appearance of the pig he was taking to market. Fainting, it has been said with as much truth as paradox, is infectious. Brain calls to brain in a packed crowd of sightseers on a sultry day; and when one woman faints, self-confidence diminishes at the signal on all sides.

So it is with fear. Most people can be talked into a state of fear. A railway carriage full of people has been thrown into alarm because some one suggested that the train was traveling at a reckless speed. The ordinary jolts from an indifferent permanent way seemed to be the perilous leaps of an engine that kept the rails more by good luck than good management. Fear has spread among the passengers in a steamship because some idiotic person suggested, when the ship slowed down in a mist, that the captain did not know where he was. The idiot in such a case has a touch of the criminal, because he can have no evidence for what he says, and because no useful purpose can be served by his remark even if he speaks on any evidence.

G. C. Whitworth contributes to the *Journal of the East India Association* for April an important article in which he shows how much there is in common between the two communities of

Hindus and Muhammadans

in origin, in practice and in interest.

Says the writer:

In the first place, the great bulk of Indian Muhammadans were originally Hindus, so that there is no initial antipathy of race between them. It may be urged that converts or "perverts" are specially antagonistic to their former faiths, but that argument hardly applies after the lapse of so many generations as are in case here. Again, there are in India Muhammadans who are not descended from converted Hindus. Such are the Pathans, the Mapillas, the Navaitas, the Sidis, and a certain number of emigrants from Arabia and Persia. But these, all told, are a small minority, and many of them have an admixture of Hindu blood in their veins.

Secondly, there are a great number of Hindu tribes or castes of whom a part has in the past accepted Islam, the rest of them remaining Hindus; and we find the two sections subsisting amicably side by side, though differing in religion and as to many customs. And there are, again, the castes or tribes which, without dividing among themselves, have accepted Islam only in part, and to this day observe some Hindu elements and some Muhammadan elements of religion and custom.

The castes, a part of which has accepted Islam wholly, are thus enumerated:

Among the Rajputs we find several such clans: the Gautamas, the clan to which Buddha belonged; the Bhagelās, who have given their name to Bhagalkhand; the Bhattis, of which clan the ruler of

Jaisalmir is a member; and the Tomars, who were for a long time a ruling family at Delhi.

It is interesting to notice that the Jadubansis, who, as the race in which both Krishna and the Buddha were born, might be expected to be pre-eminently Hindu, have very largely embraced Islam.

There are Muhammadans also in the widely spread race of the Jats, to which belong many ruling families in Upper India.

The great pastoral tribe of the Ahirs of the United Provinces, Kathiawar and Khandesh, also has Muhammadan representatives. And so have the other cattle-keeping castes, the Gaulis and the Sabalias; also the Khatkis, or butchers.

Among the cultivating classes some few of the Kambohs of the Punjab, of the Makvanas of Gujarat, and many of the Rajbansis of the Koch tribe, have adopted Islam. The last-named were not converted from Hinduism, but some of the original Koch tribe adopted the one religion and some the other.

The Machhis are some of them Hindus and some Musalmans. So also are the Vaghairs, another fishing caste, on the coasts of Cutch and Kathiawar.

The Bhunjas, or grain-parchers; the Chhapas, Bhandharas, and Khombatris, who are dyers; the Kharadis, or turners; the Kumbars, or potters; the Salats, or stonemasons; the Kadias, or bricklayers; and the Chunaras, or limeburners, are similarly divided:

So of the trading Banjaras; the Panjigars, or starchers; the Ghanchis, or oil-pressers; the Maparas, who measure grain; the Kalais, who distil and sell spirits; and the Pakhalis, or water-carriers.

Lastly, there are several castes or tribes who are by profession actors, dancers, singers, jugglers, buffoons, etc., parts of each of which have become Muhammadans. Such are the Nats, Garudis, Bhads, Banjaras, Chamthas, Bahurupias, Bhavaias, Pandhraps, and Vadis.

Then there are "some castes which, without dividing among themselves, have accepted some elements of Islam while retaining more or less of their original religion and practice, and present therefore a compromise between Hinduism and Muhammadanism."

This list also may be headed by some of the Rajput clans; the Jadejas, who still rule in Cutch; the Bargujars of Rohilkhand; the Molesalams, represented by several thakors, or chieftains; the Sials, who used to rule at Jhang; the Samas of Sindh, and perhaps also the Osvals of Marwar, have all had more or less connection with Islam, and present some Hindu and some Musalman characteristics. The Molesalams, in dress and appearance, resemble Hindus, but they marry either among themselves or with Musalmans. The Jadejas have been converted. The Samas keep their Rajput names, but their ceremonies are mostly Muhammadan.

The Bishanavis consider themselves Hindu rather than Musalman, but add "Shaikh" to their Hindu name. They observe the ceremonies of both religions.

The Kharrals of the Punjab and the Nianes of Cutch both call themselves Musalmans, but both have many Hindu customs. The Kasbatis of Gujarat also call themselves Musalmans, but sometimes take Hindu wives. The Kamalias of Gujarat profess Islam but worship Bahucharaji, and serve as musicians in her temple; while the Musaddis, who are

Muhammadan devotees, have adopted the prayer of GURU Nanak as their rule of faith. The Meos, of the Alwar region, are Muhammadan in name but retain their village gods and employ Brahmans as well as the Kazi. Some of the Kanbis of Gujarat were converted to Islam, and took the name of Matia, or Beliver, but, except that they bury their dead, their customs have remained Hindu.

The great trading classes of Khojas, Memonas and Memans, the first two of which are mostly Shias and the third Sunnis, have, as is well known, retained much of Hindu law and custom.

Some of the wilder tribes also, as the Tadvis and Nidnis of Khandesh, have a mixed regard for the faith of Islam and certain Hindu deities.

Countless instances may be observed of Hindus and Musalmans acting together in full accord without any check arising from differences of religious opinion.

Some of the Mughal Emperors, as is well known, had Hindu as well as Musalman Queens. Inter-marriages between Rajputs and Musalmans were so common that we have the name Rangarh to express the original issue of such marriages. The Kasbatis, as mentioned above, sometimes take Hindu wives; and the Molesalams, who are partly Hindu, may intermarry with Musalmans; and a recent Jam of Nazanagar had a Musalman wife, and his son by her was declared and accepted as his successor.

Hindus held high office, both civil and military, under the Mughal Emperors, and recently the Muhammadan State of Hyderabad had Hindu Prime Ministers, and the Hindu State of Jaipur a Musalman Prime Minister. Baroda has had a Muhammadan Prime Minister and Chief Justice. Those great marauders, the Pindaris, were some of them Hindus and some Musalmans. In the Mutiny both communities took part, and Hindus fought in support of a Muhammadan dynasty, and Musalmans for a representative of the Peshva.

The writer quotes instances of the two communities coming together in public meeting and of their joining hands to do honors to great Indians whether Hindu or Mahomedan.

There are societies of a philanthropic character which have both Hindu and Muhammadan members; the Seva Sadan has an Islamic branch; the Servants of India include some Musalmans; and some of the co-operative societies bring both communities together—so much so, it is said, that in one village the necessity of united action put an end to the frequently-recurring Muharram strife. There was a joint Hindu and Muhammadan Committee of the Indian South African League. There is an Indian Union Society in London to promote common interests.

There are joint clubs where Hindus and Musalmans meet: the Orient in Bombay, the Lumsden in Amritsar, and I believe one such has recently been opened in Calcutta. There is also a joint ladies' club in Lahore. Not long ago the Punjab Association Club entertained the Punjab Muslim Club. I have myself dined at the Orient Club with a Hindu guest on one side of me and a Musalman on the other. What are called Cosmopolitan dinners are sometimes given, especially after social conferences; and recently at an Indian student's dinner at Cambridge a Musal-

man proposed the health of the Hindus and a Hindu that of the Muslims.

Hindus returned a Muhammadan representative to the Viceroy's Council for several years. The *Indian Patriot* a Hindu paper, recommended a Muhammadan as the first member of the Executive Council. In the Councils members support and oppose one another independently of religious tenets. So also of at least the Bombay Municipal Corporation; and a Musalman President of that body has been proposed by a Parsi and seconded by a Hindu.

In Lahore there is a "League of Help" with a Hindu Hon. Secretary and a Muhammadan Hon. Treasurer.

In Haidarabad (Nizam's) there was a meeting of women of all creeds, who assembled to give expression (in six different languages) to their sorrow at the death of Mr. Gokhale. The Muhammadan ladies, the report says, vied with the Hindus in eloquence on the subject. There was also a children's meeting in the same place, at which Hindu and Muhammadan boys acted together in a play written by a Hindu. And a poem by a young Muhammadan was recited on the same occasion.

Turning to some more expressly religious points of contact between Hindus and Musalmans the writer says:

Chaitanya, the great Bengal teacher of the sixteenth century, had some Musalmans among his followers; also that H. H. the Aga Khan has some Hindu followers—the Jhivars certainly, if not others. Again, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, the supreme modern saint of the Hindus, got himself initiated by an Islamic saint into one of the deepest phases of Muhammadanism; and the present Guru of the great Sringeri monastery in Mysore has very friendly relations with the Muhammadans, receiving addresses from them and presenting them with shawls and other marks of honour. Musalmans also visit the Belur matha near Howrah on the occasion of the Paramahansa's birthday; and Bhai Baldev Narayan named as his masters Jamaluddin as well as Keshub Chandra Sen and Ramkrishna. Hindus also take part in the lighter side of some Muhammadan festivals, as the Muharram and the Shab-i-barat, and offer vows at Musalman shrines, as at Penkonda and Trichinopoly, and there exists somewhere in the Panch Mahals (at Champaner, if I remember right) a Muhammadan shrine actually on the top of a Hindu temple, with access to it only through the temple.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore on the Spirit of the Hindu Stage.

Writing in a recent number of the *Drama*, Sir Rabindranath Tagore gives in a cursory way a succinct description of the Hindu theatre, and incidentally claims superiority for the Hindu stage, with its lack of elaborate scenery. The Hindu stage is imaginative, the Western realistic. Sir Rabindranath speaks of how in Bharata's work on the drama—*Natya-shastra*—there is a description of the stage, but no mention of scenery. And the author of *Gitanjali* says that "this absence of

concrete scenery cannot have been much of a loss." He continues :

In spite of Wagner and his idea of the combined arts, it may be argued that any one of the arts is only to be seen in her full glory when she is sole mistress ; it hurts her dignity and degrades her if she is called upon to share her household with a rival,—the more so, if that rival happen to be the favourite of the moment. If we have to sing an epic, the tune needs to become a chant, and to give up all hopes of rising to melodic heights. The true poem furnishes its own music from within itself and rejects with disdain all outside help.....

It may seem that dramatic art must needs be less independent than other forms ; that the drama is created with the direct object in view of attaining its fulfillment by means of outside help, and therefore awaits the acting, scenery, music, and other accessories of the stage.

I cannot agree with this opinion. Like the true wife, who wants none other than her husband, the true poem, dramatic otherwise, wants none other than the understanding mind. We all act to ourselves as we read a play ; and the play which cannot be sufficiently interpreted by such invisible acting, has never yet gained the laurel for its author.

So far as acting goes, it would be more correct to say that it has forlornly to wait the coming of the charms. But the drama, which cramps and curtails itself to fit in with the actor's skill, becomes, like the henpecked husband, an object of scorn. The attitude of the drama should be : "If I can be acted, well and good ; if not, so much the worse for the acting".....

It is superfluous to state, for instance, that the actor is dependent on the words of the drama ; he must smile or weep, and make his audience smile or weep, with the words of joy or scorn which the author puts into his mouth. But why pictures,—pictures which hang about the actor, and are not, even in part, his own personal creation ?

To my mind, it shows only faint-heartedness on the actor's part to seek their help. The relief from responsibility which he gains by their illusion is one which is begged of the painter. Besides, it pays the spectators the very poor compliment of ascribing to them an utter poverty of imagination.

Sir Rabindranath deploras the innovation of the elaborate paraphernalia of Western stage-craft in India ; and he thus urges his countrymen to free the Indian theatre of this unnecessary incubus :

The theaters which we have set up in India to-day, in imitation of the West, are too elaborate to be brought to the door of all. In them the creative richness of the poet and the player is overshadowed by the mechanical wealth of the capitalist. If the Hindu spectator has not been too far infected with the greed for realism ; if the Hindu artist has any respect for his own craft and skill ; the best thing they can do for themselves is to regain their freedom by making a clean sweep of the costly rubbish that has accumulated and is clogging the stage of the present day.

Japan's Position in the World.

The Japan Magazine writes :

JAPAN AND THE WORLD.

In a recent article in the 'Taiyo' its distinguished editor, Dr. Ukita, outlines his opinions as to Japan's position in the world, and inclines to the conviction that her mission is of the future rather than of the past, a theory strangely inconsistent with a nation of ancestor-worshippers. Still, to him the theory seems perfectly logical, since a race with so material an ancestry may hope to attain to still greater things. Dr. Ukita holds that geographically and racially Japan has no rivals in her march toward supremacy in the Far East. While her neighbors are still dreaming under the glamor of their past, Japan has added western civilization and its methods to her own and is leaving the rest of the Orient far behind, having already taken first rank among the family of nations. While Japan is quite convinced of her superiority to other oriental races and of her capacity to teach and lead them, she is not so sure that western nations yet admit her claims. As Japan represents an amalgamation of all that is best in Hindu and Chinese civilization, the people of India and China naturally looked upon her with suspicion when she began to assume a western aspect as well : she was running with the hare as well as with the hounds, so to speak. But Japan has persisted in her policy, reorganizing her internal administration, improving her diplomatic relations and winning two great wars, until now she commands the attention of the world.

ORIENTAL CONSERVATISM.

One of Japan's most difficult tasks is to get the other oriental nations to break through their crust of conservatism and follow her. Since her rapid development has greatly arrested western aggrandisement in the East, she is naturally mistrusted also by occidentals, and even some orientals fear that her hegemony of the Orient may expose them to the fate of Korea. This suspicion of Japan entertained by India, China and western nations renders her position as yet somewhat unstable. Though Japan regards herself as the inferior of no race and nation on earth, western nations are prone to esteem her as no higher than other oriental nations, while they think her racial genius as well as her religion and civilization too divergent for assimilation with the West. Curiously enough, in spite of her devotion to modern science, Japan still worships tribal gods and deifies her ruler in a manner so anomalous as to puzzle Europe. The religious rites practised in Japan find no counterpart in the West this side of the sacrifices to the gods of Greece in the time of Socrates or in the Roman apotheosis of the Cæsars. That a modern nation should still cling to the religious conceptions of ancient Greece and Rome, must leave Japan a mystery to western Powers. Neither Britons nor Americans have any great love for Japan, and naturally treat Japanese subjects with discrimination, while Germany fosters the idea of the "Yellow peril," which she originated. The aversion of foreigners to Japan, cannot, in the opinion of Dr. Ukita, be removed by stories of Japan's brilliant past and theories of her still greater future. Japan must rely on herself and forge her destiny in spite of criticism and opposition.

India and Japan

The following address was given by Sri Rabindranath Tagore to a large and enthusiastic audience on the evening of June 1st at the Public Hall at Tennoji, Osaka. The moment he began to speak the audience was carried away by the beautiful and sonorous melody of his voice. The address elicited repeated cheers and acclamations. The report is taken from the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* of June 3, 1916.

It has come to me as a delightful surprise to be received with such overwhelming warmth of welcome as has fallen to my lot since my arrival in your country. I had a dismal idea that poetry could have very little expectation from young nations who have to compete with others having a longer start and a more hardened conscience, who have to make up for their lost time for having come late in the arena of the modern age, the age of commercial scramblings and political piracies. Surely Natural Selection has a rigorous contempt for all poets, who are born neither with the protective convenience of a tough skin nor with the canine teeth of formidable ferocity. The traditional harps of the poets are an encumbrance in the race of life, and struggle for existence runs its course triumphantly trampling upon rhymes and rhythms under its ruthless feet.

Therefore it was a great relief to me to be treated in a manner that convinced me that your hearts still have room for the green of the earth and the blue of the sky—and your cherry blossoms will still have their chance in their competition with shrill machines and brazen new inventions of iron age of the corrugated iron sheds, gramophones and cinematograph shows.

From my young days, my thoughts have constantly turned to Japan. And since, in later years, I have witnessed the wonderful rise to eminence in Asia of your great nation, it has been one of my special desires to visit Japan, where the east and the west found their meeting place and, carried on their courtship far enough to give assurance of a wedding. It was my desire to know where and how Japan's Past found its affinity in its Present, and where lies the secret of her power, which has the flexibility of a tempered steel-blade which bends but does not break and whose strokes are all the more sure for being adaptable to new circumstances.

When my thoughts went back to Japan in earlier days, it was to remember those times when the Buddhist monks, starting from my country, crossed over the high mountains, traversed the great upland plains, and passed over the mighty rivers of China, till they reached the sea. They encountered difficulties, not only of climate and geography, but also of language and custom. Yet they went forward, strong in their belief in man's fellowship; and they proved the truth of their belief in living deeds. In their case, therefore, while the outward difficulties were so great, the inward path was made straight before them by the enthusiasm of their faith and the devotion to those truths of life, which they had discovered and explored. When those who had learnt the message from them reached at last the shores of Japan, their ideas found a home among your people.

I could not help contrasting the almost insurmountable difficulties, which these earliest pilgrims

from our shores must have encountered, with the ease and comfort in which I have just been able to accomplish my journey. What must have taken many years in those earlier days can now be completed in less than a month. Yet this modern civilisation with all its mechanical appliances for making life comfortable and progress rapid on the outside, has become itself a barrier in its turn with regard to the inner spirit of man, because it has made our life so intricate that it has lost its transparency of simplicity. Our things are more in evidence than ourselves. Our engagements are too numerous, our amusements are too frequent. The surface scum of life has become thick and muddy. All the odds and ends, the vast waste materials of civilisation floating about it, have created a growing barrier, not only shutting out our deeper nature but smothering it to a great extent. Exhibition of man's nature has taken its place on the surface, where his richness is in his materials, his strength in his organisation, his heroism in his ambitious undertakings, his mind in his science. Man's heart is squandering its strength in its craving for the dram drinking of sensationalism,—pitifully asking for its continual doses of fresh news and fresh noise,—loosing its healthy taste for food in its insatiable thirst for stimulants. It is the stupendous unreality of this modern civilisation, always changing its shapes and shifting its course, furiously riding upon the dust storm of unmeaning restlessness, scattering about it in the wind shreds of things torn and mangled, decaying and dead,—all this is making the real man invisible to himself or to others. In the days of heroic simplicity, it was easy to come near to the real man, but in the modern times it is the phantasm of the giant time itself, which is everywhere and the man is lost beyond recognition, and while the means of communication are multiplying fast the communication itself is diminishing in its reality.

The whirlwind of modern civilisation has caught Japan as it has caught the rest of the world, and a stranger like myself cannot help feeling on landing in your country that what I see before me is the temple of modern age where before the brazen images an immense amount of sacrifice is offered and an interminable round of ritualism is performed. But this is not Japan. Its features are the same as they are in London, in Paris, in Berlin, or the manufacturing centres of America. Also the men you meet here for the first time have the same signs of the push and the pull of the rotating machine wheels of the present age. They jostle you, they drag you on with the rush of the crowd, they rapidly take note of your exteriors and offer their exteriors to be taken in snapshots. They have the curiosity for the superficial details, but not love for the real person. They are satisfied with the unessentials, because these can be gathered easily and got rid of as soon, these can be handled and soiled and swept away in the dust bin with as little loss of time as possible. For everything must make room for the next ephemera, the shock of the sensations has to be carried on and the men who have no time to lose must be amused in a hurry. They try to break chips off the permanent for making playthings for the temporary. At the first sight what you see most in this land is the professional, and not the human.

These are the drawbacks of the present time. And the obstacles that I shall have to surmount in order to come near to the heart of your country are far more difficult than those which our ancestors had to deal with in their communication with you. For

it was only the barrier of nature, which stood in their way. But now man has to be reached through the barrier of time, and not space, and this is the most difficult task to perform. But I must not lose heart. I must seek and find what is true in this land,—true to the soul of the people,—what is Japan, what is unique, and not merely mask of the time which is monotonously the same in all latitudes and longitudes. I earnestly hope that I shall not have to be satisfied with bird's eye views and flashlight impres-

sions, with snapshot pictures of all that hides you from view, and I shall claim my privilege as a poet whose only gift of sympathy and love, to be allowed entrance into a corner of your living heart, and to carry away your love with me to the land which can justly feel proud of herself for being able to send to you as her gift in the past, not machines, not munitions of war, but her best that she could offer to all unity.

NOTES

Home Rule for India.

The greatest issue before the Indian public is Home Rule. Even in countries where universal and compulsory education is the rule and where the expression of opinion is free, the ideal of the most advanced thinkers is generally considered the national ideal. In India, it has been often urged as an objection against the acceptance of any political demand as the demand of the public that the voiceless millions have not expressed themselves in favour of it. But have they expressed themselves against it? Just as the leading men of other countries are the spokesmen of their fellow-countrymen, so are the leaders of India the spokesmen of the Indian people. By the leaders of India we mean the intellectual leaders. There are some prominent Indians who say and write what pleases the bureaucrats. They are not our leaders. They are gramophones playing to the bureaucracy.

As to our fitness for self-rule, our answer is that we are sufficiently fit to be able to make any experiment in that direction reasonably successful. No nation has yet proved itself perfectly fit for self-rule; every nation has made grave blunders. We have answered in our last February number the main objections urged against Indian Home Rule. Our reply need not be repeated now.

There are two kinds of fitness: the fitness to have and exercise a right, and the fitness to win it. The first kind of fitness can be proved by facts and arguments. This we have done. The second kind can be proved only by the logic of achievement, that is, by winning Home Rule. Let us prepare

ourselves to prove our fitness in this way, too; let us win self-rule by constitutional means. But we should bear in mind that constitutional agitation is not all plain sailing. It involves sacrifice and suffering, as history shows.

Every intelligent man, literate or illiterate, naturally accepts the ideal of Home Rule when it is properly explained to him. There can be no other ideal for any intelligent and self-respecting person. Every one who is at all capable of even rudimentary political thinking must have a vague feeling that it is *the* thing. The task before our leaders is to convert this vague feeling into reasoned conviction. In other words, a Home Rule propaganda is required.

Mrs. Annie Besant has started such a propaganda in the Madras Presidency and in England. In the Deccan a Home Rule League has been established, which is making its views and arguments known through the *Mahratta* and by other means. Of course, as the Home Rule ideal means self-rule for India within the British Empire, the methods adopted everywhere are strictly constitutional.

During Christmas week last year, some publicists and others expressed the opinion that the Congress organisation, such as it is, would suffice for a self-rule propaganda, and that, therefore, a separate Home Rule League would not be necessary. Seven months have passed since then, without any congress committee making any appreciable effort in the direction required. The case, therefore, for the establishment of a Pan-Indian Home Rule League seems unanswerable.

In addition to a vigorous, active and strictly constitutional self-rule propa-

ganda, there should be a clear, unequivocal demand made by the next President of the Indian National Congress that India should have self-rule when the war is over. On this occasion our spokesman should be an Indian, and he should be pronounced, cut and out Home Ruler. It is by our own strength, courage, sacrifice and sufferings that we can have the right of self-rule. We must, therefore, make the demand through an Indian spokesman. There should be as little reason as possible for our opponents to say that the demand for self-rule is not an indigenous demand.

The Congress is a non-sectarian, non-racial organisation. All religions and races are represented in it. But as Moslems have also a separate organisation of their own, the Moslem Leaguers should also elect a declared Home Ruler for their next president.

"A Mischievous Movement."

The Times of London has promptly paid the Indian Home Rule League in England the compliment of discussing the movement in its leading columns and calling it a 'mischievous movement.' There was a time when the Irish Home Rule movement was also, no doubt, spoken of as a dangerous movement; but it has since been found, though rather late, that it possessed mischief-preventing properties, of which the British Cabinet did not avail themselves early enough to prevent bloodshed, destruction of property, and deep-seated resentment and bitterness of feeling. What was once labelled "Poison" is now labelled "Panacea."

Constitutions are said to differ; what is one man's physic is said to be sometimes another man's poison. What would cure our ills might not suit those whom the *Times* represents.

The Times is also pleased to designate the Indian Home Rule League in London an obscure organisation. Why then trouble about it, if it be obscure and contemptible? It is just like the contempt which typical Anglo-Indians feel for Bengalis;—they despise us so much that they can never forget our presence.

The Bombay Government and Mrs. Besant.

In the opinion of the Governor of Bombay in Council, there being "reasonable grounds for believing that Mrs. Annie

Besant has acted and is about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety," the said Governor-in-Council has been "pleased to direct that the said Mrs. Besant shall not enter and shall not reside or remain in the Province of Bombay pending the further orders of Government."

It has not yet been made illegal to hold and express opinions different from those held by Governors-in-Council. It is therefore permissible to say that we do not believe that Mrs. Besant had acted and was about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety. As the reasonable grounds referred to in the order served upon Mrs. Besant have not been and will not be mentioned, it is needless to speculate whether a knowledge of them, taking it for granted that they exist, might or might not change our opinion.

The order has been passed in exercise of the powers conferred by rule 3 of the Defence of India (consolidation) Rules; and that rule was framed in pursuance of Section 2 of the Defence of India Act, 1915, which was a piece of emergency legislation said to have been necessitated by the war. In the course of the speech which Sir Reginald Craddock made in introducing the bill, he said:

"Apart from the military interests involved, it indicates nothing more than that there are in some parts of the country sporadic manifestations of disorder which require to be nipped in the bud lest they should grow and spread."

Mrs. Besant has been enthusiastic in her loyalty to the British throne, has personally contributed to the War Fund, has been the means of securing other contributions to it, has always supported the cause of the Allies, has from the very commencement of the war attacked the Germans in speech and writing with a vehemence which even some of her followers considered incompatible with the principle of universal brotherhood held by the Theosophical Society of which she is the president, and has persistently exposed the mischievous and dangerous character of the German Missions conducting schools and industries, sometimes with the aid of grants from Government. As regards her general politics, she has from long before the beginning of the war consistently denounced all methods of violence, and was in her zeal once misled to imply that the whole student population of Bengal was infected with the taint of political dacoity. One is,

therefore, left to infer that it is her home rule propaganda which is only considered prejudicial to public safety. This is probable. For the views of Anglo-Indian bureaucrats and of the *London Times* often coincide, and the latter has already pronounced the home rule movement mischievous. We, however, hold that this movement is calculated to prevent mischief and do good to and strengthen the body politic. We have not the least doubt that history will prove our opinion to be correct.

The action of the Bombay Government may produce one good result. God overrules man's purposes, and makes even human bunglings bear good fruit. The Press Act of 1910 was meant to cope with anarchical crimes and incitements thereto, but has been enforced against many newspapers which were in no way guilty in this respect. But, for the most part, their proprietors, editors, and publishers were not much known to fame. The arbitrary application of the law did not, therefore, in their case, attract much attention. But when security was demanded under the Act from Mrs. Besant, who was not an obscure person, an agitation was set up all over the country, whose waves will perhaps reach the shores of England, too. Similarly, the Defence of India Act has led to the internment of more than two hundred persons in Bengal alone and of several others elsewhere. More than 20 persons have been deported from Bengal. But does anybody know their names even? Has any Member of Council tried to know? The liberty of the most obscure person is as necessary for the welfare of a country, and as precious to the person concerned as the liberty of the most famous. But the internment and deportation of so many persons has not created much stir in the country outside Bengal. And even in Bengal, there is nothing like the agitation caused by the deportation years ago of Messrs. Krishnakumar Mitra, Aswinikumar Datta and others. Now that the Defence of India Act has affected the freedom of movement of Mrs. Besant, who is known all over the world, the manner in which the Act is being wrongly enforced may be brought home to the public here, and in England to a slight extent. Not that this will produce any immediate good directly or indirectly. But publicity has a value of its own. As sunlight and the open air destroy disease germs, so publicity silently and impercep-

tibly destroys the evils which particular systems of administration directly or indirectly produce.

Is an Internment an Ordinary Criminal Case?

Recently some interned persons having failed to obtain any relief, made a representation to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, who informed them that as it was an ordinary criminal case Government would not interfere. An application was thereupon made on their behalf to the Calcutta High Court. Mr. Justice Chaudhuri in his judgment held that the case was not an ordinary criminal case at all, and that therefore the court had no jurisdiction. Thus have the aggrieved parties been driven from post to pillar without any redress. The view of the Bengal Government does not seem to be correct. In an ordinary criminal case, the accused party is tried in a law court, and knows the charge brought against him, which has to be proved by the prosecution. In the case of internments no such procedure is followed. As the law courts can give no redress, Government ought to consider each application very carefully.

The public belief is that the police have been given a carte blanche, which is undesirable. The police very often act upon the statements of spies and informers, who are generally drawn from the dregs of society as regards intellectual equipment or character, or both. Failure to detect the real offenders leads to indiscriminate arrests and the harassment of innocent men. This is not surprising. Irresponsible power is liable to abuse, whatever the character and intellectual capacity of its repositories may be. Such abuse of power provokes resentment. It is possible that many of the outrages spoken of as political are merely crimes of revenge. While, therefore, crimes, whatever their origin, have to be punished, a serious effort should be made to prevent unnecessary and unjustifiable arrests and the harassment of the innocent. Among police officials there are just and honest men, but many police men are really criminals whom only their place in the service shields from condign punishment.

In the situation created by the inability of interned persons to obtain relief from either Government or the High Court, one cannot but reflect upon the tragic

aspect of these cases. To the executive and the police the interned persons are only suspects. But many, if not all, of them are innocent, and they have their mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, many of whom feel helpless in the absence of the breadwinner and protector of the family. The uncertainty of their fate adds to the pain of separation.

The tears shed by women and children for their innocent relatives are corrosive.

The "how much" of Coercion.

In the quinine treatment of malaria, very small doses do not produce any beneficial results, they only make the parasites accustomed to quinine; to effect a cure sufficient doses of the bitter drug must be given. But if excessive doses are used, they in their turn do harm to the human constitution by producing new maladies, often worse than the original one.

Such is the case with coercion. Guizot says in his *Civilization in Europe*, that though there will never be any way of completely avoiding the use of force by governments, "the more the government dispenses with coercion, the more faithful it is to its true nature, the better it fulfils its missions..... Those governments which make the greatest use of coercion, succeed not nearly so well as those which employ it scarcely at all."

The difficulty lies in determining the "how much" of coercion. When a dose of quinine proves ineffective, it is increased, but the good physician avoids overmedication. Anglo-Indian journalists and bureaucrats in sympathy with them are for continually increasing the doses of coercion and repression. But the excessive use of this remedy may injure the body politic in the same way as excessive doses of medicine do harm to the human body. There is, moreover, always a chance of a remedy producing a disease worse than the one it was meant to cure.

The good doctor does not prescribe medicine alone. He also feeds the body with proper diet, so that it may be strong enough to resist the attacks of disease germs. There is the bitter physic of repression, coercion, &c.; but where are those civic ideals and rights which alone can make the Indian body politic strong and capable of resisting undesirable influences?

When people get attacks of malarious fever, they have to be placed under medical

treatment. But better far is the eradication of malaria. This has been achieved by many civilized governments by the improvement of the sanitary condition of insanitary areas and other means. Similarly, in politics, the remedy which goes to the root of the matter lies in improving the political and economic condition of the country, making it thereby impossible for morbid political germs to find a fertile soil.

The greatest difficulty is felt by most bureaucrats in believing that the lessons of history are applicable in India, that Indian nature is human, not sub-human, and that Indians are not contemptible. We should be grateful if they could tell us how we could help them to get the better of their sceptical disposition.

The Allahabad Eleven.

The eleven commissioners who have resigned their seats in the Allahabad municipal corporation have done what was only proper and becoming. No one ought to continue in any position which in his opinion involves loss of self-respect. The new U. P. municipal legislation has treated the great Hindu majority as a contemptible entity or non-entity. And the new Act is evidently being worked in a way which is still more irritating; for we find among the eleven gentlemen who have resigned Pandit Motilal Nehru, who supported the Jahangirabad amendment giving Musalmans separate and excessive representation. Bureaucrats will find consolation in the fact that there will be enough Hindu candidates for the places vacated. The want of self-respect and political solidarity is at once our shame and our misfortune. But that is no reason why patriotic men should not choose the path of manliness and self-respect, and persevere in it.

The Allahabad Hindu public, headed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, have done their duty by their representatives by supporting their action in a public meeting. Their resolution to persevere in the agitation against the new law is also right. For, whatever the result, one ought to see things through. There should be no resting until all the resources of constitutional agitation have been exhausted.

But care should be taken all the while to eschew all partisan bitterness in thought, word and deed, keeping in view the ideal of Indian unity.

A Faculty and College of Commerce for Calcutta.

The most important industry of Bengal is jute, and that is entirely in the hands of Anglo-Indians. This is very discreditable to Bengalis. Bombay's biggest industry is cotton; but it is not an Anglo-Indian monopoly. So far as indigenous industrial and commercial enterprise is concerned, Bombay is far ahead of Calcutta. It was only to be expected, therefore, that the University of Bombay should be more modern and go-ahead in recognising Commerce than the University of Calcutta. Bombay has a Faculty and a College of Commerce. There is no reason why Calcutta should not teach commerce. As great an aptitude for industrial and commercial pursuits may be developed in us as in any other people. It is within living memory that the Japanese have become famous for their commercial enterprise. Till very recent years, commerce was looked down upon in Japan, and fighting was considered the only honorable profession for those who were not priests.

Should the Calcutta University institute a Faculty of Commerce, care should be taken to see that commercial education be not taken to be practically identical with type-writing and book-keeping.

Disbanding of the Bengal Ambulance Corps.

In his article on the Japanese Press in the present number Mr. Lajpat Rai refers to the lack of journalistic enterprise in India so far as the indigenous press is concerned. A recent illustration of this deficiency is to be found in the fact that though the Bengal Ambulance Corps was disbanded in Calcutta on the 30th June last and the members told to go home, this piece of very important news was not published in any Calcutta daily for several days. It first saw the light of day in the vernacular weekly *Sanjibani*, whose paragraph was translated in the columns of an Anglo-Indian daily; and then the indigenous English dailies made their comments. Was this lack of enterprise or something else?

Whatever it might be, the fact remains that the second Bengal Ambulance Corps, consisting, we believe, of more than 80 young men, was disbanded on the 30th June. The reason for this step, as published in the papers, is that Government had written

or telegraphed to the Ambulance Committee that the corps would have to act as dooli-bearers and camp-followers; but should the Committee not accept this condition, the corps should be disbanded. The Committee could not see their way to accept this condition, and so disbanded the corps. As all this has so far remained uncontradicted, this version may be taken to represent the truth, at least in part. The whole truth may be known if the Committee publish the whole correspondence, which they ought to do, if they are at all mindful of their duty to the public, to the young men who enlisted themselves and to their guardians.

The Committee's decision cannot be found fault with. The corps was constituted at the instance and with the knowledge and consent of Government, for ambulance work. It would not have been proper for the Committee to compel the young men who had volunteered for one kind of duty to do a different kind of work.

Of course, any kind of honest work is honourable, be it that of sweepers, scavengers, grooms, scullions or dooli-bearers. But the young men who volunteered to do ambulance work belonged to the class of gentlemen, who by the custom of the country are not habituated to work of these descriptions and may consider them derogatory. Besides, there is another consideration to be kept in view. If an English gentleman has to do menial work for the army, he may do it cheerfully, knowing that men of his race, including himself, are entitled to become field-m Marshals also. But an Indian gentleman, particularly if he belongs to a class or province which may not furnish even privates to the army, may not feel greatly honoured if he be told that he may go to the front only as a dooli-bearer or a camp-follower.

We do not know why and under what circumstances Government, having promised to accept volunteers for ambulance work, felt compelled not to keep that promise. It cannot be that there was no need of an ambulance corps. It has been freely mentioned in the House of Commons that the medical arrangements in Mesopotamia left much room for improvement. Government wanted the corps. It cannot be that the first corps sent to the field were found unsatisfactory. For their work has received high praise from the military authorities.

Moreover, "the list of names of officers and men under General Townshend brought to notice for gallant and distinguished service in the field, from October 5th to January 17th, 1916, includes the following names of the Bengal Ambulance Corps:—Hayildar A. Champati, Private Mathao Jacob, Private Lalit Mohan Banerji." The corps consisted of 66 men. For 4 out of 66 to be brought to notice for gallant and distinguished service is a good record.

"Fresh Troops from India."

Under the above heading the *Review of Reviews* writes:—

Col. Churchill pertinently asked in the House of Commons on May 23 "What was there to prevent us from raising ten or 12 new Indian Divisions?" He emphasized that "not to make full and proper use of our Indian resources was a wrong to India and to Europe." That is precisely what we have been contending. India's man-power is far in excess of that of all the rest of the Empire put together. The Rajas of India have been most liberal in monetary contributions. If the main difficulty is the lack of officers with a knowledge of Indian dialects, give commissions to Indians, and the grant of this birth-right would make them rally to our flag with fresh enthusiasm.

To this we may add, in the words of Colonel Yate, "Nepalese troops were serving in India under their own officers at the present time." Why cannot other Indian troops have officers of their own race? Another objection brought forward against Col. Churchill's proposal is that the training of Indian soldiers would take time. But does it take no time to turn raw English recruits into trained soldiers? Do they go straight from the farm, the shop and factory to the trenches? When at the commencement of the war Bengal volunteered to furnish a few soldiers, the same nonsensical argument was used. Other offers came at that time from provinces which have not enjoyed the distinction of being labelled cowardly, which Bengal has. If these offers had been accepted there would have been enough new and perfectly trained soldiers in Mesopotamia to prevent mishap and a set-back.

Even so late as the 24th July last Reuter telegraphed from London that Mr. Lloyd George, "referring to the further utilisation of the man power of the Empire, said that the whole question must be reviewed. He did not doubt that action would be taken shortly. The French had used their man-power to the largest extent, and there

was no reason why we should not follow their example."

On the 25th July "in the House of Commons Mr. Bonar Law said the Government was carefully considering the question of the recruitment and training of native troops in East, West and Central Africa. Steps were being taken to make the best military use of the natives of tropical Africa." Will not these new English and African troops require time for training.

In reply to another objection, of Mr. Tennant's, Colonel Yate pointed out in the House of Commons that the Germans could not look upon the employment of black troops by France as an indication that that country was coming to the end of her resources. "The French had employed Algerians, Moroccans, and Senegalese troops with conspicuous success. As for our Indian troops, all acknowledged the spirit which they had displayed. The 70,000 men who came over at the beginning of the War had never seen snow before, yet they went through the whole winter in Flanders, often up to their knees in snow, and exposed to cold and rain, and in spite of all these disadvantages, they had delighted everyone by their splendid heroism, and thoroughly deserved the tribute paid to them by Sir Douglas Haig in his latest despatch. The way in which the chiefs of India sent their troops had been magnificent, and the behaviour of the men in East Africa, Mesopotamia, and France had proved how the Indian soldier could fight."

In course of his reply to Mr. Churchill, Mr. Tennant also said that "with regard to India, it was a mistake to run away with the idea that the whole population of 315 millions could be drawn upon for the creation of soldiers. Of course, that was not the case at all." Of course women, children, old men, invalids, &c., must be exempted from service. But the division of the various provincials of India into military and non-military, is absurd, unreasonable and without precedent in any other country. In British India provinces and classes which at one time furnished troops to the British Indian army are no longer drawn upon: e.g., Behar, the Northern Circars, Bengal, the Malabar Coast, &c. Russia, like India, is inhabited by various races, professing different creeds. None of them are under any military

disability. The disability under which Jews laboured has been done away with. In India, too, there should not be any disability imposed upon any province, race, or caste. As General Jacob has observed :

"Men should be enlisted with reference to individual qualifications only. Any race, tribe, or caste, the individuals of which possessed high personal qualifications, would necessarily predominate over the others, but not by reason of race, tribe or caste, but simply on account of their personal and individual qualifications. This cannot, I think, be too much insisted on, or too frequently kept in view." P. 78 of "*Papers connected with the Reorganization of the Army in India*," presented to both houses of parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1859.

Mr. Tennant's Reply to Mr. Churchill ended with the following words :—

There was another aspect of the question. If they were going to convert large numbers of natives into warriors and large blocks of territories into armed camps, it would open up a vista of considerable difficulty for statesmen who would have in the future to govern those countries.

Arguments are of no avail when statesmen are in this distrustful mood. Still a few words may not be amiss. The April number of the *War League Journal* gives the following figures for the armies of Great Britain and the allies :—

Russia	150,00,000 men.
France	60,00,000 "
British Empire	50,00,000 "
Italy	45,00,000 "
Japan	30,00,000 "
Belgium	10,00,000 "
Serbia	5,00,000 "
Portugal	4,00,000 "

The British Empire is by far the largest of the States mentioned here. Its population is 417 millions. That of Russia, with its provinces and dependencies, is only 128 millions. That of France and her colonies and dependencies is smaller still, only 86 millions. The white population of the Russian Empire is, no doubt, greater than that of the British Empire, but that of France is less. The armies of Russia and France are larger than that of Great Britain because the two former states make greater use of the fighting capacity of their non-European and non-Christian inhabitants. If Russia and France do not apprehend any danger from the employment of non-European and non-Christian troops to the extent that they are used, why cannot Mr. Tennant give up his fears and his suspicions? It is a good sign that men like Colonels Churchill and Yates are not so suspicious.

There was a time, when British rule had

not been firmly established in India, when Mr. Tennant's way of thinking had perhaps greater justification. For instance, the Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of India, wrote in his *Private Journal* on the 24th February, 1815, after visiting Agra Fort

"The first sensation I felt in passing through tall and massive gateways, was wonder at what had become of the race of men by whom such a pile had been raised. The magnitude of the plan, the size of the stones which composed the walls, and the style of the finishing do not belong to the class of inhabitants now seen in these regions. So true it is that the character of a sovereign imparts itself speedily to all whom he sways. As long as the Mussulman Emperors preserved their individual energy, the people over whom they ruled were capable of proud and dignified exertions.....The higher classes, in fact, became rapidly vitiated and effeminate; not so the lower orders. These lost, indeed, a sense of national pride.....; but the constant call for military service, to which they thought themselves born, has kept them from generation to generation individual martial. In truth the Mussulman part of the population must have felt itself as at all times living on under an armed truce amid the more numerous Hindus. Thence the attachment to the sabre has been maintained, and this disposition in the Mussulman has caused the Hindu to habituate himself to arms in self-defence. This is what has occasionally the manly spirit observed by me as so prevalent in these upper provinces. It is, luckily for us, a spirit unsustained by scope of mind; so that for an enterprise of magnitude in any line, these people require our guidance. Such was not the case when the forefathers built this fort. The help contributed by the multitude in raising it has not been mere bodily labour. The execution of every part of it indicated workmen conversant with the principles and best practice of their art."—"The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings". Reprinted by the Panth Office, Allahabad.

It may be presumed from Colonel Churchill's speech that in his opinion the time has come when it is no longer necessary to apprehend danger from a combination of "the manly spirit" with "scope of mind." It cannot, of course, be known how many British statesmen share Mr. Churchill's and how many Mr. Tennant's sentiments. It would be good for the Empire and for India if an effective majority of them saw no harm in giving to those classes of the Indian people who had "scope of mind" opportunities for developing and keeping up "the manly spirit" and to those classes who had "the manly spirit," opportunities for acquiring "scope of mind." The Bengal Ambulance Corps which served in Mesopotamia had an opportunity of this description and an outlet for the adventurous spirit; its second batch, which has been disbanded,

has just missed having such an opportunity and outlet.

The Extent of Student Criminality.

The police and Anglo-Indian journals have a theory that all or almost all dacoits, motor bandits and political assassins are students and belong to the *bhadralok* class. This theory requires to be tested in the light of facts. All young men are not students, nor should anybody be styled a student simply because he was at school or college at some period of his life. A student is one whose name is actually to be found in the latest register of an educational institution and who attends its classes. All men who wear spectacles, dress well or can use a few English words do not belong to the class of gentry. It is necessary to prepare a list of all men who have been punished for the kind of crimes referred to above mentioning their occupation and social position. So long as this is not done, the blackening of the name of students and their harassment must be considered unjustifiable. A few black sheep among them cannot justify such treatment. It must be shown that a very large proportion of crimes is committed by them. Will some member of council move for such a list as we have suggested?

The native village, town or district of the criminals should also be put down in the list. For it is now the fashion for certain Anglo-Indian journals to defame East Bengal students as a class. It is probable that these defamatory statements have already done some harm to them. For we hear that this session the Presidency College has admitted a much smaller proportion of East Bengal students than usual, and that consequently the Eden Hindu Hostel has many "seats" vacant. We have no means of testing the correctness of this rumour. Will some member of council put a question and ascertain whether East Bengal students have been placed under a partial ban by the Presidency College? As East Bengal people pay taxes, they should have the advantage of the best equipped college in the province.

Doubling College Hours.

It is well-known that there are more young men desirous of receiving high education than the existing colleges can make room for. The establishment of new colleges has become very difficult, almost im-

possible. Classes may, no doubt, be divided into sections each containing a maximum of 150 students. Yet class-rooms are not unlimited in number, and it requires money to acquire land and build new class-rooms. Capital, however, is what our colleges do not possess. There is a way out of the difficulty which ought to be taken advantage of. By immemorial custom our indigenous educational institutions held and still hold their classes for some hours before midday and for some hours in the afternoon. Our colleges may revert to this method. Some sections of a class may be held in the morning and some after midday. They need only increase the number of professors. This would not be difficult to do. There are enough qualified men to be had, and the fees paid by the additional number of students would suffice for the salary of the new professors. In some subjects new professors would not be required. The existing staff will agree to work for extra hours for extra pay.

Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

We tender our respectful congratulations to our distinguished and patriotic countryman Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak on his completing the sixtieth year of his eventful life, which he did on the 20th July last. We wish him many more years of devoted service to the Motherland. A purse of a lakh of rupees has been presented to him on the occasion by his friends and admirers. He has accepted the amount, not for personal use, but for national work to be done in a constitutional way. Nothing less could be expected of him.

Mr. Tilak has suffered much for his country. But he is a strong man, and has borne his trials like a man. A new trial awaits him. On his birth-day, a Bombay police officer served a notice on him to show cause why he should not be bound down to be of good behaviour for one year. His offence, it is alleged, consisted in disseminating sedition orally. The securities required amount to Rs. 40,000.

Mr. Tilak had intended to proceed to England with his lawyer and friend Mr. Daji Abaji Khare to look after the conduct of the law-suit which he has instituted against Sir Valentine Chirol for libel. The Government of Bombay has refused him a pass-port. The reasons, of course, are not known.

In congratulating or praising a man

who is not in the good books of men in power, it is the fashion to say that though we do not see eye to eye with him in all matters, yet there are many good points in his career or character, etc. Why, for that matter, there is nobody on earth, and there never was any, with whom we agree on all points; we do not see eye to eye even with our own selves of the year 1915 or even of yesterday.

Government of India Act Amendment Bill.

At the great representative meeting held in Bombay to protest against the Government of India (Consolidation) Act Amendment Bill, this piece of new legislation was subjected to criticism in all its aspects and bearings, though the main note still seemed to echo the cry of the Anglo-Indian merchants, who are affected only by the anticipated loss of the right to sue the Secretary of State in certain cases and contingencies. Not that the loss of this right would be slight or negligible. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar very ably showed that to be able to sue the king was an immemorial right in India. It was not lost under her Mahomedan rulers, and has been enjoyed up till now. The executive and the police are for all practical purposes safe from the operations of the criminal laws. If they or the Secretary of State cannot be sued for what they do, in civil courts, every one of them would under certain circumstances practically become an irresponsible autocrat beyond the reach of the laws of the land.

But great though the loss of the right to sue the Secretary of State would be, there are other provisions of the Bill which may practically affect our status at least to an equal extent. The military bearings of clause 3 have not received the attention that they deserve. As we have discussed the question in all its aspects in our article on "Outsiders as Public Servants in British India" in the June number, we shall not repeat the arguments and information contained therein. We are glad to note that Mr. N. M. Samarth made good use of them in his speech at the Bombay meeting. As there are many cities, including Calcutta, the quondam capital of India, which have still to hold their protest meetings, our article may be read with advantage. The information given there would not be found in any other newspaper or periodical,

or in any ordinary public library in India.

Should the Bill become law, one of its probable or possible effects might be the garrisoning of India by Asiatic mercenaries who are not British Indian subjects or even Indians. This might not happen, but it also *might* happen. Should it happen, it would mean for us British Indian subjects, a double dose of subjection, instead of the extension of the right to enter the army to all provinces of British India for which we have been agitating. Indians have been for a long time past demanding commissions in the army. Indian ruling chiefs and their relatives might, according to this clause, be given such commissions, and the demand of British Indian subjects shelved in this way.

That the Native States take officers from British India is probably because their own supply of capable officers is not equal to their need. British India on the contrary, has more than a sufficient number of capable men. Still for the sake of Indian solidarity, we do not object to the inhabitants of Indian India obtaining a few appointments in British India. But why should any ruling chief or any relative of his legislate for us? He does not pay the piper; why should he call the tune? Besides, with a few exceptions, the seven hundred and odd Indian states have a much more backward, autocratic and irresponsible system of administration than the British provinces. It would be a retrograde step to have in our legislative and executive councils uneducated or ill-educated unprogressive dummies from these States with medieval ideas,—should they have any ideas at all.

The "explanatory remarks" officially "offered regarding the main clauses" of the Bill contains the following paragraph:—

Clause 5.—By various enactments, passed in the time of the East India Company servants of the Government in India are prohibited from engaging in trade. It is proposed to allow members of Executive Councils who at the time of their appointment were concerned in trade or business to retain their rights subject to restriction. The tenure of the office mentioned is ordinarily limited to five years, and the amendment will facilitate the acceptance of office by Indian gentlemen of the commercial classes who cannot usually be expected to renounce all practical interest in their business affairs as a condition for holding office for so short a period.

Several questions have to be asked with regard to this explanation. It is said that the amendment will facilitate the

acceptance of office by Indian gentlemen of the commercial classes who cannot usually be expected to renounce all practical interest in their business affairs as a condition for holding office for so short a period. Does this mean the permanent addition of one commercial member to each of the executive councils as the commercial expert of Government? And does it also mean that this member will, in the case of each council, be an Indian gentleman? It is necessary to have an answer to these questions, particularly the second, as the mention of *Indian* gentlemen may lead some unwary simple-minded Indian politicians and publicists to swallow the clause as a dainty morsel. But Indian or non-Indian, we do not want any member of an executive council to be also a trader. He may be honest, but we want him also to be above suspicion. In England, in Canada, in Japan, certain members of the Government have been accused of using their official influence for private gain. In India certain Indian capitalists have been suspected of making inaccurate pro-government pronouncements in industrial matters and giving pro-official evidence in other matters, because their concerns enjoy special concessions as regards railway freight or are favoured with government contracts. No handle should be given for such whisperings against the future commercial members of the executive councils.

And if these members are to be Anglo-Indians, as we think they are sure to be, at least in the majority of cases, their official position, combined with their personal interest in the commercial exploitation of India by British capital, will make their influence a formidable obstacle in the way of indigenous industrial development. Looked at from any point of view, clause 5 appears to us entirely unacceptable.

The organizations for Indian and Anglo-Indian agitation afford a painful contrast. The first to raise a note of alarm was the Burma chamber of commerce. Then followed other Anglo-Indian chambers. Telegrams of protest have been sent by them to the Secretary of State for India, and a deputation has waited upon him. So far as we are concerned, not even half a dozen protest meetings have been held, no representations have been made by the congress committees or public associations, no de-

putations of prominent Indians in England and pro-Indian Englishmen has waited upon the Secretary of State. All movements depending for success on constitutional agitation require organization and engineering. There is nothing discreditable about it. A spontaneous outburst is very good: to talk about, but sustained and widespread agitation is always and everywhere partly the result of organization. But there is such utter lack of organisation among us that there is not even a regular weekly telegraphic supply of news on our behalf to England, though every one knows and complains that Reuter is either hostile or remains silent.

The Education of Girls and Women.

Generally speaking we have not felt called upon to discuss the academic question as to what woman's education in India ought to be like. The reason is, the education of our girls and women is so little attended to, the recipients of education are so few, that we have always on principle supported any kind or degree of education that has been proposed to be imparted to them, taking it for granted, of course, that it is not to be injurious to the minds, morals, or bodies of the pupils. Primary, Secondary, Collegiate, liberal, professional, technical, industrial,—all sorts of education are welcome, whether imparted through the vehicle of the vernaculars or English.

Though this has been our attitude, we certainly hold definite views. It has not been proved that the laws of thought are different for men and women, or that women's souls are different from men's souls. Nor has women's brain capacity been demonstrated to be inferior to that of man. All knowledge is woman's province as well as that of man. All women do not possess equal capacity, facilities, or opportunity, just as these differ in the case of man. There are men who are fit only to wash dishes or sweep streets, just as there are women also who are fit only for this kind of work. Women are fully as capable of profiting by a liberal education as men.

At a meeting of the Calcutta Corporation a commissioner sneered at bluestockings. But are there not pantalooned pedants and bombastic fools among men? It is so comfortable for some specimens of the human male to think of the household drudge as the ideal woman. Those who feel

the presence of cultured womanhood every hour of the day know that "girl graduates" can and do perform all domestic duties, however trivial or tiresome, and are at the same time able to do such other kinds of work as only intellectual training and artistic accomplishment can fit one to perform.

It requires a little power of thought and some knowledge of what educated women do in India and in foreign countries to realize that even the proper upbringing of her children by a mother requires considerable education. "Domestic Science" in Western Women's Colleges includes much higher knowledge which our graduates do not usually possess.

The Calcutta Corporation Sub-committee's Report on Female (*sic*) Education in Calcutta concludes as follows:—

In conclusion the Committee desire to express their strong agreement with the following principles laid down in para. 17 of the Resolution of the Government of India dated the 21st February, 1913, and quoted in the memorial to the Viceroy drawn up by the Hindu ladies of Bombay at a public meeting held on the 31st December, 1915, namely:—(a) the education of girls should be practical with reference to the position which they will fill in social life; (b) it should not seek to imitate the education suitable for boys, nor should it be dominated by examinations, (c) special attention should be paid to hygiene and the surroundings of school life; (d) the services of women should be freely enlisted for instruction and inspection, and (e) continuity in inspection and control should be specially aimed at.

We do not exactly understand what is meant by the words "the position which they will fill in social life." Does position refer to the wealth of families, or to their traditional occupation, or to their actual occupation, or to the question whether women ought entirely to confine their activities to the domestic circle or may they also perform public or philanthropic duties in official or non-official capacities?

As for wealth, were not the wives of some of our richest men born of poor parents? As for official position, are the wives of Indian members of the India Council, executive councils, Indian high court judges, Indian commissioners of divisions, Indian advocates-general, &c., daughters of fathers who held offices as high as their husbands do? We know this is not the case. How then can one know what position a girl's future husband and therefore the girl herself will fill in social life? The best course, therefore, to adopt is to give a girl the best and highest education that she is

capable of receiving. If she shows special aptitude for any of the fine or industrial arts or handicrafts, she ought to be educated in it.

If position is to be taken to mean traditional occupation, we shall be quite at sea. The wives of the higher caste Hindus do not follow the professions of their husbands. The wives of Brahmins are not priests in the same way as their husbands are; the wives of Kayasthas are not clerks and accountants; nor are the wives of Baidyas professional physicians. One has only to turn to pages 428 and 429 of Sir E. Gait's *Census of India*, Vol. I, Part I, to be convinced that the vast majority of the males of the higher castes follow other than their ancestral occupations. And, speaking generally, this is the case with the lower castes, too. For instance, "the Dom are in theory scavengers and basket-makers, and in Bengal and Bihar 44 and 81 per cent., respectively are so in practice also, but in the United Provinces only 14 per cent. live by these pursuits. In Bengal about a third of the Chamars and Mochis are tanners and cobblers and in Baroda about one-half, but in Bihar the proportion falls to one in ten and in the United Provinces to one in 27."

Even if the majority of persons followed the traditional occupations of their families, it would not be right to insist that children must be educated for these traditional occupations. They may and do often have entirely different tastes and aptitudes, and every profession and occupation gains by the infusion of new blood.

It is wrong to try to confine boys and girls to ancestral, hereditary or traditional occupations. In Western countries an outcry has been raised for vocational education. But Westerners are wide awake people. Some of them have perceived the danger lurking in the cry for vocational education. In his recent work on *The United States of America* Mr. Lajpat Rai quotes the following observations of Dr. Wheeler, President of the University of California, "an eminent educationist and a man of very great influence and position in the American world," on vocational education:—

"I am wondering, too, whether this most recent zeal for 'vocational training' with all the possibilities of good, may not respond to the spirit of caste and minister to it. As such it surely bears within it the

seeds of sin and destruction. Does it propose that the life occupation of a child shall be determined for it early in life? That means that children shall follow mainly the crafts of their parents. It is the old device of monarchical-aristocratic Europe for committing the young to manual and industrial pursuits. It is the old derailing switch which can be relied upon to shunt the children of laboring classes out into the labor field at the age of 12 and shut them off from the open road to highest attainment, ever though they have the talent and the will for it. That is not democracy. It is just the opposite. Democracy is the matter of free opportunity, a fair field and equal chance. The teaching of a vocation to young children, furthermore, does not provide them with an equipment which will be available in the hand-craft and industries of real life. It is misleading in making them think it does. The instruction of later years is another thing."

Girls are to be educated with reference, not to the traditional occupation of their caste, but to the actual occupation of the future husbands, how is that occupation to be divined? A pleader's daughter may have a teacher or a clerk or a trader as her husband. The daughter of a blacksmith by caste and occupation may be married to a blacksmith by caste who is a pleader or a clerk by actual occupation.

Lastly comes the question whether women should lead a strictly domestic life or should they also have in addition some sort of work or career meant for earning a livelihood or for the public good, or both. Those who admit that girls require some education, however elementary, also hold that it is best that their teachers should be women. They also admit that there should be inspectresses of schools. For instance, the Calcutta Corporation Sub-committee observe:—

As regards classical languages, the difficulty would seem to be the want of competent female teachers. The Committee are, therefore, of opinion that the only way to provide for instruction in classical languages would be to increase the provision for the adequate training of women teachers. Collegiate education should be provided for by spending money in making selected existing colleges thoroughly efficient in both buildings and teaching staff.

In the opinion of the Committee the number of institutions for the higher education of women in Calcutta is sufficient considering the present demand for the higher education of women. But owing to the great distances that have to be covered by day-students it seems desirable to increase the hostel accommodation in connexion with the existing colleges. If this were done the number of students desiring higher education would probably increase.

The Committee believe that a residential training college for women teachers is required in Calcutta in order that a sufficient number of trained teachers, possessed of the educational qualifications necessary for the work they will be called upon to do, may be provided for the future requirements of girls' schools in Calcutta. Such a college should be associated with

a school in which the students under training can obtain practical experience in class teaching under expert supervision. The Committee believe that if encouragement is given to suitable persons to join the training college, by the offer of stipends to cover all necessary expenses, and by the guarantee of a certain number of appointments annually to passed students, a regular and sufficient supply of women candidates for admission to the training college may be ultimately secured.

The inspection of the curricula, and the actual teaching, should rest with inspectresses; and as regards qualifications for the task it would ordinarily be expected that an inspectress should be able to take the classes herself and to this extent to act the part of an itinerant training teacher.

Education is not the only field where women can do good to the public. Trained midwives are an admitted necessity. There is nothing in this beneficent profession which is necessarily incompatible with respectability and good character. Women physicians and women sanitary inspectresses and advisers have already done great good to the public. Society requires them in ever-increasing numbers.

These are the professions for which women are peculiarly fitted, and required. They may, besides, become clerks, typists, &c., but few Indian women would take to such occupations, at least for years to come.

Any book dealing with charities, social service, and temperance and other philanthropic organisations in the West will show in how many ways and in how widely differing fields women make themselves useful to society. The chapters on "Woman in the United States" and "Charity and social service organisations" in Mr. Lajpat Rai's book on "*The United States of America*" may be read by those who wish to have some idea of woman's work and worth by spending an hour or so for the purpose.

But why go to the West, alone? Do we not know of the work of the late Mrs. Jamnabai Sakkai, the well-known Hindu lady of Bombay? Did not Bombay ladies of all sects take part enthusiastically in the agitation for improving the status and ameliorating the condition of Indians in South Africa? Did they not raise considerable sums for helping their sisters and brethren in South Africa? Women in Bombay and elsewhere are raising War Relief Funds. The Bombay Ladies' Famine Relief Committee have been raising considerable amounts for the help of the famine-stricken in Kathiawar, Rajputana, Bankura, &c. The Bombay Social Service

League and the Depressed Classes Mission Society are doing philanthropic work of great value in various directions with the help of women. Even in backward Bengal, women showed some faint sympathy with South African Indians by calling a meeting and raising a small sum. They have also raised small amounts for famine-relief. A few of them have done good work in connection with a Widow's Home, a rescue home, and teaching in the zenana. To be able to do the different kinds of work mentioned in this paragraph satisfactorily requires education. Those ladies who have done such work belong to different sections of Indian Society, Hindu, Jaina, Parsi, Christian, Brahmo, etc.

There are many persons who think that a little elementary education is enough for girls; but they also think that this education should be imparted by women teachers. This makes the situation somewhat amusing. Women teachers for girls' elementary schools, to be competent, must have received secondary education; and competent women teachers for girls' secondary schools must have received collegiate education. Women professors and principals for women's colleges, and inspectresses cannot discharge their duties satisfactorily if they have not received post-graduate education. So the advocates of elementary education for girls must admit that some women require higher and some the highest education. If high education be good and necessary for some women, it certainly cannot be a very bad thing. If high education spoils women, why then do you think of placing your little girls under these spoiled women for instruction? And why again are you so selfish that you wink at the injury done to women by secondary and university education, in order that you may have teachers for elementary girls' schools to which you may send your daughters? Either keep your daughters illiterate, or admit that education, without any adjective denoting degree, is good and necessary for women.

Sir Roland Wilson on Home Rule for India.

The Indian Messenger quotes the following passage in support of Home Rule for India from Sir Roland Wilson's book "The Province of the State" :—

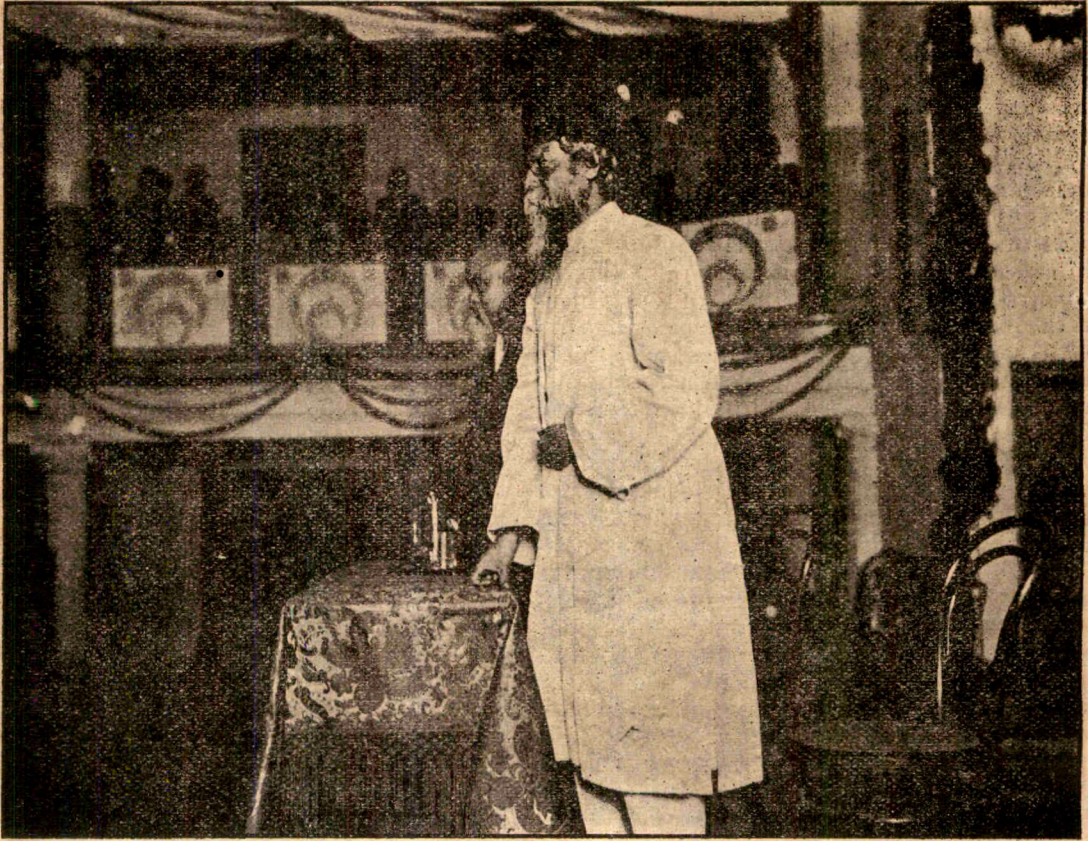
"If there are to be found in India itself a sufficient number of persons willing and able to form an

effective 'justice-association,' the task ought to be left to these persons, because there are inherent difficulties in the government of one people by another situated on the other side of the globe, through agents sent out for the purpose, neither born, bred, nor intending to become domiciled among the people committed to their charge, and whose personal interests remain from first to last centred wholly in their native land. Even with the best intentions on the part of the ruling nation these difficulties can never be entirely overcome; consequently that task should never be undertaken or continued, if there is any tolerable alternative. During the century (1757-1857) which witnessed the gradual establishment of the British supremacy in India, it may fairly be said that there was no tolerable alternative, at least from the point of view from which this book is written. Regarded as instruments for protecting peaceful industry and dealing out equal justice, the various native Governments which had sprung up on the ruins of the old Moghal Empire were undeniable failures. No serious student of History, whether Indian or European, denies that in these essential points British rule has been, relatively speaking, a success. But this very success was bound to produce in time conditions more favourable to the formation of an indigenous justice association which would, other things being equal, have an immense advantage over any possible Government operating from Downing Street, for reasons above stated. There will naturally be much difference of opinion as to the precise point of time when other things have become so approximately equal as to cause the inherent advantages of Home Rule to turn the scale. Two things, however, seem fairly clear, if our general principle is admitted. First, that so long as the necessity for foreign rule continues, any experiment that may be tried in the way of elective governing bodies, must be merely experiments and must leave the ultimate decision of all questions in the hands of the paramount power. Next, that ripeness for universal suffrage, or anything approaching to it, should not be considered a *sine qua non* for the granting of Home Rule. It will be sufficient if a workable constitution can be framed which will vest the supreme legislative and executive power in some set of persons who may be reasonably expected to maintain external and internal security even nearly as well as it is now maintained by European officials responsible to the British Parliament. If they do it nearly as well at the outset, they will do it quite as well, or better, after some years' practice and will be followed in due course by still more capable successors who will doubtless be led in due time, by experiences more or less analogous to ours, to see in democracy a more perfect stage for the exercise of their best gifts."

It is noteworthy that the calm judgment of a jurist of the standing of Sir Roland Wilson is in favour of self-rule for India, though he does not definitely fix the time for its commencement.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore in Japan.

Mr. Yone Noguchi, the famous Japanese author, writes to us in a private letter, as we also learn from some Japanese papers, that Sir Rabindranath Tagore has been receiving a wonderful reception in the



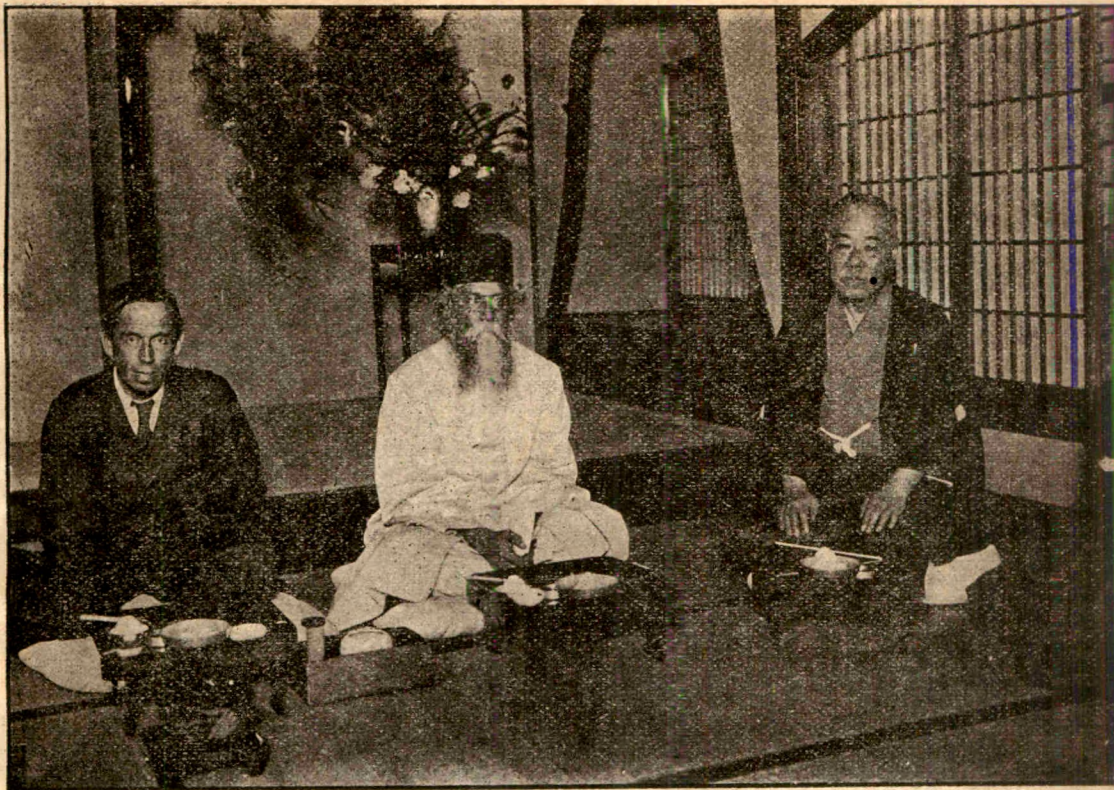
Sir Rabindranath addressing a meeting at Osaka, Japan.

Land of the Rising Sun. On his arrival at Kobe on board the Tosa-maru, where he first touched Japanese land, he was interviewed by press representatives. A Japanese paper says that he stated to his interviewers that he had had a very pleasant voyage, except for one day in the Bay of Bengal, where the ship had to pass through a cyclone of great violence. The wind was blowing at 120 miles an hour, and it was regarded as the worst storm within living experience in that region. Sir Rabindranath Tagore praised the Captain and officers very much indeed for the splendid way in which they had handled the ship during the storm. The ship at one time came near the centre of the cyclone. The Tosa-maru actually got through the cyclone better than any other boat. The rest of the voyage was in delightful weather and the poet was able to get a considerable amount of his literary work done on board. He told his interviewers that his habits were retired and solitary, and

that he wished to be as free from public meetings during his visit as possible. He wished especially to see all he could of Buddhism in Japan, and to live for some time, if that were possible, in a Buddhist monastery. He wished also to study the people of Japan, in the country, rather than in the towns; for he had been used to country life in India and understood the country people best.

After his stay in Tokyo the poet hoped to go to some retired part of Japan, and there study the village life and continue his literary work. He has taken with him a young artist from India who has been taught by the poet's nephew, Abanindra Nath Tagore. He will study Japanese brush-work while in that country and Japanese art in general.

Mr. Shumei Okawa, writes to us from Tokio: "Since his arrival here he was the guest of honour at many a well-attended reception given by the leading Japanese including H. E. Count Okuma,



Press dinner to Sir Rabindranath at Osaka, Japan.

the Premier of Japan. The Indian residents of Japan also entertained the poet in Kobe and Yokohama." There was a dinner given to him by the leading journalists. We are indebted to Mr. Okawa for the following extracts from two of the leading Japanese daily papers :

"The Tokio Mainichi," commenting on the Indian poet Tagore who is visiting Japan, says that Japan owes to India much in thought. India was civilized early while yet Japan was uncivilized. Indian ideas have influenced the world much. Even Plato received inspiration from India. Schopenhauer and Swedenborg were affected by Indian thought. Japan received the Indian civilization through Korea and China. We must repay our debts to India. We ought to receive Tagore with our whole heart.

"The Yorodzu" says that Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who landed in Japan yesterday, will be welcomed here by the literary world of this country, to which he will give life. The editor reviews the thought of Tagore and says that he stands for harmonization of life and poetry. His influence will be very much appreciated here. Japan owes India much in ideas.

Rabindranath's Bengali Speech in Japan.

That the greatest of Bengali authors made a speech in Bengali in Japan was

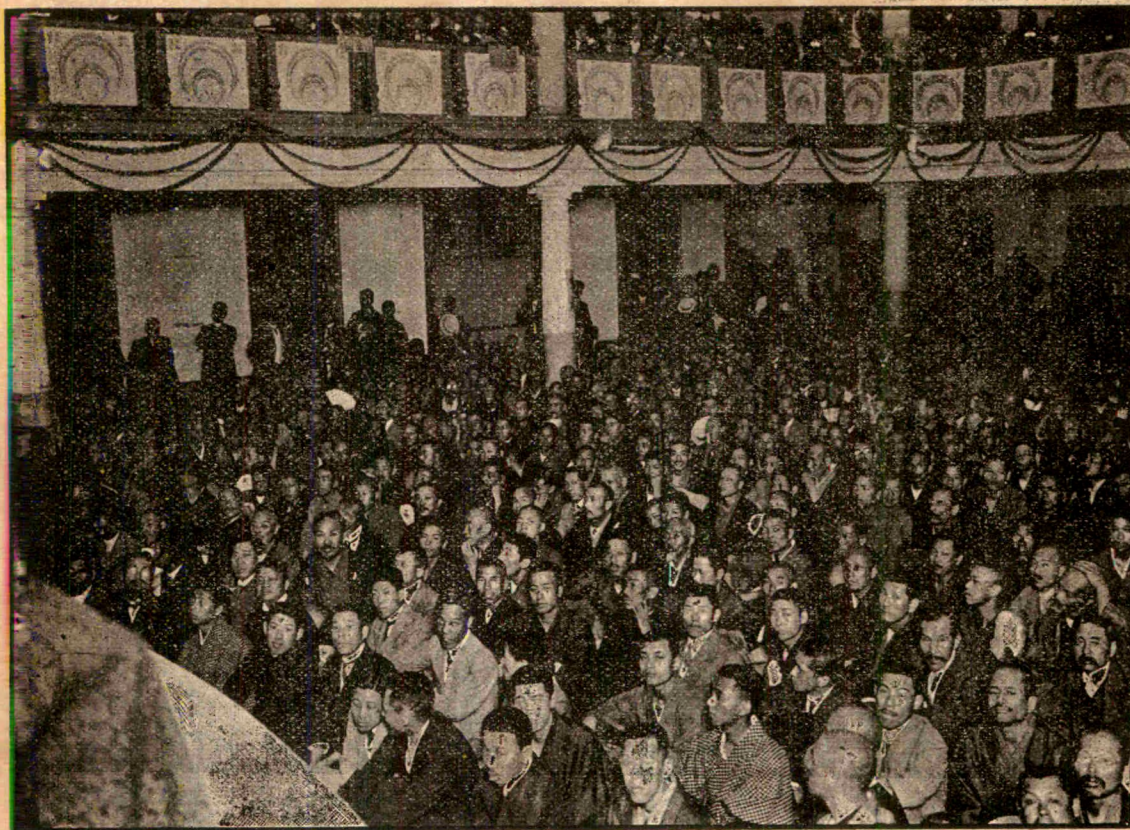
quite in the fitness of things. The following paragraphs relating to the address are taken from the *Kobe Herald* :

TAGORE UNDER THE TREES AT UYENO.

SAGE, SPEAKING IN BENGALI, GIVES WARNING TO JAPAN.

A public welcome for Sir Rabindranath Tagore took place at the Kaneiji, in Uyeno Park, on the 13th inst., when over two hundred prominent men were present, including Count Okuma, Dr. Takata, Minister of Education, Mr. Kono, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, Dr. Baron Yamakawa of the Imperial University and Dr. Okuda, Mayor of Tokio. The host of the day, says *The Far East*, was Chief Abbot Hioki, head of the Soto sect. The temple was appropriate for the occasion, situated as it is in the thick wood of the ancient park. In reply to an address of welcome, the poet said at the outset that he did not speak Japanese, while English was not the native language of the Japanese, and inasmuch as the poet himself was not quite at home in the borrowed language, he preferred to speak in his native tongue in the presence of his Japanese friends.

This Bengali speech was translated by Prof. Kimura into Japanese, and was to the effect that the poet was disappointed on his arrival at Kobe, for everything that greeted his eye was pure imitation of the West. It was when he reached Shizuoka that he felt that he had come to Japan, for a Japanese priest was at the station to meet him, burning fra-



The audience hearing Sir Rabindranath at Osaka, Japan.

grant incense, while his hands were joined together when speaking to the Indian visitor. There were two antagonistic currents in the country, new Japan and old Japan, and it was his ardent desire that Japan would cherish what was her own.

Count Okuma then delivered a speech, and much amusement was aroused by the veteran mistaking the Bengali address for English. The Prime Minister said that he could hardly understand English, yet wished to express the sense of his gratitude to the sage of India for his timely visit and for giving very sound warning, for Japan stood at the present time at the parting of the ways in her inner life, and the world of thought faced a turning point. Dr. Takakusu closed the meeting with a few appropriate remarks. The speeches were followed by a real vegetarian dinner and the waiters on the occasion were students of a Buddhist school.

A Japanese on Rabindranath.

"A Japanese" writes to a paper published in Japan :

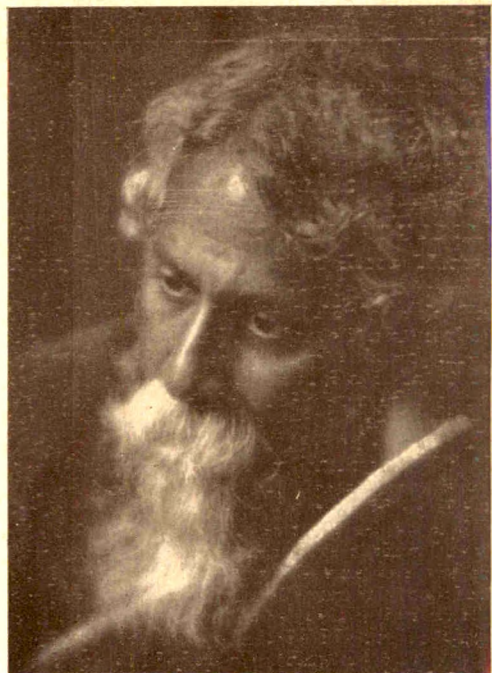
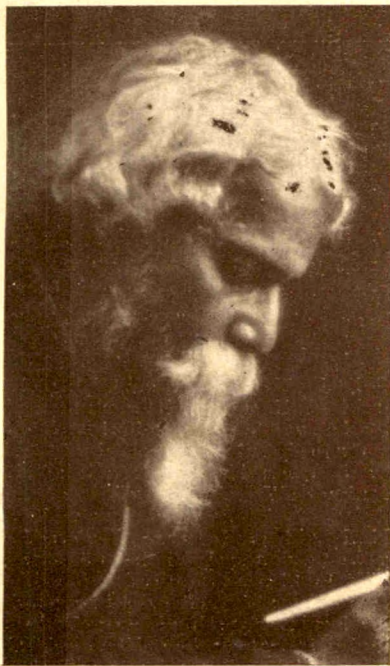
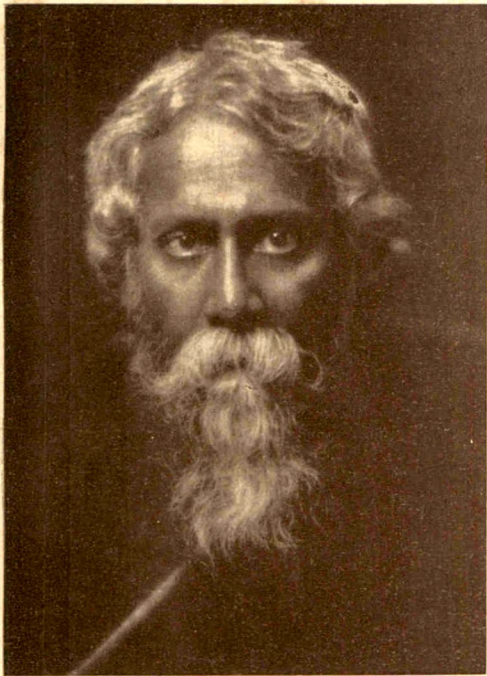
To think that among the Orientals whom the Europeans are inclined more or less to despise in matters relating to the mind there should be one who has raised himself to a world-wide fame never dreamt of by the Orientals, is no doubt at once flattering and exciting to the Japanese, and a large part of the enthusiasm with which Tagore is received on his

present visit to us, I am inclined to attribute to this. The Japanese who thought that things Oriental are already out of date have found in Tagore an example of how even Orientals can be the subject of respect, if not worship, throughout the world, and in this sense the Japanese have reason to be grateful to Tagore.

I hear from my book-store keeper that with the name of Tagore surprising the ears of the Japanese a few years ago, there has been an increasing demand for Sanscrit grammars.

The Gratitude of Asia to Japan.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore delivered a lecture on "The Message of India to Japan" at the Imperial University of Tokyo on June 12 last. *The Japan Advertiser* reports, that the audience "filled to overflowing the auditorium of the Imperial University." "The audience," says the same paper, "was composed mostly of Japanese, professors and students, but there were a large number of foreigners present, including a large proportion of women. The lecture was punctuated by frequent outbursts of applause, and the great poet held



SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN JAPAN.

his hearers intent throughout his talk." He began by speaking of Asia's gratitude to Japan and the reasons therefor.

The first thing which is uppermost in my heart is the feeling of gratitude which we all owe to you,—whose home is in Asia. The worst form of bondage is the bondage of dejection which keeps men hopelessly chained in loss of faith in themselves. We have been repeatedly told, with some justification, that Asia lives in the past,—it is like a rich mausoleum which displays all its magnificence in trying to immortalise the dead. It was said of Asia that it could never move in the path of progress, its face was so inevitably turned backwards. We accepted this accusation and came to believe it. In India, I know, a large section of our educated community, grown tired of feeling the humiliation of this charge against us is trying all its resources of self-deception to turn it into a matter of boasting. But boasting is only a masked shame, it does not truly believe in itself.

When things stood still like this and we in Asia hypnotised ourselves into the belief that it could never by any possibility be otherwise, Japan rose from her dreams, and in giant strides left centuries of inaction behind overtaking the present time in its foremost goal. This has broken the spell under which we lay in torpor for ages, taking it to be the normal condition of certain races living in certain geographical limits. We forgot that in Asia great kingdoms were founded, philosophy, science, arts and literatures flourished, and all the great religions of the world had their cradles. Therefore it cannot be said that there is anything inherent in the soil and climate of Asia that produces mental inactivity and atrophies the faculties which impel men to go forward. For centuries we did hold the torch of civilisation in the East when the West slumbered in darkness and that could never be the sign of sluggish mind or narrowness of vision.

Japan Both New and Old.

Sir Rabindranath then described how Japan was both old and new, and how valuable is her legacy of ancient culture from the East.

The truth is that Japan is old and new at the same time. She has her legacy of ancient culture from the East,—the culture that enjoins man to look for his true wealth and power in his inner soul, the culture that gives self-possession in the face of loss and danger, self-sacrifice without counting the cost or hoping for gain, defiance of death, acceptance of countless social obligations that we owe to man as a social being,—the culture that has given us the vision of the infinite in all finite things, through which we have come to realise that the universe is living with a life and permeated with a soul, that it is not a huge machine which had been turned out by a demon of accident or fashioned by a teleological God who lives in a far away heaven. In a word modern Japan has come out of the immemorial East like a lotus blossoming in an easy grace, all the while keeping its firm hold upon the profound depth from which it has sprung.

And Japan, the child of the Ancient East, has also fearlessly claimed all the gifts of the modern age for herself. She has shewn her bold spirit in breaking through the confinements of habits, useless accumulations of the lazy mind, seeking safety in its thrift

and its lock and keys. Thus she has come in contact with the living time and has accepted with an amazing eagerness and aptitude the responsibilities of modern civilisation.

Japan's Teaching.

What has Japan to teach us? Let the Poet reply.

This it is which has given heart to the rest of Asia. We have seen that the life and the strength are there in us, only the dead crust has to be removed; that we must nakedly take our plunge into the youth-giving stream of the time-flood. We have seen that taking shelter in the dead is death itself, and only taking all the risk of life to the fullest extent is living.

Japan has taught us that we must learn the watchword of the age, in which we live, and answer has to be given to the sentinel of time, if we must escape annihilation. Japan has sent forth her word over Asia, that the old seed has the life germ in it, only it has to be planted in the soil of the new age.

Japan No Mere Imitator.

The Poet does not believe that Japan has become strong merely by imitation.

I, for myself, cannot believe that Japan has become what she is by imitating the West. We cannot imitate life, we cannot simulate strength for long, nay, what is more, imitation is a source of weakness. For it pampers our true nature, it is always in our way. It is like dressing our skeleton with another man's skin, giving rise to eternal feuds between the skin and the bones at every movement.

The real truth is that science is not man's nature, it is mere knowledge and training. By knowing the laws of the material universe you do not change your deeper humanity. You can borrow knowledge from others, but you cannot borrow temperament.

But in the first incertitude of new knowledge we not only try to learn but we try to imitate. That is to say, with the science that we acquire we try the impossible feat of acquiring the teacher of science himself, who is the product of a history not our own. But in that vain attempt we merely copy his manners and mannerisms, those outer forms which are expressions of his historical identity, having their true meaning only with regard to himself. Of course there are forms which are not merely personal but universal, not historical but scientific, and these can be and have been borrowed by one nation from the other with great advantage.

"Something radically wrong in the Administration of Bengal."

New India thus neatly turns the tables upon the Pioneer:—

Commenting on the present situation in Bengal and the recent armed dacoities, the *Pioneer*, which as a rule advocates repression, says:

There must be something radically wrong in the administration of Bengal when the Government is unable to stamp out these crimes.

Of course there is, and towards that wrongness the *Pioneer*, and other Anglo-Indian newspapers have contributed their share. Indian leaders and the Indian press have consistently pointed out that the method adopted by the Government is wrong and that repression must fail. Well, repression is failing,

and will continue to do so. The *Pioneer* must join the ranks of Indians and demand a change of policy.

A Nice Story.

Lord Hardinge, ex-viceroy of India, is said to have told a correspondent of the "New York Times" the following story:—

"There is ample evidence, that German assistance, financial and otherwise, has been given to agitators. One plot was directly instigated by Germany through various agents, who were supplied with considerable funds. This was an ambitious scheme—nothing less than to create a general revolt, which was timed to break out on Christmas Day, 1915. However, the Government was furnished with full information of the projected rising, and was able to forestall it, and render all preparations abortive. The centre of this plot was in Bengal, where there has always been a certain amount of anarchist activity. Another specific instance of the loyalty of the people in presence of a conspiracy of this kind occurred in Balasore. Here the presence of a number of revolutionaries was signalled to the police by villagers, whom the agitators had approached. The peasants themselves assisted the police in tracking down and arresting the revolutionaries, some of them actually giving their lives in their loyalty to the Government in a melee that occurred when the arrest was effected."

It is not certain whether the level-headed ex-viceroy told exactly this story. The people of Bengal, where, we are to believe, was situated the centre of the insurrectionary plot, know absolutely nothing of such a projected rising. There have been no court-martialling, hanging, shooting and transportation for life. It naturally seems to us a myth, this Bengal-centred rebellious plot of Christmas, 1915. Where and how many were the insurgents, where and what were their army, and their arms, in this land bereft of arms? When found out, how were the men and their army disposed of? The extremist Anglo-Indian journals spin revolutions out of revolver shots. It is strange that even they had no inkling of the terrible Christmas rising which came to nought.

As for the Balasore story, there is a very tiny kernel of fact in it. And that is described in the following paragraph from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*:

Four or five young Bengalees having committed one or more murders in Calcutta fled to a jungle in Mayurbhanj. Having been discovered they made for another forest in the State for safety. The villagers went in pursuit and one of them was shot dead. Then the entire police force of the district, headed by the Magistrate, surrounded them. The little band defended themselves desperately against these odds with their revolvers till their leader was killed, or rather mortally wounded, when they surrendered. Needless to say they were all afterwards publicly hanged. These young men are glorified into "revolutionaries" by the late Viceroy, and the idea sought

to be created is that Bengal is full of rebels. How could you blame the Germans if they believed that India was honey-combed with revolutionaries when such sensational stories were circulated by the highest authorities in India?

The American newspaper story reminds one of Falstaff's story-telling regarding the men in buckram.

Old and New British Universities.

Some people have an idea that Oxford and Cambridge are in every respect superior to the other British universities. This is not at all true. At a recent Senate meeting of the Bombay University, Principal Paranjpye, the first Indian Senior Wrangler, observed:—

"He took great pride in Cambridge University where he had studied, but they could not overlook the fact that the London and some of the provincial universities were in some respects superior to Oxford and Cambridge." *India*, May 4, 1916, p. 199.

"The Best of our Enemies."

"The Evening Standard and St. James's Gazette" of May 2, published the following under the heading "The Best of Our Enemies":—

The latest proof that the Turk is a gentleman lies in General Townshend's being allowed to keep his sword. This would not have been his fate if he had fallen into the hands of the Germans. It is a chivalrous act, which does not surprise us. During this war the Turk, and the Turk alone among our enemies, has been credited with those generous deeds in the midst of battle which ennoble war and the warrior. Such things touch the heart of the English: and, consequently, the feeling for the Turk is vastly different from the feeling for the German or even the Austrians.

The Turk has kept his fighting qualities, too. But the Armenian massacres, if true, are a great and indelible stain on his escutcheon.

Law-making and Ballad-making.

The *Japan Chronicle*, a British-owned and British-edited paper of Kobe, writes:—

For two or three generations the most active among Sir Rabindranath Tagore's fellow-countrymen have been much concerned with the question of a people's right to make their own laws, but the Bengali poet who has just arrived in Japan has chosen rather the path of that 'very wise man that believed that if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation.' In a manner he has disproved a favourite argument, for one of the dogmas of the extremists was that without political freedom it was impossible that genius should flourish. During the past generation there have been a number of Indians who have not found it necessary to wait for this consummation before showing that they were master-spirits of their age. In literature Tagore

is the most prominent of these, just as Dr. Bose is in science, and as was the late Jamsetji Tata (of another race, religion and language, but politically their fellowcountryman) in industry.

How delightful!

The editor of this Kobe paper, has, one may be sure, started a movement in England to convince his countrymen that they should cease to make their own laws, that they should entrust Norwegians with that tiresome and utterly unimportant task, and that they should all only make and sing ballads day and night, year in and year out. Not only that. Part of his propaganda in England, we presume, is that Englishmen should give up their independence, acquiescing in their country becoming a dependency of some powerful empire; for is not a dependency as great a nursery of all sorts of genius, poetic, scientific, industrial, etc., as any other country?

The few Indians who have distinguished themselves have done so, not because of, but in spite of their political condition. Compare the literatures of independent and dependent countries, as regards quality, range, extent, variety, depth, sublimity, comprehensiveness, full, fearless, frank and sincere expression, and unfettered suggestiveness, and it will be at once plain that no dependent country, so far as its period of dependence is concerned, can hold the candle to the great independent countries of the world.

India has been under British rule for more than a century and a half. It is a very much bigger country in extent and population than Great Britain. How many authors, scientists and industrial captains, of the first rank, have India and Great Britain respectively produced during the last century and a half? Needless to say, the figures for India would make a very very poor show by the side of those for Great Britain. It is only hypocrites or fools who can say that the power to make the laws of one's country is not to a great extent responsible for this difference.

Genius is of various kinds. Prophets and founders of religions were men of great genius of a certain kind. Christians are bound to believe that Jesus Christ was the greatest religious genius in history. Now, his genius grew and shone in a dependent country. But, for this reason, are the Christian nations of Europe and America partial to bondage for themselves, instead of being fierce lovers of liberty?

Rabindranath Tagore has, no doubt,

chosen his part wisely and well, though it is not mere ballad-making. For a man of his genius and gifts to be condemned to make speeches in the council chambers that led to nothing, would have been a tragedy too deep for tears. He has not played or attempted to play at law-making,—real law-making is a very necessary and serious duty. He has chosen rather to help in the making of men and women, loosening their inner chains, which are the hardest to shake off, expanding their horizon, enabling them to know and realize themselves, and giving them the joy which is also strength. All this is not mere giving from outside. It is awakening men to a consciousness of their inner and own resources.

An Indian Lady's Academic Success.

We are glad to read in *India* that Miss Mrinalini Chattopadhyay has obtained a second class in the Cambridge Moral Science Tripos. She is a daughter of the late Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyay of Hyderabad and a sister of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

Famine in Bankura.

The prospects in Bankura are far from cheerful. The rains are still holding off from many parts of the district, agricultural operations there being consequently at a standstill. Rice has become dearer than before. A rise in the number of recipients of gratuitous relief is apprehended in the near future. It is with considerable reluctance that we ask the generous public to continue their help for some months longer yet.

The Meaning of "Free"-dom.

Interviewed by a representative of the *Chicago Daily News*, referring to Bethmann-Hollweg's statement that Britain wants to destroy "united and free Germany," Sir Edward (now Viscount) Grey said:—

We never were smitten with any such madness. We want nothing of the sort, and Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg knows we want nothing of the sort. We should be glad to see the German people free, as we ourselves want to be free, and as we want the other nationalities of Europe and of the world to be free.

We believe that the German people—when once the dreams of world empire cherished by pan-Germanism are brought to nought—will insist upon the control of its Government; and in this lies the hope of secure freedom and national independence in Europe.

Viscount Grey wants all the national-

ities of the world to be free, and in his opinion the hope of secure freedom lies in the control by a people of its government. As India is a part of the world, may not her inhabitants consider their desire to control their government entirely legitimate?

"No more Enquiries."

The following letter has been published in *India* :—

Sir,—If it be not an impertinence to differ from such a great and good leader as Sir William Wedderburn, I venture to suggest that the demand for a substantial form of self-government should not be accompanied by a demand for a parliamentary enquiry. To do so will be tantamount to an admission that the case for self-government needs any enquiry.

To me it seems that it is futile and at times harmful to ask for or have such enquiries. The enquiry made by the Royal Commission on Public Services has established that. Have we gained anything therefrom? Are we likely to gain anything by it?

Firstly, there is no reason to hope that the constitution of a Parliamentary Committee to enquire into the affairs of India is likely to be better than the constitution of the aforesaid Commission was. Secondly, we have seen by experience how witnesses are selected for such enquiries. Thirdly, we know how opinion on questions relating to the granting of political privileges has practically been crystallised. There are two views on every such question. One is the view of the educated Indian, and the other is that of the Imperial Britisher. With an exception here and there, and except in details, both sides have the same tale to tell, however large the number of witnesses on either side.

In all such enquiries the advantage always lies on the side of the bureaucracy. They have the choice of witnesses, with the result that they get many Indians also to back up their case, and they secure a great bulk of evidence in their support. Independent Indian opinion is, as a rule, very meagrely represented. The Committee or Commission take a long time to write their report, and if they base their conclusions on the evidence before them the report is oftener than not, unsatisfactory. Then it takes years for the Government to consider that report and make up their mind as to how far they will act on it.

The case for self-government is clear and obvious. It needs no enquiry, and the Congress will be immensely weakening it by even tacitly admitting that anything is to be gained by such an enquiry.

As to the deputation question, it all depends on the constitution of the deputation, on the time they can spend in England, and on the financial backing they obtain. On all these points I have my own opinions, which I refrain from expressing for fear of being misunderstood. One thing, however, I will say, that it is better to go unrepresented than be represented by half-hearted but amiable advocates, who in their over-anxiety to appear fair, good, and reasonable spoil their clients' case by making damaging admissions which are used against their clients with fatal results.

Let the scheme for self-government be thoroughly discussed in India before it is formulated. Once it has been formulated, let us stick to it with firmness. Let the authorities grant as much as is acceptable to them, but let us not show our weakness by trying to bargain with them. An attempt to bargain through people who have had no training in diplomacy, when the other side is represented by lifelong, trained diplomats possessing vast powers, is more likely to be harmful to the former than otherwise.

New York, June 8, 1916.

LAJPAT RAI.

We are of the same opinion as Mr. Lajpat Rai.

England's Friendliness to Japan.

The Japan Magazine writes:

When England increased her customs tariff to meet war needs, she thoughtfully provided rules for special treatment of certain exports from Japan; and likewise, when the Indian Government was proposing to levy a cotton export duty as well as one on imports of cotton, Britain had the proposal dropped owing to the serious effect it would have on Japan's cotton industries.

No official mentioned this last fact during the last Budget Debate. England ought certainly to be friendly to her eastern ally. But Indian interests ought not to be sacrificed.



BEHULA AT THE COURT OF INDRA.

By the courtesy of the artist Mrs. Sukhalata Rao.

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MY REMINISCENCES

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(27) *The Broken Heart.*

WHILE in England I began another poem, which I went on with during my journey home, and finished after my return. This was published under the name of *Bhagna Hriday*, The Broken Heart. At the time I thought it very good. There was nothing strange in the writer's thinking so; but it did not fail to gain the appreciation of the readers of the time as well! I remember how, after it came out, the chief minister of the late Raja of Tipperah called on me solely to deliver the message that the Raja admired the poem and entertained high hopes of the writer's future literary career.

About this poem of my eighteenth year let me set down here what I wrote in a letter when I was thirty:

When I began to write the *Bhagna Hriday* I was eighteen—neither in my childhood nor my youth. This borderland age is not illumined with the direct rays of Truth;—its reflection is seen here and there, and the rest is shadow. And like twilight shades its imaginings are long-drawn and vague, making the real world seem like a world of phantasy.

The curious part of it is that not only was I eighteen, but everyone around me seemed to be eighteen likewise; and we all flitted about in the same baseless, substanceless world of imagination, where even the most intense joys and sorrows seemed like the joys and sorrows of dreamland. There being nothing real to weigh them against, the trivial did duty for the great.

This period of my life, from the age of fifteen or sixteen to twenty-two or twenty-three, was one of utter disorderliness.

When, in the early ages of the Earth, land and water had not yet distinctly separated, huge mis-shapen amphibious creatures walked the trunkless forests growing on the oozing silt. Thus do the passions of the

dim ages of the immature mind, as disproportionate and curiously shaped, haunt the unending shades of its trackless, nameless wildernesses. They know not themselves, nor the aim of their wanderings; and, because they do not, they are ever apt to imitate something else. So, at this age of unmeaning activity, when my undeveloped powers, unaware of and unequal to their object, were jostling each other for an outlet, each sought to assert superiority through exaggeration.

When milk-teeth are trying to push their way through, they work the infant into a fever. All this agitation finds no justification till the teeth are out and have begun assisting in the absorption of food. In the same way do our early passions torment the mind like a malady till they realise their true relationship with the outer world.

The lessons I learnt from my experiences at that stage are to be found in every moral text-book, but are not therefore to be despised. That which keeps our appetites confined within us, and checks their free access to the outside, poisons our life. Such is selfishness which refuses to give free play to our desires, and prevents them from reaching their real goal, and that is why it is always accompanied by festering untruths and extravagances. When our desires find unlimited freedom in good work they shake off their diseased condition and come back to their own nature;—that is their true end, there also is the joy of their being.

The condition of my immature mind which I have described was fostered both by the example and precept of the time,

and I am not sure that the effects of these are not lingering on to the present day. Glancing back at the period of which I tell, it strikes me that we have gained more of stimulation than of nourishment out of English Literature. Our literary gods then were Shakespeare, Milton and Byron; and the quality in their work which stirred us most was strength of passion. In the social life of Englishmen passionate outbursts are kept severely in check, for which very reason, perhaps, they so dominate their literature, making its characteristic to be the working out of extravagantly vehement feelings to an inevitable conflagration. At least this uncontrolled excitement was what we learnt to look on as the quintessence of English literature.

In the impetuous declamation of English poetry by Akshay Chowdhury, our initiator into English literature, there was the wildness of intoxication. The frenzy of Romeo and Juliet's love, the fury of King Lear's impotent lamentation, the all-consuming fire of Othello's jealousy, these were the things that roused us to enthusiastic admiration. Our restricted social life, our narrower field of activity, was hedged-in with such monotonous uniformity that tempestuous feelings found no entrance;—all was as calm and quiet as could be. So our hearts naturally craved the life-bringing shock of the passionate emotion in English literature. Ours was not the aesthetic enjoyment of literary art, but the jubilant welcome by stagnation of a turbulent wave, even though it should stir up to the surface the slime of the bottom.

Shakespeare's contemporary literature represents the war-dance of the day when the renaissance came to Europe in all the violence of its reaction against the severe curbing and cramping of the hearts of men. The examination of good and evil, beauty and ugliness was not the main object—man then seemed consumed with the anxiety to break through all barriers to the inmost sanctuary of his being, there to discover the ultimate image of his own violent desire. That is why in this literature we find such poignant, such exuberant, such unbridled expression.

The spirit of this bacchanalian revelry of Europe found entrance into our demurely well-behaved social world, woke us up, and made us lively. We were dazzled with the glow of unfettered life which

tell upon our custom-smothered heart, pining for an opportunity to disclose itself.

There was another such day in English literature when the slow-measure of Pope's common time gave place to the dance-rhythm of the French revolution. This had Byron for its poet. And the impetuosity of his passion also moved our veiled heart-bride in the seclusion of her corner.

In thiswise did the excitement of the pursuit of English literature come to sway the heart of the youth of our time, and at mine the waves of this excitement kept beating from every side. The first awakening is the time for the play of energy, not its repression.

And yet our case was so different from that of Europe. There the excitability and impatience of bondage was a reflection from its history into its literature. Its expression was consistent with its feeling. The roaring of the storm was heard because a storm was really raging. The breeze therefrom that ruffled our little world sounded in reality but little above a murmur, but therein it failed to satisfy our minds, so that our attempts to imitate the blast of a hurricane led us easily into exaggeration; a tendency which still persists and may not prove easy of cure.

And for this, the fact that in English literature the reticence of true art has not yet appeared, is responsible. That human emotion is only one of the ingredients of literature and not its end,—which is the beauty of perfect fulness consisting in simplicity and restraint,—is a proposition which English literature does not yet fully admit.

Our minds from infancy to old age are being moulded by this English literature alone. But the other literatures of Europe, both classical and modern, of which the art-form shows the well-nourished development due to a systematic cultivation of self-control, are not subjects of our study; and so, as it seems to me, we are yet unable to arrive at a correct perception of the true aim and method of literary work.

He, who had made the passion in English literature living to us, was himself a votary of the emotional life. The importance of realising truth in the fulness of its perfection seemed less apparent to him than that of feeling it in the heart. He had no intellectual respect for religion, but songs

of *Shyama*, the dark Mother, would bring tears to his eyes. He felt no call to search for ultimate reality; whatever moved his heart served him for the time as the truth, even obvious coarseness not proving a deterrent.

Atheism was the dominant note of the English prose writings then in vogue—Bentham, Mill and Comte being favourite authors. Theirs was the reasoning in terms of which our youths argued. The age of Mill constitutes a natural epoch in English History. It represents a healthy reaction of the body politic; these destructive forces having been brought in, temporarily, to rid it of accumulated thought-rubbish. In our country we received these in the letter, but never sought to make practical use of them, employing them only as a stimulant to incite ourselves to moral revolt. Atheism was thus for us a mere intoxication.

For these reasons educated men then mostly fell into two classes. One would be always thrusting themselves forward with unprovoked argumentation to cut to pieces all belief in God. Like the hunter whose hands itch, no sooner he spies a living creature on top or at foot of a tree, to kill it, whenever these came to learn of a harmless belief lurking anywhere in fancied security, they felt stirred up to sally forth and demolish it. We had for a short time a tutor of whose this was a pet diversion. Though I was a mere boy, even I could not escape his onslaughts. Not that his attainments were of any account, or that his opinions were the result of any enthusiastic search for the truth, being mostly gathered from others' lips. But though I fought him with all my strength, unequally matched in age, as we were, I suffered many a bitter defeat. Sometimes I felt so mortified I almost wanted to cry.

The other class consisted not of believers but religious epicureans, who found comfort and solace in gathering together, and steeping themselves in, pleasing sights sounds and scents galore, under the garb of religious ceremonial; they luxuriated in the paraphernalia of worship. In neither of these classes was doubt or denial the outcome of the travail of their quest.

Though these religious aberrations pained me, I cannot say I was not at all influenced by them. With the intellectual impudence of budding youth this revolt

also found a place. The religious services which were held in our family I would have nothing to do with, I had not accepted them for my own. I was busy blowing up a raging flame with the bellows of my emotions. It was only the worship of fire, the giving of oblations to increase its flame—with no other aim. And because my endeavour had no end in view it was measureless, always reaching beyond any assigned limit.

As with religion, so with my emotions, I felt no need for any underlying truth, my excitement being an end in itself. I call to mind some lines of a poet of that time:

My heart is mine
I have sold it to none,
Be it tattered and torn and worn away,
My heart is mine!

From the standpoint of truth the heart need not worry itself so, for nothing compels it to wear itself to tatters. In truth sorrow is not desirable, but taken apart its pungency may appear savoury. This savour our poets often made much of; leaving out the god in whose worship they were indulging. This childishness our country has not yet succeeded in getting rid of. So even to-day, when we fail to see the truth of religion, we seek in its observance an artistic gratification. So, also, much of our patriotism is not service of the motherland, but the luxury of bringing ourselves into a desirable attitude of mind towards the country.

(28) *European Music.*

When I was in Brighton I once went to hear some *Prima Donna*. I forget her name. It may have been *Madame Neilson* or *Madame Albani*. Never before had I beheld such an extraordinary command over the voice. Even our best singers cannot hide their sense of effort; nor are they ashamed to bring out, as best they can, top notes or bass notes beyond their proper register. In our country the understanding portion of the audience think no harm in keeping the performance up to standard by dint of their own imagination. For the same reason they do not mind any harshness of voice or uncouthness of gesture in the exponent of a perfectly formed melody; on the contrary, they seem sometimes to be of opinion that such minor external defects serve better to set off the internal perfection of the composition. As with the outward poverty of the Great Ascetic,

Mahadeva, whose divinity shines forth naked.

This feeling seems entirely wanting in Europe. There outward embellishment must be perfect in every detail, and the least defect stands shamed and unable to face the public gaze. In our musical gatherings nothing is thought of spending half-an-hour in tuning up the *Tanpuras*, or hammering into tone the drums, little and big. In Europe such duties are performed beforehand, behind the scenes, for all that comes in front must be faultless. There is thus no room for any weak spot in the singer's voice. In our country a correct and artistic exposition* of the melody is the main object, thereon is concentrated all the effort. In Europe the voice is the object of culture, and with it they perform impossibilities. In our country the virtuoso is satisfied if he has heard the song; in Europe, they go to hear the singer.

That is what I saw that day in Brighton. To me it was as good as a circus. But, admire the performance as I did, I *could not* appreciate the song. I could hardly keep from laughing when some of the *cadenzas* imitated the warbling of birds. I felt all the time that it was a misapplication of the human voice. When it came to the turn of a male singer I was considerably relieved. I specially liked the tenor voices which had more of human flesh and blood in them, and seemed less like the disembodied lament of a forlorn spirit.

After this as I went on hearing and learning more and more of European music, I began to get into the spirit of it; but upto now I am convinced that our music and theirs abide in altogether different apartments, and do not gain entry to the heart by the self-same door.

European music seems to be intertwined with its material life, so that the text of its songs may be as various as that life itself. If we attempt to put our tunes to the same variety of use they tend to lose their significance, and become ludicrous; for our melodies transcend the barriers of everyday life, and only thus can they carry us so deep into Pity, so high into Aloofness; their function being to reveal a picture of the

inmost inexpressible depths of our being, mysterious and impenetrable, where the devotee may find his hermitage ready, or even the epicurean his bower, but where there is no room for the busy man of the world.

I cannot claim that I gained admittance to the soul of European music. But what little of it I came to understand from the outside attracted me greatly in one way. It seemed to me so romantic. It is somewhat difficult to analyse what I mean by that word. What I would refer to is the aspect of variety, of abundance, of the waves on the sea of life, of the ever-changing light and shade on their ceaseless undulations. There is the opposite aspect—of pure extension, of the unwinking blue of the sky, of the silent hint of immeasurability in the distant circle of the horizon. However that may be, let me repeat, at the risk of not being perfectly clear, that whenever I have been moved by European music I have said to myself: it is romantic, it is translating into melody the evanescence of life.

Not that we wholly lack the same attempt in some forms of our music; but it is less pronounced, less successful. Our melodies give voice to the star-spangled night, to the first reddening of dawn. They speak of the sky-pervading sorrow which lowers in the darkness of clouds; the speechless maddening intoxication of the forest-roaming spring.

(29) *Valmiki Pratibha.*

We had a profusely decorated volume of Moore's Irish Melodies: and often have I listened to the enraptured recitation of these by Akshay Babu. The poems combined with the pictorial designs to conjure up for me a dream picture of the Ireland of old. I had not then actually heard the original tunes, but had sung these Irish Melodies to myself to the accompaniment of the harps in the pictures. I longed to hear the real tunes, to learn them, and sing them to Akshay Babu. Some longings unfortunately do get fulfilled in this life, and die in the process. When I went to England I did hear some of the Irish Melodies sung, and learnt them too, but that put an end to my keenness to learn more. They were simple, mournful and sweet, but they somehow did not fit in with the silent melody of the harp which filled the halls of the Old Ireland of my dreams.

* With Indian music it is not a mere question of correctly rendering a melody exactly as composed, but the theme of the original composition is the subject of an improvised interpretative elaboration by the expounding Artist. Tr.

When I came back home I sung the Irish melodies I had learnt to my people. "What is the matter with Rabi's voice?" They exclaimed. "How funny and foreign it sounds!" They even felt my speaking voice had changed its tone.

From this mixed cultivation of foreign and native melody was born the *Valmiki Pratibha*.* The tunes in this musical drama are mostly Indian, but they have been dragged out of their classic dignity; that which soared in the sky was taught to run on the earth. Those who have seen and heard it performed will, I trust, bear witness that the harnessing of Indian melodic modes to the service of the drama has proved neither derogatory nor futile. This conjunction is the only special feature of *Valmiki Pratibha*. The pleasing task of loosening the chains of melodic forms and making them adaptable to a variety of treatment completely engrossed me.

Several of the songs of *Valmiki Pratibha* were set to tunes originally severely classic in mode; some of the tunes were composed by my brother Jyotirindra; a few were adapted from European sources. The *Telena*† style of Indian modes specially lends itself to dramatic purposes and has been frequently utilized in this work. Two English tunes served for the drinking songs of the robber band, and an Irish melody for the lament of the wood nymphs.

Valmiki Pratibha is not a composition which will bear being read. Its significance is lost if it is not heard sung, and seen acted. It is not what Europeans call an Opera; but a little drama set to music. That is to say, it is not primarily a musical composition either. Very few of the songs are important or attractive by themselves; they all serve merely as the musical text of the play.

Before I went to England we occasionally

* *Valmiki Pratibha* means the genius of Valmiki. The plot is based on the story of Valmiki, the robber chief, being moved to pity and breaking out into a metrical lament on witnessing the grief of one of a pair of cranes whose mate was killed by a hunter. In the metre which so came to him he afterwards composed his *Ramayana*. *Tr.*

† Some Indian classic melodic compositions are designed on a scheme of accentuation, for which purpose the music is set, not to words, but to unmeaning notation-sounds representing drum-beats or plectrum-impacts which in Indian music are of a considerable variety of tone, each having its own sound-symbol. The *Telena* is one such style of composition. *Tr.*

used to have gatherings of literary men in our house, at which music, recitations and light refreshments were served up. After my return one more such gathering was held, which happened to be the last. It was for an entertainment in this connection that the *Valmiki Pratibha* was composed. I played *Valmiki* and my niece, Pratibha, took the part of *Saraswati*—which bit of history remains recorded in the name.

I had read in some work of Herbert Spencer's that speech takes on tuneful inflexions whenever emotion comes into play. It is a fact that the tone or tune is as important to us as the spoken word for the expression of anger, sorrow, joy and wonder. Spencer's idea that, through a development of these emotional modulations of voice, man found music, appealed to me. Why should it not do, I thought to myself, to act a drama in a kind of recitative based on this idea. The *Kathakas** of our country attempt this to some extent, for they frequently break into a chant which, however, stops short of full melodic form. As blank verse is more elastic than rhymed, so such chanting, though not devoid of rhythm, can more freely adapt itself to the emotional interpretation of the text, because it does not attempt to conform to the more rigorous canons of tune and time required by a regular melodic composition. The expression of feeling being the object, these deficiencies in regard to form do not jar on the hearer.

Encouraged by the success of this new line taken in the *Valmiki Pratibha*, I composed another musical play of the same class. It was called the *Kal Mrigaya*, The Fateful Hunt. The plot was based on the story of the accidental killing of the blind hermit's only son by King Dasaratha. It was played on a stage erected on our roof-terrace, and the audience seemed profoundly moved by its pathos. Afterwards, much of it was, with slight changes, incorporated in the *Valmiki Pratibha*, and this play ceased to be separately published in my works.

Long afterwards, I composed a third musical play, *Mayar Khela*, the Play of *Maya*, an operetta of a different type. In this the songs were important, not the drama. In the others a series of dramatic situations were strung on a thread of

* Reciters of Puranic legendary lore. *Tr.*

melody, this was a garland of songs with just a thread of dramatic plot running through. The play of feeling, and not action, was its special feature. In point of fact I was, while composing it, saturated with the mood of song.

The enthusiasm which went to the making of *Valmiki Pratibha* and *Kal Mrigaya* I have never felt for any other work of mine. In these two the creative musical impulse of the time found expression.

My brother, Jyotirindra, was engaged the livelong day at his piano, refashioning the classic melodic forms at his pleasure. And, at every turn of his instrument, the old modes took on unthought-of shapes and expressed new shades of feeling. The melodic forms which had become habituated to their pristine stately gait, when thus compelled to do a quick-step to more lively unconventional measures, displayed an unexpected agility and power; and moved us correspondingly. We could plainly hear the tunes speak to us while Akshay Babu and I sat on either side fitting words to them as they grew out of my brother's nimble fingers. I do not claim that our *Libretto* was good poetry but it served as a vehicle for the tunes.

In the riotous joy of this revolutionary activity were these two musical plays composed, and so they danced merrily to every measure, whether or not technically correct, indifferent as to the tunes being homelike or foreign.

On many an occasion has the Bengali reading public been grievously exercised over some opinion or literary form of mine, but it is curious to find that the daring with which I had played havoc with accepted musical notions did not rouse any resentment, on the contrary those who came to hear departed pleased. A few of Akshay Babu's compositions find place in the *Valmiki Pratibha* and also some adaptations from Vihari Chakravarti's *Sarada Mangal* series of songs.

I used to take the leading part in the performance of these musical dramas. From my early years I had a taste for acting, and firmly believed that I had a

special aptitude for it. I think I proved that my belief was not ill-founded. I had only once before done the part of Aleek Babu in a farce written by my brother Jyotirindra. So these were really my first attempts at acting. I was then very young and nothing seemed to fatigue or trouble my voice.

In our house, at the time, a cascade of musical emotion was gushing forth day after day, hour after hour, its scattered spray reflecting into our being a whole gamut of rainbow colours. Then, with the freshness of youth, our new-born energy, impelled by its virgin curiosity, struck out new paths in every direction. We felt we would try and test everything, and no achievement seemed impossible. We wrote, we sang, we acted, we poured ourselves out on every side. This was how I stepped into my twentieth year.

Of these forces which so triumphantly raced our lives along, my brother Jyotirindra was the charioteer. He was absolutely fearless. While I was a mere lad, and had never ridden a horse before, he mounted me and made me gallop by his side, with no qualms about his unskilled companion. When at the same age, while we were at Shelidah, the head-quarters of our estate, news was brought of a tiger, he took me with him on a hunting expedition. I had no gun,—it would have been more dangerous to me than to the tiger if I had. We left our shoes at the outskirts of the jungle and crept into it with bare feet. At last we scrambled up into a bamboo thicket, partly stripped of its thorn-like twigs, where I somehow managed to crouch behind my brother till the deed was done; with no means of even administering a shoe-beating to the unmannerly brute had he dared lay his offensive paws on me!

Thus did my brother give me full freedom both internal and external in the face of all dangers. No usage or custom was a bondage for him, and so was he able to rid me of my shrinking diffidence.

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE EXPANSION OF ASIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY PROF. BENAY KUMAR SARKAR, M. A.

THE darkest period of European History known as the Middle Ages is the brightest period in Asiatic. For over a thousand years from the accession of Gupta Vikramaditya to the throne of Pataliputra down to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks the history of Asia is the history of a continuous growth and progress. It is a record of the political and commercial as well as cultural expansion—and the highest water-mark attained by oriental humanity.

(a) ENTER JAPAN AND SARACEN.

Kalidasa was the harbinger of spring all through Asia. The Chinese Renaissance followed hard upon the Hindu Renaissance of the 5th century A. D. ; and immediately afterwards from two wings two new actors appeared on the scene to participate in the general awakening and to add to the splendour of the Asiatic Middle Ages. These were the Japanese on the East and the Saracens on the West.

The beginning of this great epoch of Chinese history is thus characterised by Fenollosa :

"We have described the extraordinary invigoration of Chinese genius due to the sudden fusion into the Dzin and Tang empires, apparently for the moment complete, of all hitherto separate movements and scattered elements,—Buddhist, Taoist, Confucian, Northern, Southern, Tartar and Miaotse. The Tang Dynasty had come in as a military colossus in 618 ; but the great soldier and leader of Tang who consolidated Chinese strength and expanded it again far towards the west, was the second Tang Emperor Taiso (Tai Tsung), one of the greatest and wisest of Chinese rulers, who reigned from 627 to 650. It was in this great westward expansion that the introduction of Græko-Buddhist art was effected. Chinese armies and peaceful missions now marched again westward into Turkestan ; and the pious pilgrim Hiuen Tshang stopped at all the famous Græko-Buddhist sites in Khotan, Turkestan, Gandhara and Central India, collecting manuscripts, drawings and models of every description, which were all safely brought back to China in the year 645.

Meanwhile communications by sea had been opened up with Sassanian Persia ; princes and scholars of the western kingdom had been received as guests in Taiso's capital and wrote in Persian the world's first careful notes of the Middle Empire.....There

is reason to believe, too, that the Byzantine Emperors, or their governors in Syria, had held communication with China and even implored the assistance of her powerful ruler to make common cause against Mohammed, who was just starting a conflagration on the borders of both. Taiso apparently agreed to the alliance, and his armies were preparing to advance from Turkestan to the relief of Persia, when the Saracens with Napoleonic haste, frustrated the junction by driving a wedge eastward across the Chinese path."

While reading this account one is led to think that all the conditions of the preceding Hindu Renaissance were repeating themselves in the land of Celestials. In the Land of the Rising Sun it was the brilliant Nara period (A.D. 710-94). And in the land of the Tigris

"By Bagdat's shrines of fretted gold,
High walled gardens green and old,

In sooth it was a goodly time,
For it was in the golden prime
Of good Haroun Alraschid *."

Hindusthan had really crossed the Himalayas. The Sanskrit *Panchatantra* was translated into Persian in the sixth century in order to be palmed off in Europe as *Æsop's Fables*, Hiuen Tshang was propagating Hindu Culture in Far Cathay, and Japanese scholars were imbibing themselves with Hindu ideals at the feet of the Chinese Masters of Law. For a time, Hindu and Asian became almost synonymous terms. The intellectual and spiritual currency of the Eastern world was struck off in the Indian mints of thought. India became the heart and brain of the Orient.

It was the message of this Orient that was carried to Europe by the Islamites and led to the establishment of her mediæval universities. In describing the origin of Oxford, Green remarks in his *History of the English People* :

"The establishment * * * was everywhere throughout Europe a special work of the new impulse that Christendom had gained from the Crusades. A new fervour of study sprang up in the West from its contact with the more cultured East. Travellers

* (c) A. D. 800.

like Abelard of Bath brought back the first rudiments of physical and mathematical science from the schools of Cordova or Baghdad."

The chief feature in the history of Asiatic peoples in the Middle Ages is their phenomenal expansion.

A glance at the historical atlas of the world from the time of Attila the Central Asian Hun's havoc on Europe (A.D. 442-47) down to the establishment of the Ottoman Islam Empire in the place of the Greek (Eastern or Byzantine) Empire would show that, during all this period, not an inch of Asiatic soil was under foreign rule or even 'sphere of influence,' except certain parts of Asia Minor.

Rather, on the one hand, the amazingly rapid conquests of the followers of Mahomet carried the frontier of Asia to the Pyrenees mountains and converted the Mediterranean Sea almost into an Asiatic lake. The story of that Expansion of Asia is to be read best in the history of the Christian *jihads* or Holy Wars against Islam. These Crusades undertaken by Pan-European or Pan-Christian Alliances were but attempts at self-defence on the part of the Westerners against a wholesale Orientalisation.

And, on the other hand, the avalanche of the Barbarians of Scythia kept the whole territory of the Slavs to the east of the Carpathian Mountains as a mere appendix of Asia. The Princes of Moscow were feudatories and tax-"farmers" to the Mongol masters. The blood of the modern Russian reveals the story of that Anianisation.

The freedom of the rest of Christian Europe against the aggressions of Islamic Arab and the Buddhist Tartar remained precarious for several centuries. As Yule observes in his edition of *Travels of Marco Polo*:

"In Asia and Eastern Europe scarcely a dog might bark without Mongol leave from the borders of Poland and the Gulf of Scanderoon to the Amur and the Yellow Sea."

This is a picture of the 13th century (A.D. 1260).

Wordsworth eulogises Venice, "the Queen of the Adriatic," as the bulwark of Europe:

"Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee,
And was the safeguard of the West."

These lines indicate incidentally how far into the heart of Europe the Asiatic sphere of influence had penetrated.

The fierce contests between the Turk

and the army of the Holy Roman Empire at the very gates of Vienna in later times (1529 and 1682) also point to the same fact. That account is given in *The Two Sieges of Vienna*, a work translated into English from Schimmer's German.

The contributions of Islam to European civilisation have a place in the pages of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* and of the works of more modern specialists in Saracenic culture. I may mention also the Indian scholar Ameer Ali's luminous *History of the Saracens*.

The Expansion of Asia from the Tartar (Scythian or Mongol) side also was not a mere barbaric raid. Howorth writes in his monumental *History of the Mongols*:

"From China, Persia, Europe, from all sides, where the hoofs of Mongol horses had tramped, there was furnished a quota of ideas to the common hive, whence it was distributed. Europe which had sunk into lethargy under the influence of feudal institutions and of intestine wars, gradually awoke. An afflatus of architectural energy, as Colonel Yule has remarked, spread over the world almost directly after the Mongol conquests. Poetry and the arts began rapidly to revive. The same thing occurred in Persia under the Ilkhans, the heirs and successors of Khulagu, and in Southern Russia at Serai, under the successors of Batu-Khan. * * * The art of printing, the mariner's compass, fire-arms and a great many details of social life, were not discovered in Europe but imported by means of Mongol influence from the furthest East."

In the volume, entitled *The So-called Tartars*, of the same work on Mongols, Howorth describes the Asiatic expeditions into Central Europe and the permanent conquests effected thereby.

"This comprised the country from the Yaik to the Carpathian mountains, and included a suzerainty over Russia. These various tribes owing more or less supreme allegiance to the ruler whose metropolis was Serai on the Volga, and the whole were comprised in the phrase the Golden Horde."

The following is taken from the Preface:

"In these four chapters I have endeavoured to trace out the story of the original conquest of Russia during the Tartar domination and have tried to point out how far the conquest has affected the history and the social economy of that great and interesting empire. I have also tried to show how during the Tartar supremacy the south of Russia, under the influence of a strong rule, was the focus of a vast trade and culture, and the means by which Cairo, Baghdad and Peking were brought into very close contact with Venice, Genoa, and the Hanseatic towns."

The story of the Middle Ages is really the story of a Greater Asia.

Asiatic genius has ever been aggressive. The achievements of that Aggressive Asia are to be noticed not only in the victories of war but also in the "more glorious" victories of peace.

THE FESTIVAL OF MEMORY

Doth rapture hold a feast,—
Doth sorrow keep a fast
For Love's dear memory
Whose secret shall outlast
Time's new-born mystery,
Secure and unsurpass'd ?

Shall I array my heart
In Love's vermeil attire ?
O shall I fling my life
Like incense in Love's fire ?
Weep unto sorrow's lute,
Or dance to rapture's lyre ?

What know the worlds triune
Of gifts so strange as this
Twin-nurtured boon of Love,
Deep agony and bliss,
Fulfilment and farewell
Concentred in a kiss ?

No worship dost thou need
O Miracle divine !
Silence and song and tears,
Delight and dreams are thine,
For thou hast made my soul
Thy sacrament and shrine.

Hyderabad, Decan.

SAROJINI NAIDU.

MY OWN JAPANESE POETRY

BY YONE NOGUCHI.

COME always to the conclusion, that the English poets waste too much energy in "words, words, and words," and make, doubtless with all good intentions, their inner meaning frustrate, at least less distinguished, simply from the reason that its full liberty to appear naked is denied. It is the poets more than the novelists who not only misinterpret their own meaning, but often deceive their own souls, and cry to their hearts too affectedly whose timid eyes look aside ; it is almost unbelievable how the English-speaking people, with their pronounced reserve and good sense, can turn at once in "poetry" so reckless and eloquent. When I say it seems that they take a so-called poetical license, I mean that what they write about, to speak slangily, by the yard, is not Life or Voice itself (or to use my own beloved word, Death or Silence itself) ; from such a viewpoint I do not hesitate to declare that the English poets, particularly the American poets, are far behind the novelists. I can prove with many instances that there are books and books of "poems"

in which one cannot find any particular design of their authors ; it is never too much to say that they have a good intention, though not wise at best ; but after all, to have only that good intention is not the way to make art or literature advance.

I always insist that the written poems, even when they are said to be good, are only the second best, as the very best poems are left unwritten or sung in silence. It is my opinion that the real test for poets is how far they resist their impulse to utterance, or, in another word, the publication of their own work—not how much they have written, but how much they have destroyed. To live poetry is the main thing, and the question of the poems written or published is indeed secondary ; from such a reason I regard our Basho Matsuwo, the seventeen syllable *hokku* poet of three hundred and fifty years ago, as great, while the work credited to his wonderful name could be printed in less than one hundred pages of any ordinary size. And it is from the same reason that

I pay an equal reverence to Stephane Mallarme, the so-called French Symbolist, though I do not know the exact meaning of that term. While they are poets different in nature, true to say, as different as a Japanese from a Frenchman (or it might be said, as same as the French and the Japanese), it seems to me that they join hands unconditionally in the point of denying their hearts too free play, with the result of making poetry living and divine, not making merely "words, words and words," and further in the point that both of them, the Japanese and the Frenchman, are poetical realists whose true realism is heightened or "enigmatised" by the strength of their own self-denial, to the very point that they have often been mistaken for mere idealists. Putting aside the question whether they are great or not, the fact that they have left little work behind is the point that I should like to emphasise; blessed be they who can sing in silence to the content of their hearts in love of perfection. The real prayer should be told in silence.

For a poet to have few lines in these prosaic days would be at least an achievement truly heroic; I think that the crusade for the Western poetry, if it is necessary, as I believe it is most momentous, should begin with the first act of leaving the "words" behind, or making them return to their original proper places. We have a little homely proverb—"The true heart will be protected by a god, even though it offer no prayer at all." I should like to apply it to poetry and say that Poetry will take care of itself all by itself without any assistance from words, rhymes, and metres. I flatter myself that even Japan can do something towards the reformation or advancement of the Western poetry, not only spiritually but also physically.

My book of poems often brings forth, accidentally as it seems to me, the question whether one can attain a success with the language of adoption. I never had, let me tell you to begin with, any thought of success or failure when I began to write in English, and still I haven't to-day; I beg you not to mix my work with such a discussion, because, to give you one reason, I hate to have it classed with so-called literature or poetry. To put my own work aside. It is interesting, however, to reflect and consider whether we can pay

any tribute to the English language when we adopt it for writing. There are beauties and characteristics of any language which cannot be plainly seen by those who are born with them; it is a foreigner's privilege (or is it the virtue of capital-lettered ignorance?) to see them and use them, without a moment's hesitation, to his best advantage as he conceives it. I have seen examples of it in the work of Western artists in adopting our Japanese traits of art, the traits which turned meaningless for us a long time ago, and whose beauties were lost in time's dust; but what a force and peculiarity of art Utamaro or Hiroshige, to believe the general supposition, inspired in Monet, Whistler and others: it may seem strange to think how the Japanese art of the Ukiyoe school, nearly dead, commonplace at its best, could work such a wonder when it was adopted by the Western hand: but after all that is not strange at all. And can we not do the same thing with language? Not only the English language but any language, is bound to become stale and stupid if it shuts itself up for too long a time; it must sooner or later be rejuvenated and enlivened with some new force. To shake off classicism, or to put it more abruptly, to forget everything of history or usage, often means to make a fresh start; such a start must be expected to come from one great enough to transcend above it, or from a foreigner. And the latter's ignorance (blessing is that ignorance) in his case becomes a strength and beauty; it is only he who can dare an extraordinary act in language such as no native writer ever dreams, and the result will be no small protest, sometimes a real revelation. That is why even we Japanese can make some contribution to the English language when we use it. The English poem, as it seems to me, is governed too greatly by old history and too respectable prosody; just compare it with the English prose which has made such a stride in the recent age, to see and be amazed at its unchanging gait. Perhaps it is my destitution of musical sense (a Western critic declared that Japanese are for the most part unmusical) to find myself more often unmoved by the English rhymes and metres; let me confess that, before perceiving the silver sound of a poet like Tennyson or Swinburne born under the golden clime, my own Japanese mind al-

ready revolts and rebels against something in English poems or verses which, for lack of a proper expression, we might call physical or external. As my attention is never held by the harmony of language, I go straightforward to the writer's inner soul to speculate on it, and talk with it; briefly, I am sound blind or tone deaf—that is my honest confession. I had no reply to one English lady the other day who wrote me to inquire concerning the underlying rhythm of my poetical work, as I had no thought about it when it was written: my mind always turns, let me dare say, to something else. I used to read the works of English poets in my younger days; but I soon gave up the reading of them when I thought that my literary salvation would only come through my own pain and imagination. As far as the language is concerned, I need not much of it for my assistance; because my hope is to become a poet without words. While some critic or poet accuses me for being faulty and even unnatural, I am quite content with my work; because although it may not be so-called literature or poetry, it is I myself, good or bad, noble or ignoble, high or low.

Japanese poetry, at least the old Japanese poetry, is different from Western poetry in the same way as silence is different from a voice, night from day; while avoiding the too close discussion of their relative merits, I can say that the latter always fails, naturally enough, through being too active to properly value inaction, restfulness, or death; to speak shortly, the passive phase of life and the world. It is fantastic to say that night and day, silence and voice are all the same; let me admit that they are vastly different; it is their difference that makes them so interesting. The sensitiveness of our human nature makes us to be influenced by the night and silence as well as by the day and voice; let me confess, however, that my suspicion of the Western poetic feeling dates from quite far back in the days of my old California life, when I was quite often laughed at for my aimless loitering under the moonbeams, and for my patient attention to the voice of the falling snow. One who lives, for instance, in Chicago or New York, can hardly know the real beauty of night and silence; it is my opinion that the Western character, particularly of Americans, would be

sweetened, or at least toned down, if that part of the beauty of Nature might be emphasized. Oh, our Japanese life of dream and silence: The Japanese poetry is that of the moon, stars, and flowers, that of a bird and waterfall for the noisiest. If we do not sing so much of life and the world it is not from the reason that we think their value negative, but from our thought that it would be better, in most cases, to leave them alone, and not to sing of them is the proof of our reverence toward them. Besides, to sing the stars and the flowers in Japan means to sing life, since we human beings are not merely a part of Nature but Nature itself. When our Japanese poetry is best, it is, let me say, a searchlight or flash of thought or passion cast on a moment of Life and Nature, which, by virtue of its intensity, leads us to the conception of the whole; it is swift, discontinuous, an isolated piece. So it is the best of our seventeen-syllable *hokku* and thirty-one syllable *uta* poems that by their art, as Tsurayuki remarks in his *Kokinshū* preface, "without an effort, heaven and earth are moved, and gods and demons invisible to our eyes are touched with sympathy;" the real value of the Japanese poems may be measured by what mood or illusion they inspire in the reader's mind.

It is not too much to say that an appreciative reader of poetry in Japan is not made but born, just like a poet; as the Japanese poetry is never explanatory, one has everything before him or which to let his imagination freely play; as a result he will come to have an almost personal attachment to it as much as the author himself. When you realize that the expression or words always mislead you, often making themselves an obstacle to a mood or an illusion, it will be seen what a literary achievement it is when one can say a thing which passes well as real poetry in such a small compass mentioned before; to say "suggestive" is simple enough, the important question is how. Although I know it sounds rather arbitrary, I may say that, such a result may be gained partly (remember only partly) through determination in the rejection of inessentials from the phrase and the insistence upon economy of the inner thought; just at this moment while I write this article, my mind is suddenly recalled to the word which my old

California poet-friend used to exclaim: "Cut short, cut short, and again cut short!"

The other day I happened to read the work of Miss Lizette Woolworth Reese whose sensitiveness, the sweetest of all femininity for any age or race, expressed in language of pearl-like simplicity, whether studied or not, makes me think of her as a Japanese poet among Americans. When I read her "A White Lilac" from "A Quiet Road" (what a title with the sixteenth century dreaminess) I called my straight attention to her sensitiveness to odour; as a better specimen let me give you the following:—

Oh, gray and tender is the rain,
That drips, drips on the pane;
A hundred things come in at the door,
The scent of herbs, the thought of yore.

See the pool out in the grass,
A bit of broken glass;
The red flags running wet and straight,
Down to the little flapping gate.

Lombardy poplars tall and three,
Across the road I see.
There's no loveliness so plain,
As a tall poplar in the rain.

But oh, the hundred things and more
That come in at the door;
The smack of mint, old joy, old pain,
Caught in the gray and tender rain.

With all due respect, I thought afterward what a pity to become an American poetess if she has to begin her poem with "Oh, gray and tender is the rain"—such a commonplace beginning. I declared bluntly that I, "as a Japanese poet" would sacrifice the first three stanzas to make the last sparkle fully and unique like a perfect diamond. Explanation is forbidden in the House of Poesy for Japanese, where, as in the Japanese tea-house of four mats and a half, the Abode of Imagination, only the hints tender and gray like a ghost or Miss Reese's rain, are suffered to be dwelling. Although of this American poetess it is said that her rejection of inessentials is the secret of her personality and style, it seems that that rejection is not sufficient for my Japanese mind. If I be blamed as unintelligible from too much rejection, I have only to say that the true poetry should be written only to one's own heart to record the pain or joy, like a soul's diary whose sweetness can be kept when it is hidden secretly, or like a real prayer for which only a few words uttered are enough.

Here I am reminded of a particular *hokku*, a rain-poem like Miss Reese's, by Buson Yosaho of the eighteenth century:—

Of the *samidare* rain,
List to the Utsubo Bashira pipe!
These ears of my old age!

Is it unbelievable to you when I tell you that such is a complete Japanese poem, even a good poem? It is natural for you to ask me what the poem means at first and where the greatness comes in. The poem, as you see, in such a Lilliputian form of seventeen syllables in the original, carries my mind at once to the season's rain chanting the Utsuba Bashira, or Pipe of Emptying, that descends from the eaves (how like a Japanese poem with a singular distinction of inability to sing!) to which the poet Buson's world-weary old ears awakened; you will see that the "hundred things and more" that come in at the door of his mind should be understood, although he does not say it. Indeed you are the outsider of our Japanese poems if you cannot read immediately what they do not describe to you.

My Japanese opinion, shaped by hereditary impulse and education, was terribly shattered quite many years ago when Edwin Markham's "The Man With a Hoe" made a furore in the American Press. I exclaimed: "What! You say it is poetry? How is it possible?" It appeared to me to be a cry from the Socialist platform rather than a poem; I hope I do not offend the author if I say that it was the American journalism whose mind of curiosity always turns, to use a Japanese figure, to making billows rise from the ground. Putting aside many things, I think I can say that Mr. Markham's poem has an inexcusable error to the Japanese mind: that is its exaggeration, which, above all, we cannot stand in poetry, and even despise as very bad taste. Before Edwin Markham there was Whittier, who sent out editorial volleys under the guise of poetry; it is not too much to say, I dare think, that "An American Anthology," by Mr. Stedman, would look certainly better if it were reduced to one hundred pages from its eight hundred; we are bewildered to see so many poet-journalists perfectly jammed in the pages. How I failed in my attempt to read Walt Whitman—yes, during the last seventeen years; true to say, a page or two of "Leaves of Grass"

soon baffled, wearied and tired my mind. The fact that he utterly failed to impress my mind makes me think accidentally what a difference there is between East and West. One cannot act contrary to education; we are more or less a creation of tradition and circumstances. It was the strength of the old Western poets, particularly of America, that they preached, theorized, and moralized, besides singing in their own days; but when I see that our Japanese poetry was never troubled by Buddhism or Confucianism, I am glad here to venture that the Western poetry would be better off by parting from Christianity, social reform and what not. I think it is time for them to live more of the passive side of Life and Nature so as to make the meaning of the whole of them perfect and clear, to value the beauty of inaction so as to emphasize action, to think of Death so as to make life more attractive, although I do not insist upon their conforming themselves, as we Japanese poets, with the stars, flowers and winds.

We treat poetry, though it may sound too ambitious to the Western mind, from the point of its use of uselessness; it rises, through a mysterious way, to the height of its peculiar worth, where its uselessness turns, lo, to usefulness. When one knows that the things useless are the things most useful under different circumstances (to give one example, a little stone lazy by a stream, which becomes important when you happen to hear its sermon), he will see that the aspect of uselessness in poetry is to be doubly valued since its usefulness is always born from it like the day out of the bosom of night; you cannot call it, I trust, merely a Japanese freakishness or vagary if we appear to you in the matter of poetry to make much ado about nothing. I dare say we have our own attitude toward poetry. I have no quarrel with one who emphasizes the immediate necessity of joining the hand of poetry and life; however, I wish to ask him the question what he means by the word life. It is my opinion that the larger part is builded upon the unreality by the strength of which the reality becomes intensified; when we sing of the beauty of night, that is to glorify, through the attitude of reverse, in the way of silence, the vigor and wonder of the day. Poetry should be meaningful; but there is no world like that of poetry in which the word "meaning" so often baffles,

bewilders, disappoints us; I have seen enough examples of poems which appealed to me as meaningful and impressed another as hopelessly meaningless.

I deem it one of the literary fortunes, a happy happening but not an achievement, that till quite recently our Japanese poetry was never annoyed by fatigues, tormented by criticism; it was left perfectly at liberty to pursue its own free course and satisfy its old sweet will. The phenomenon that the literary part of criticism could find a congenial ground in Japan might make one venture to explain it from the point of our being whimsical, not philosophical; emotional, not intellectual; I have often thought that this mental lack might be attributed to the inconsistency of climate and sceneries, the general frailty and contradictions in our way of living. What I am thankful for is that it has never degenerated into mere literature; when the Western poetry is in the hand, so to say, of men of letters, the greatest danger will be found in the fact that they are often the prey of publication; it is true that the Western poets, minor or major or what not, have had always the thought of printing from early date till today. I know that at least in Japan the best poetry was produced in the age when publication was most difficult; I dare say that the modern opening of the pages for poets in the press and the easy publication of their work in independent books both in the West and the East, would never be the right way for the real encouragement of poetry. I read somewhere that a certain distinguished European actress declared that the true salvation of the stage should start with the destruction of all the theatres in existence; I should like to say well-nigh the same thing in regard to the real revival of poetry. Let the poets forget for once and all about publication, and let them live in poetry as the true poets of old day used to live. Indeed, to live in poetry is first and last. When one talks on the union of poetry and life, I am sure that so it should be in action and practice, not only in print; I have seen so many poets who only live between the covers and die when the ink fades away.

I often open the pages of *hokku* poems by Basho Matsuo and his life of fifty-one years; he gained moral strength from his complete rejection of worldly luxuries. He lived with and in poverty, to use the

Japanese phrase, *seishin* or pure poverty ; by whose blessing his single-minded devotion was well rewarded ; of course it was the age when material poverty was not a particular inconvenience as today. I read somewhere in his life that he declined in the course of his pilgrimage to accept three *ryo*, (equivalent to seven or eight pounds in the present reckoning) the parting gift by his student, as he was afraid his mind would be disturbed by the thought that his sudden wealth might become an attraction for a thief ; oh, what a difference from the modern poets who call for a better payment. He had one of his poetical students at Kaga, by the name of Hokushi, who sent him the following *hokku* poem when his house burned down :—

"It has burned down :
How serene the flowers in their falling !"

The master Basho wrote to Hokushi, after speaking the words of condolence, that Kyorai and Joshi (his disciples) too had been struck with admiration by the poem beginning : "It has burned down" ; and he continued : "There was in ancient time a poet who paid his own life as the price of a poem ; I do not think that you will take your loss too much to heart when you get such a poem." When Basho said the above, I believe that his admiration for Hokushi was more on account of his attitude toward life's calamity than for the *hokku* poem itself ; Hokushi did not study poetry in vain, I should say, when his own mind could keep serene like the falling flowers while seeing his house burn to ashes. That is the real poetry in action. With that action as a background, his poem, although it is slight in fact, bursts into a sudden light of dignity.

Indeed the main question is what is the real poetry of action for which silence is the language ; to say the real poet is a part of nature does no justice, because he is able more often to understand nature better through the very reason of his not being a part of nature itself. It is his greatness to soar out of nature and still not ever to forget her, in one word, to make himself art itself. And how does he attain his own aim ? Is it by the true conception of Taoism, the doctrine of Cosmic change or Mood of the Universe, of the Great Infinite or Transition ? or is it through the Zennism, of whose founder, Dharuma, I wrote once as follows :

"Thou lurest one into the presence of tree and hill ;
Thou blindest with the body of Nature old ;
List, Nature with the human shadow and song.
With thee she seems so near and sure to me,
I love and understand her more truly through thee :
Oh magic of meditation, witchery of silence,—
Language for which secret has no power :
Oh vastness of the soul of night and death
Where time and pains cease to exist."

The main concern is how to regulate and arrange nature ; before arranging and regulating nature, you have to regulate and arrange your own life. The thoughts of life and death, let me say, do not approach me ; let me live in the mighty serenity of the Eternal ! By the virtue of death itself, life grows really meaningful ; let us welcome death like great Rikiu who being forced to harakiri by his master's suspicion, drank the "last tea of Rikiu" with his beloved disciples and passed into the sweet Unknown with a smile and song on his face for the very turn of the page.

When I think on my ideal poet, I always think about our old Japanese tea-masters who were the true poets, as I said before, of the true action ; it was their special art to select and simplify nature, again to make her concentrate and emphasize herself according to their own thought and fancy. Let me tell you one story which impresses me still as quite a poetical revelation as when I heard it first.

Three or four tea-masters, the aestheticians of all aestheticists, headed by famous Rikiu, were once invited by Kwanpaku Hidetsugu, a feudal lord of the sixteenth century, to his early morning tea ; the month was April, the day the twentieth whose yearning mind was yet struggling to shake off the gray-haired winter's despotism. The dark breezes, like evil spirits who feared the approach of sunlight, were huddling around under the eaves of Hidetsugu's tea-house ; within, there was no light. And the silence was complete ; then it was found that its old rhythm (Oh, what a melody) was now and then broken, no, emphasized, by the silver voice of the boiling tea-kettle. No one among the guests ever spoke as the human tongue was thought to be out of place. The host, Kwanpaku Hidetsugu, was slow to appear on the scene ; what stepped in most informally, with no heralding, was the Ariake no Tsuki, the faint shadow of the falling moon at early dawn, who came a thousand miles, through the perplexity of a thousand leaves, just enough to light a,

little hanging by the *tokonoma*, the *shikishi* paper tablet on which the following *uta* poem was written :

"Where a cuckoo a-singing swayed,
I raised my face; alas, to see
The Ariake no Tsuki only remaining."

All the guests were taken at once with admiration of the poem and the art of the calligrapher, famous Toika, who wrote it, and then of the art of the host, this feudal lord, whose aesthetic mind was minute and most fastidious in creating a particular atmosphere; and they soon agreed but in silence that the tea-party was especially held to introduce the poem or the calligrapher's art to them. And I should like to know where is a sweeter, more beautiful way than that to introduce the poem or picture to others; again, I should like to know where is a more beautiful, sweeter way than that to see or read the picture or poem. Great is the art of those old tea-masters who were the real poets of action.

There is the garden path called *roji*, so to say, the passage into self-illumination, leading from the without to the within, that is to say, the tea-house under the world-wearied grayness of age-unknown trees, by the solitary granite lanterns, solitary like a saint or a philosopher with the beacon light in heart; it is here that you have to forget the tumultuous seas of the world on which you must ride and play at moral equilibrium, and slowly enter into the teaism or the joy of aestheticism. Now I should like to know if our lives are not one long *roji* where, if you are wiser, you will attempt to create the effects or atmosphere of serenity or poetry by the mystery of silence. There are many great tea-masters who have left us words of suggestion how to beguile and lead our minds from the dusts and ruin of life into the real "*roji* mood" that is the blessing of

shadowy dreams and mellow sweet unconsciousness of soul's freedom; I agree at once with Rikiu who found his own secret in the following old song :

"I turned my face not to see
Flowers or leaves.
'Tis the autumn eve
With the falling light :
How solitary the cottage stands
By the sea !"

Oh, vastness of solitariness, blessing of silence ! Let me, like that Rikiu, step into the sanctuary of idealism by the twilight of loneliness, the highest of all poetry !

This same Rikiu left us another story which pleases my mind greatly. Shoan, his son, was once told by his father to sweep or clean the garden path as Rikiu, the greatest aestheticist with the tea-bowl, doubtless expected some guest on that day; Shoan finished in due course his work of sweeping and washing the stepping stones with water. "Try again," Rikiu commanded when he has seen what he had done. Shoan again swept the ground and again washed the stones with water. Rikiu exclaimed again : "Try once more." His son, though he did not really understand what his father meant, obeyed and once more swept the ground and once more washed the stepping stones with water. "You stupid fool," Rikiu cried almost mad, "sweeping and watering are not true cleaning. I will show you what is to be done with the garden path." He shook the maple trees to make the leaves fall, and decorate the ground with the gold brocade. "This is the real way of cleaning," Rikiu exclaimed in satisfaction. This little story always makes me pause and think. Indeed, to approach the subject through the reverse side is more interesting, often the truest. Let me learn of death to truly live; let me be silent to truly sing.

IN AMERICA WITH MY MASTER, III

CHICAGO.

CHICAGO considers itself the most up-to-date city in the world, and boasts of the biggest achievements that had

ever been attempted anywhere. It is the greatest railway centre, the greatest grain market, the greatest lumber market, the greatest manufacturing centre of agricultural implements, and [the largest live-

stock market in the world. It holds an unique record in its astounding meat-packing industry. Hundreds of thousands of herds graze on the distant prairie land, and by a feat of railway transport, which is almost automatic, an endless procession of live-stock is delivered at an inclined platform near Chicago. Here the force of gravity and pressure from behind urges the victims onward. At a certain point they are in the grip of relentless machinery, and before the animal can realise its doom, it is killed, skinned, and cut to pieces and passed on rolling platform till at the other end in an incredibly short time it is canned, stamped and delivered to the waiting van ready for the market. Nothing is lost; hair, skin, hoof or horn, every particle is utilised. It is a mechanical age and the climax of its perfection, it is claimed, can only be seen in Chicago. Even in the most perfect cycle of transformation of energy there is an inevitable loss. But the Chicagoans assert that they have out-paced the laws of Nature. There is occasionally a slump in the meat industry and over-production means fall in price. At such a crisis the meat-packers simply reverse their machinery, and the erstwhile canned meat walk out at the other end as horned and hooved beasts to roam once more in the prairie land at the distant plains of Illinois! The only change noticeable is said to be in the greater liveliness of the resuscitated animals resulting from their enforced period of previous rest!

Even in the matter of disaster Chicago claims the greatest to its credit. Only the other day many thousands of pleasure-seekers were drowned by the upsetting of a large excursion steamer within a few yards of the quay; this gave the unique opportunity to the Cinema operators to film the most genuine and unrivalled catastrophe! Again the great fire of 1871 destroyed two-thirds of the city, even the wood-paved roads caught fire. The rebuilding of the city was accomplished with wonderful rapidity; the work began before the cinders were cold and a new Chicago sprang up, larger, finer and wealthier. The Californians, however, dispute the superior claims of Chicago. They point out to their bigger fire of 1906, the greatest in the world's history, which was a by-product of another disaster, the earthquake! The citizens of Chicago meet the

claims of their rivals with the most withering contempt.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

In the matter of education, however, the University of Chicago has won for itself a very high status. The princely munificence of Rockefeller the multi-millionaire of the Oil Trust has enabled it to scour the world and obtain for it the most distinguished professors to organise its different departments. Of these eminent men I shall only describe two, who have by their researches won eminent place in the world of science.

A. A. MICHELSON.

Professor Michelson is at the head of the Department of Physics. By his remarkable contributions in Physics he has won the Nobel prize. He has measured the wave-length of light with an accuracy which is unsurpassed and has used it as the cosmic standard for measurement of length. The scientific unit of length, the metre, was determined with the object of making it a natural instead of an artificial standard, having a fixed relation to the arc of the earth itself, being the ten-millionth part of the quadrant of the meridian passing through Paris. The determination of this standard has a wonderful history. The French Academy of Science undertook to measure accurately the quadrant of the earth at a time when the greatest convulsion threatened the fabric of the French nation. But the French Academy went on with its labours unruffled by the destructive forces that were let loose during those terrible days of the Revolution. One after another the members of the Academy were dragged and put on the death-cart and marched off to the place of execution. Thus fell Lavoisier, the greatest scientist of the age, under the knife of the guillotine. To the demand that the deliberations of the august scientific body should be postponed to a time less perilous, the answer was that the Academy sat perpetually. Of the work that has been carried out during those troublous days the world has hardly seen a parallel. Subsequent measurements showed that the standard that was adopted at this time did not possess the highest possible accuracy. Even if it had possessed absolute accuracy, its value would have been conditioned by the age of the earth; a few thousand years

hence the earth would have shrunk, and the derived unit would have changed in an unknown manner. A standard to be universal should not be conditioned by time or space. Its measuring wand should be invariable even when its sphere of operation was shifted to worlds other than ours. What could be more eternal than Light which springing suddenly from darkness will remain persistent and unchanged unless the universe is again plunged into darkness. The wavelet in the ether which we call red light will beat with an unchanging rhythm and the size of each wavelet, the distance between one crest and the next in free ether, will ever remain unchanged. Michelson hied back to this measure, and from the transient tremor of intangible ether, was able to construct a material scale which could be reconstructed in any part of the universe even if this earth of ours were destroyed by the impact of a wandering comet.

R. A. MILLIKAN.

Turning from the ultra-microscopic immaterial ether waves we come to another limit in the world of atomic structure. Hitherto the chemists stood paralysed before the impossible task of measuring the size or the mass of an atom, the last and indivisible particle of matter. Now even this ultimate atom is found to be a built-up structure of still minuter fragments. This is no longer a question of theory, but the atoms are made to break into fragments under disruptive forces and the trajectory of the exploded atomic bombs rendered visible. These fragments have even been weighed and the electric charge carried by the discarnate matter has been measured. This unimaginable feat has been carried to an extreme degree of accuracy by Millikan, who by means of measured electrical forces was able to balance the falling droplets in a mist caused by condensation of vapour round each fragment of disrupted atom.

In a previous article I have mentioned how Prof. Millikan was diverted from his attempt to pursue researches on Electric Waves; how Prof. Werburg of the Berlin University to whom he had gone for this purpose had assured him that Bose had left very little for others to attempt in this field and how this led to his taking up researches on Electrons. Prof. Millikan

therefore had a very high regard for my Master as a physicist and on our visit to Chicago he wished that my Master should give a Discourse on Ether Waves.

INVITATION FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF BIOLOGY.

But there were other claimants from the Biological Department. In 1906, when my Master for the first time published his *Plant Response*, it caused much excitement amongst physiologists, to whom he was a total stranger and who were quite bewildered by the new theories enunciated and the novel method of inquiry by which they were demonstrated. It was with an astonished surprise that they watched the incursion of a physicist into a new domain, and by one who belonged to a race, more credited for the imaginative faculty than aptitude for contributions to exact sciences. The following review of my Master's work on *Plant Response* appeared in the leading scientific journal, the *Botanical Gazette*, published by the University of Chicago:

"No subject is more fascinating than the response of plants to stimuli but no subject is more difficult for experimental investigation. One feels surprised at seeing a large volume of new researches on *Plant Response* dealing with the matter in the most fundamental manner. The surprise is increased when it is seen that the author is one whose name is new in the literature of plant physiology and whose nation is fond rather of speculative philosophy than of scientific observations. He has, however, employed new methods and has devised new and most ingenious apparatus for automatically recording response. No one could, however, justify himself in accepting as established all the deductions from the vast number of experiments detailed in the book; they must be verified sooner or later by other observers. To our knowledge some have already been repeated at the University of Wisconsin, with concordant results. But whatever the future may show, the book may be acclaimed as a path-breaking one; for it shows a method of attack and refinement of instrumentation for the study of the phenomenon of irritable reactions in plant that are sure to be of the utmost service."

During my Master's scientific deputation to America in 1908 he lectured before the University, giving the first results of his Biological researches. During his present visit he received the following invitation from Dr. John. M. Coulter, the Editor of the *Botanical Gazette* and the Head of the Department of Biology:

"I wish to offer an urgent invitation from the Biologists of the University of Chicago that you include this University in your visit and favour us with some lectures in the more recent development of your work.

"You visited us a number of years ago and we are

very anxious to become acquainted with what you have done since in developing the remarkable instruments for observing new phenomena in plants."

When we reached Chicago we found that there had been some controversy as regards which scientific body should claim my Master's work. A compromise was at last reached when the Sigma Psi Society composed of all the advanced scientific workers of the University organised a dinner in honour of my Master after which he was to address the Society representing the different branches of science. Prof. Millikan was in the chair and said that he had the pleasure of meeting the lecturer in the Paris International Congress in 1900 as a great physicist and he has now the honour of introducing a still greater physicist. Those who claimed him as a great biologist should realise that he had simply annexed a new domain to the Imperial Realm of Physics. The address was regarded as one of the most brilliant that had ever been delivered and every member of the assembly came forward to express their high appreciation.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

The next engagement was to lecture before the University of Wisconsin. This University makes a great speciality of Physiological Botany and its application in practical agriculture. This State has done much to enrich its resources by introducing improved methods of scientific agriculture. It has also very well equipped departments in Physics and Biology.

Prof. Jones sent the following invitation:—

"On behalf of my colleagues of the Department of Botany and others interested in questions of Physiology and Biology I extend from the University of Wisconsin a most cordial invitation to you that you may again favour us with a visit to give lectures and demonstrations. We still remember with great pleasure and high admiration the results presented at the time of your former visit and through you we beg to assure the Government of India that we shall esteem it a great privilege to see you and hear you again."

We arrived at Wisconsin at the end of January, the coldest time of the year. The State of Wisconsin is one of the coldest regions of the United States. The

temperature varies from 110 degrees in summer to 56 degrees below freezing point in winter. Europe was cold enough but it was nothing compared to what we experienced here. The rivers and lakes were frozen solid and one had to put on layer over layer of warm clothes and a fur overcoat. But the wind found out the unprotected nose and ears and you were warned that unless you took proper precautions you might lose from frost bite those highly ornamental members!

After trains and motor cars it was a novel experience to ride on sleighs, where the two curved pieces of wood take the place of wheels and the sleigh slides over the glossy surface of ice. Ice boats have a similar contrivance and under sail attain an incredible speed which exceeds that of the fastest train. We were taken to see another striking feat, the Ski Tournament. The skis are made of thin pieces of wood about 7 ft. long 5 inches wide and about an inch thick. They are curved and turned up about a foot at the toe. They are strapped to the shoes. It was a jumping competition. On the side of a precipitous hill the take-off for the jumping contest is erected. The jumper descends from some distance up the hill covered with ice to gather momentum and stoops as he nears the take-off and launches himself in the air. No staff is allowed and no jump is counted if the jumper falls in alighting. The distance covered is enormous; the record at the contest was 145 ft.

There was a very large gathering at my Master's lecture, which created a very keen interest not only among Biologists but others who were interested in the bearing of these new researches on practical agriculture.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

The next lecture was before the University of Michigan. Here at Ann Arbor not only the Botanists but also the Physicists were greatly interested in my Master's work. So far back as twenty years ago an attempt was made at this University to continue my Master's researches on Electric Waves. They tried without success to construct an apparatus from the description published by the Royal Society. During his previous visit to this University he lectured on Electric Waves, illustrated

by his apparatus. They begged permission to dismantle every part of it so that expert mechanics of the University could duplicate the apparatus. But even after these years the physicists regretted that they had not been able to repeat those experiments which they had seen carried out before them with such unerring certainty. They confessed that it was the individual delicacy of manipulation which was essential for success in advanced experimentation. This could not be learnt from description or watching the experiments. It can only be secured under the personal training of the teacher. It was the realisation of this fact that led to the request from certain American Universities for permission to post-graduate scholars to work under my Master in his Calcutta Laboratory.

My Master's lecture drew a very large audience many of whom came from great distances. Their interest and enthusiasm was as great as was evinced during his previous visit. Some of the audience from Detroit invited us to visit their city, which is the greatest centre of automobile manufacture. The famous Ford Motor Car factory is unique for its organization and efficiency. The total length of the belting used for the machinery is 80 miles! Every part of the car is produced in hundreds of thousands. All the machinery employed are automatic in their action. At one end they are feeding steel bars; at the other end they are given out as finished screws, nuts and gear. The different parts are assembled in the shortest possible time. This is done by the chain system. As the frame proceeds along the endless chain it is fitted up with the different parts. At the last stage a man drives the new car just finished to the shipping yards, whence they are sent to the different parts of the globe. A finished car is thus produced at the rate of one in ten minutes. Even the common labourers are paid here at the rate of fifteen rupees a day or over four hundred rupees a month.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

The next invitation which my Master accepted was from the University of Illinois. Dr. Trelease, Professor of Botany, sent him the following invitation:—

"It will be a rare privilege to us at the University of Illinois if we may be favour-

ed with a course of lectures. To those who have heard you and have seen your wonderful experiments, the privilege is doubly great; but for those who will now hear you for the first time, the opportunity is likely to be one for a life time. I can assure you that you will meet with a very enthusiastic reception which will be all the more pleasing to you that the University of Illinois is one of the American Institutions to which students in large numbers come from India."

The last appeal deeply touched my Master. For some mysterious reason or other the position of Indian students in foreign countries has in recent times been rendered extremely difficult. In the English Universities there is great uncertainty in their obtaining admission; there are greater obstacles in the way of their obtaining facilities to work in the London Hospitals. In America also very great difficulties have been raised even as regards permission to land in the country.

In the English Universities it is well known that the average success of an Indian student has been by no means inferior to that of his English fellow-students. Indeed the late Master of Christ College declared that he wished the students at home were as well behaved and as earnest as the Indian students who had entered his college. Indian students have won signal honours, such as the senior wranglership and the Smith's Prize. At Oxford too Prof. Vines spoke in very high terms as regards devotion to studies shown by his Indian pupils. Out of a very large number of young men that go on a visit to foreign countries there must occasionally be some who would make mistakes but it can not be said that the proportion of these is greater than in the student body of England, where they have all the advantages of home and friends.

There has evidently been some misunderstanding; which was at the root of this unreasonable prejudice, and my Master welcomed the opportunity, which the invitations from the different Universities and the Royal Society of Medicine gave him to remove it.

In answer to the congratulations offered to him by the Universities and scientific societies for bringing the message of science from India he spoke of the growing solidarity and progress of the world

having their foundation on mutual dependence amongst nations; how a constant surging backwards and forwards of thought and ideals, now from the East and then from the West, had moulded and enriched the world's civilisation; how the intellectual isolation of a community or a nation ultimately ended in its destruction. He also spoke of the ideals that animated the ancient Universities of his own country two thousands years ago: how pilgrims from different lands flocked to these centres of learning to be welcomed as guests of the nation. It is by hospitality so wholehearted as this that the barriers which kept peoples apart are wiped out and it is by means such as these that the future unity among nations will be realised.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

A very striking feature of American life is the opportunity it affords to poor students to earn by their own labour means for maintenance during their college life. No work is regarded as menial and the students who maintain themselves by work do not fall in social estimation. This undoubtedly encourages true manhood. Some of the Indian students have maintained themselves in this way and the fortitude and determination they have displayed under appalling difficulties are worthy of the highest praise. But there are several drawbacks in their case which are not applicable to their American fellow-students. First among these is the severe strain on their strength and the interruption in their studies which manual labour entails. The second is the politico-economic force that is arrayed against them.

THE TWO AMERICAS.

I have previously alluded to a relatively small section of American citizens striving to maintain high principles in national dealings, liberty and fair play. But to a larger proportion of the American people worldly success is the sole aim of life. Hence the evolution of a complex political system which exerts a determining influence on the Senate and the House of Representatives. Among the dominating influences are Wall Street, the Trust, and the demagogues who control labour. It is feared that Indian labourers who had fewer vices and lived simpler lives, would

prove formidable rivals to American workmen. Fictitious reasons had, however, to be given out to justify their exclusion, and mysterious allusions were made about the undesirability of the introduction of oriental vice. There is humour in the idea of Indian workmen tainting the moral atmosphere of an American slum! It is a variation of the old story of the wolf and the lamb. The Asiatic exclusion law has hitherto been applied universally, its provisions are likely to be relaxed in the case of the Japanese. This is a parable.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN ILLINOIS.

At the Illinois University, more than at any other place, the Indian students have found something like a home. Their gentle manners have won for them many friends. Unlike busy New York or Chicago this is a University town, mainly composed of the University professors and their pupils. Among the Professors here there are many who fulfil the ideal which we associate with the teacher, the head of the family of whom the pupils are the members. Of several such I may mention Professor Morgan Brooks, to whom Indian students come as to their friend and counsellor. To my Master he extended the hospitality of his home during his stay at Urbana. Professor Seymour, in charge of foreign students, is also a sincere friend of the Indian students.

The University itself has its various departments well equipped with the most up-to-date appliances. The Physical laboratory alone cost more than half a million dollars. No University in America offers greater facilities to Indian students than the University of Illinois.

My Master's address before the University was crowded with a highly enthusiastic audience. I give the following extract from the *Scientific American* in which Prof. J. Kunz of this University gave a summary of my Master's work.

"Prof. J. C. Bose's work is intimately connected with two wide syntheses, namely, the electromagnetic nature of light, and the unity of all life on earth. The electric waves predicted by Maxwell with all their properties were discovered by Hertz. These waves were still about ten million times longer than the beams of visible light. Prof. Bose has thrown a bridge over this gulf by creating and studying electric waves of a length of six mm., the longest heat wave known at present being about 0.6 mm. In order to produce the short electric oscillations, to detect them and study their optical properties,

he had to construct a large number of new apparatus and instruments and he has enriched physics by a number of apparatus, distinguished by simplicity, directness and ingenuity. Dr. Bose found further that the change of the metallic contact resistance when acted upon by electric waves is a function of the atomic weight. These phenomena led to a new theory of metallic coherers. Before these discoveries it was assumed that the particles of two metallic pieces in contact are as it were fused together, so that the resistance decreases. But the increasing resistance, appearing for some elements, led to the theory that electric forces in the waves produce a peculiar molecular action or rearrangement of the molecules which may either decrease or increase the contact resistance. Self-recovery and fatigue-effects remind us of the phenomenon of living organisms. Here we find indeed the natural bridge between the two fields of investigations of Prof. Bose between Physics and Physiology.

"With the advance of various sciences it became more and more difficult for a single investigator to make contributions to different fields of knowledge. The special theories and the methods of each science increase every year, and the definitions of the concepts are so different that a scientific man rarely finds himself at home in a science outside his own field. Prof. Bose is one of the very rare exceptions. And as in physics, we find his investigations in the physiology of plants and animals cluster round one fundamental idea, the idea of unity of the all that lives. Again as in physics, Prof. Bose made contributions to physiology by the construction of new instruments in investigation, characterised by marvelous simplicity, ingenuity and sensitiveness. The uniformity of responses by animals and plants and metals are recorded by diagrams so identical that one could not tell which belongs to the animal kingdom or to the plant or to the dead metal. The laws of nature hold uniformly throughout the whole material world."

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

From Illinois my Master went to the State University of Iowa, not only because the President of the University was a leading Botanist and had sent him a pressing invitation but also because at this University one of our countrymen, solely by his merit, has secured for himself the important position of a lecturer in the University,—I refer to Dr. Sudhindra Bose. He has not only secured a high place in the estimation of his colleagues, but has laboured unremittingly for the welfare of the Indian Students and other Indians now in America. As a teacher he has also been able to attract a large number of University students to his lectures. During my Master's short stay of two days he was besieged by the different Departments to give lectures on Physics, on certain problems on Biology and on Physiological Botany. To convey an idea of what strain the acceptance of invitations to the Universities entailed

I reproduce here the programme that was drawn up for him by the President of Iowa University. The social functions mentioned here did not mean simple attendance at dinners and lunches given in his honour; they meant a continuous animated talk in response to questions asked by different groups of brilliant men of the University, who took this opportunity of meeting him and obtaining suggestions for the solution of various problems that had perplexed them in their work.

We started from Illinois on Sunday the 7th February and expected to reach Iowa City the same evening at 11 P. M. The train was however snow-bound and it was not till 1 o'clock on Monday morning that we arrived at Iowa and were received by the University officials.

"Memorandum Re Visit of Professor Jagadis Chandra Bose.

Monday, February, 8th—

9. 30 A. M.—Professor Shimek, Professor Stewart, and the Chairman of the Lecture Committee will meet Professor Bose and escort him to the President's Office. Introduction to the President and instructional staff of the University.

10 to 12 A. M.—Will join the Faculty in attending Convocation of the University in Academic Costume. Will be introduced by President Macbride and address the Convocation.

12.30 to 3 P. M.—Will take luncheon at the home of Professor Shambaugh and meet Professors of the Department of Psychology.

4 to 5.30 P. M.—Will address the Seminar in Physics in the Physics Buildings.

6 to 8 P. M.—Will be entertained at dinner by the members of the staff of the Department of Botany.

8.30 to 10 P. M.—Reception by the Hindu Students.
Tuesday, February 8th.

12 to 2 P. M.—Will take luncheon with President Macbride and the Faculty.

4 to 5.30 P. M.—Address the Seminar in Botany in the Science Building.

6 to 7.30 P. M.—Will take dinner with Prof. Shimek and members of the Department of Physiology.

8 to 10 P. M.—Will deliver lecture before the University in the Natural Science Auditorium.

The above is typical of the hard work that had to be gone through at each University.

The distance to be travelled from one place to another often exceeded a thousand miles and we had many sleepless nights on the train; there was besides the added anxiety for our delicate instruments and plants, to be carried personally. At the end of the journey we had to face the sudden transition from the over-heated train to the freezing cold outside. To these were added the anxiety of arranging the diffi-

cult experiments in a short time and in a new place where facilities for our special experiments were often wanting. Such strain had been endured more or less continuously for a year during our journey in different parts of Europe and America. All this had been gradually telling on my Master's health. For our next two important engagements we had a thousand miles' journey before us from Iowa. When we arrived at Boston my Master was laid up with an acute attack of influenza. We arrived at Boston on the 15th and the first engagement was to lecture before the Clarke University, at Worcester.

THE CLARKE UNIVERSITY.

This University is open only to post-graduate students. After they have taken degrees elsewhere they enter this University to continue advanced work in Philosophy and Psychology. The President of the University, Dr. Stanley Hall, is not only one of the greatest psychologists of the day but is also a great educationalist. He had addressed the following letter to my Master.

"My dear Sir,

There are several of us here who have been intensely interested in your work (I myself being among the number) from the date of its first publication. I should like very much if we could secure you to make a presentation of it.

I am with great respect,

Very truly yours,

G. Stanley Hall."

The lecture had been announced to be given the day after our arrival at Boston. We had twenty miles' drive before us and my Master was ill with fever. But he was determined to keep his engagement. On our arrival we found a very large audience composed of advanced students and professors, and the Address was followed with the keenest interest. At the conclusion of the lecture President Stanley Hall spoke how Prof. Bosc had by the aid of his remarkable instruments opened out a new field which had hitherto been beyond our conception, problems which have the deepest significance in psychology. They had at the Clarke University realised their importance from the date of their publication and he had himself given a special course of lectures on the results discovered by Prof. Bosc which served as

the starting point of a scientific study of psychology.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The next engagement was at Harvard University. My Master received the following invitation from the Chairman of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology :—

"The Department of Philosophy and Psychology has learnt that you are in this country and we hope that we may induce you to give a lecture, preferably on a Psychological topic, at the University. Many of us are interested in your experiments on Plant Response and there will be many eager listeners. Let me assure you of a very hearty welcome and of our sincere appreciation of your willingness to promote our research by telling us of your own work."

The Department of Philosophy at Harvard has won for itself a very high place in the world. It counts amongst its members philosophers as distinguished as James, Royce and Munsterburg. My Master's work has greatly stimulated the study of Comparative Psychology and Plant Behaviour in this University. There were also heads of other Departments of Science who were keenly interested in my Master's novel investigations. Among these may be mentioned Dr. Osterhaut, Professor of Plant Physiology, and Professor Richards, the celebrated chemist who by his re-determination of the atomic weight of elements has won for himself a world-wide reputation. It is Prof. Richards who by his extraordinarily accurate method of determination has discovered two varieties of atoms of Lead.

The lecture at Harvard University was announced to take place on the 17th February, the day following the lecture at the Clarke University. We had hoped that the exertion of the lecture at this University would not aggravate my Master's illness. But it happened otherwise, he was laid up with high fever and it appeared that it would be impossible for him to deliver his address in the afternoon. In this strait he insisted that the doctor should give him some medicine that would allay the fever just to enable him to keep his engagement. It was not till much later that we realised what penalty had

to be paid for recourse to this heroic measure.

The Emerson Hall at Harvard was crowded with the most distinguished audience, amongst whom were Munsterburg and other distinguished Psychologists. In his Discourse my Master traced that nervous impulse which is the basis of all sensations even in the plant kingdom. He described the different methods which he has discovered for detecting and recording the speed of these impulses. He showed, how under identical circumstances these impulses became exalted and intensified, retarded or arrested, both in plants and animals; how an impressed habit canalised new nervous channels, and how passivity, on the other hand, blocked it. He visualised the molecular wave by which the sensiferous impulse is propagated and the possibility of impressing molecular predisposition by which the impulse could be accelerated or retarded; how forces which might bring about these predispositions might be internal or external. In support of his theory he described the directive forces he had successfully employed in exalting or depressing at will the nervous impulse in plant. His prediction that similar methods would be found equally effective in controlling the nervous impulse in the animal has been fully substantiated. He is thus able to make the experimental animal perceive stimulus which had hitherto remained below its threshold of perception. By reversing the directive force he has, on the other hand, been able to modify the intensity of the transmitted effect of the super-maximal stimulus and how the convulsive response of the animal suddenly disappeared though the abnormally intense stimulus was still playing on the peripheral end of the nervous channel. Nothing showed the unity of life so conclusively as this demonstration of the identity of nervous impulse in plant and animal.

We thought that we had now come to the end of our journey in America, and was preparing to start for home by way of England. But insistent messages came from California that the Universities there should not be omitted from our programme. And we started on our long journey to cross the entire breadth of the American Continent from the furthest East

to the extreme West. The distance to be traversed was over three thousand miles and it took us four days' and four nights journey to reach our destination. Diverse were the physical characteristics of the different regions we had to pass through. We left the Eastern coast of America under the grip of ice; the Mid-West was still more frigid. When we neared the Pacific Coast the scenery suddenly changed. A greener verdure covered the plains of California, and the sight of the old familiar date palm and other tropical vegetation brought memories of the homeland. We reached San Francisco on the 12th of March, and spent the next two days in going over the wonderful Panama Pacific International Exposition. Limits of space forbid an attempt to describe the architectural triumphs of this Exhibition and its innumerable exhibits.

Our first lecture was before the State University of California at Berkeley, one of the largest and most important State Universities of America. The lecture evoked a very keen appreciation from the audience and we had a very cordial and enthusiastic reception from the members of the University.

THE LELAND STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

The Taj, the most beautiful mausoleum in the world, is a memorial which afflicts erected in memory of the Beloved. In the West a Temple of Learning has been erected by sorrowing parents in memory of their only son. Leland Stanford was attending a meeting of the Senate when the news of the death of his only child reached him. "Henceforth California is to be the eternal and living emblem of my son," was the vow taken by the stricken Senator. He travelled through many lands so that he might be able to erect a temple worthy of the knowledge that is to be enshrined within. For this he made an endowment of all his fortune for the new University. The mother parted with all her jewels, which realised five millions. They wished that "Education here is to be made entirely free, an education which is to promote the public welfare by exercising an influence on behalf of humanity and civilisation, teaching the blessings of liberty regulated by law, and inculcating love and reverence for the great principles of government as derived from the in-

alienable rights of a man to life and liberty."

At my Master's lecture before the University President Starr Jordon, one of the most celebrated men of the age, was in the chair. In the most eloquent terms he welcomed the Eastern Scientist. My Master's lecture evoked the keenest interest and enthusiasm among the audience which is found expressed in the following letter from Dr. J. Peirce, Professor of Plant Physiology:—

"May I attempt to express the grateful appreciation of the Members of this Department and of the President and other Members of this University of your kindness in coming to us and in delivering such an illuminating Address as the one you gave us last Tuesday afternoon? You

had a very thoroughly interested audience, composed largely of students in the different departments of Biology, and to each you gave something which will never be forgotten. Can there be any more satisfying reward for a teacher? And can there be any more satisfying reward for an investigator than the feeling that his researches have pushed our ignorance a little further back and brought human betterment a little nearer?"

We had come to the farthest point of the earth from the homeland and we had yet to complete the other half of the circuit round the world. We sailed on the 20th of March, 1915, by s.s. Nippon Maru, bound homeward.

BASISWAR SEN.

WEEP IF YOUR EYES HAVE TEARS

Weep if your eyes have tears,
While bearers go with heavy eyes
Across charred plains, neath unknown skies
To save the maimed before sunrise
From further fears!

Weep though you long for play;
And think to-night that while you sleep,
A thousand men through red blood deep,
Will bring their comrades home to reap
A bed of clay!

Weep though your hearts be gay!
A lad of tender years this night
Lies silent in the pale moonlight—
The bearers sicken at the sight—
And turn away.

Weep though you dare not tell:
For as dawn hastens, men rush fast;
The full-orbed moon looks down aghast
And seems to ask: "How long will't last,
This reign of hell?"

Weep though you see the light;
For those red rays of smiling sun
Announce a battle new begun—
Whence blood of brothers fresh will run
To foul the night!

Weep though the bugle calls,
And men go forth in bright array,
To beat their foes and come away—
But then it comes their turn one day;
For each one falls!

Weep though your tears are spent—
Yes, weep that men who fight each other,
Can't in a foe detect a brother,
And see that race has but one mother,
One common bent!

WILFRED WELLOCK.

GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

IN America deep, intense, passionate patriotism is as universal as it is uniform. Indeed patriotism is the one dominant religious creed in American life. "The Americans are filled," observes Emil Reich in his *Success Among the Nations*, "with such an implicit and absolute confidence in their Union and their future success that any remark other than laudatory is unacceptable to the majority of them. We have had many opportunities of hearing public speakers in America cast doubts upon the very existence of God and of Providence, question the historic nature of veracity of the whole fabric of Christianity; but never has it been our fortune to catch the slightest whisper of doubt, the slightest want of faith, in the chief God of America—unlimited belief in the future of America." It is to the study of the government of such a nation that I wish to invite your attention. In my previous paper* I have discussed the Federal or National government; I shall now proceed to examine the governments of the States which constitute the American Union.

There are forty-eight States in the Union; and broadly speaking they fall into these five groups:

The Pacific States—Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Arizona, Utah.

The North-Western States—Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan.

The Middle States—Indiana, Ohio, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York.

The New England States—Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine.

The Southern or old Slave States—West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, (the last two came into the

Union long after the abolition of slavery). These forty-eight States are not of uniform size. The largest State, Texas, is approximately three times as big as Kashmir or thirty-three times as large as Baroda State. The smallest, Rhode Island is a trifle smaller than Ceylon. Again these States vary greatly in their population. New York, with over eight million souls, is the most populous State, having less than one-sixth the population of Bengal or one-half of Ceylon. Nevada, with eighty-one thousand inhabitants, is the least populous, having about the same number of people as are found in Sikkim State or one-fourth the population of Assam (Manipur).

At the very outset, it is important to understand the relation between the Federal government and the State governments. The former has no right to interfere in the local affairs of the State. Each State has its own government and orders all local matters to suit itself. The United States Congress cannot dictate to a State whether its legislature should be composed of fifty or a hundred members; whether it should have annual or bi-annual sessions; whether the State Governor should serve for three years or five. The voters of each State set up their own government, which can do within the State that which is not expressly forbidden by the Federal Constitution. The State government by attending to the business of the community leaves the Federal government free to deal with the big problems of national and international importance. Such an arrangement of taking smaller matters away from the National congress adds enormously to the efficiency of the National legislature. Over in England the number of local matters to be settled by Parliament are too numerous; petty local questions consume so much valuable time that important measures are held up for lack of time; that the Indian budget, generally introduced on the last day of the Parliament, has to go through the farce of a hurried and perfunctory discussion.

Under the American system of govern-

* See author's article on "American Government" in the *Modern Review*, Vol. XVI, October, 1914, pp. 385-390.

ment the State is supreme within its own boundaries; but the Nation ranks first. There are many anecdotes illustrating this point. Let me mention just one as illustrative of this point. When that stately and picturesque figure of American history, John Hancock, was Governor of the State of Massachusetts, immediately following the War for Independence, President Washington came to the city of Boston, Massachusetts. A question arose as to the etiquette of formal visits between the head of the nation, Washington, and the head of the State, Hancock. He insisted that as the chief executive of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, it was not for him to go and pay his respects to Washington on a visit in Massachusetts. On the contrary, it was the duty of Washington to come to him first. Washington, with equal firmness, maintained that he was the chief magistrate of the whole United States, including Massachusetts, and that Hancock must pay his official respects to the President. Finally, Hancock was made to see his mistake and he yielded; but he called upon Washington with the utmost reluctance. Hancock bundled himself up most elaborately and explained to Washington that he was late in coming because he had a spell of gout! The point of the story lies in the fact that had Washington given away before Hancock he would have practically admitted the superiority of the Governor to the President. The State is only a part of the nation, and since the head of the nation is the chief executive of the whole country, the head of the State government must make the first call.

The form of government in all the forty-eight States is the same in general outline. The organic law of the State, which is its constitution, is usually a lengthy document containing the fundamental principles of State government. All other laws enacted by the State must conform to the provisions of the constitution. The contents of a State constitution may be arranged in three groups. The first group deals with the Bill of Rights. By these provisions the citizens are guaranteed the enjoyment of all their civil rights, such as liberty of speech and of the press, freedom of religious worship, trial by jury, exemption from unjust seizures and searches, the right of petition, and "the right freely to assemble together to counsel for the common good." The second group has to do with the

framework of the State government: it tells of the organization of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments, and of the manner in which they should exercise their powers. In the last group is found the amending clause, which provides for future alterations in the constitution.

Each State has three branches or departments of government: a legislature, an executive, and a judiciary. A brief consideration of these three departments is necessary to an understanding of the workings of the machinery of State government.

The official title of the legislative branch is generally Legislature or General Assembly. The State legislatures are always made up of two houses—a lower house and an upper house. The upper house is called the Senate, and the lower house is usually designated the House of Representatives. The legislatures do not have the same number of members in every State. The lower house on an average consists of from one hundred to two hundred members, while the upper house has about fifty.

The members of the legislature are everywhere elected by popular suffrage; and both the senators and representatives are elected by the same voters. The general qualifications for voters are that they shall be twenty-one years of age, meet certain educational tests in a number of States, and pay a small poll tax in the Southern States. The purpose of this tax, which is from three to six rupees, is to exclude the poor negroes from voting.

In the first period of constitutional development the elective franchise was extremely limited. Not only were there rigid property qualifications, but there were also many religious qualifications. For instance, no one could be a member of the legislative body in Pennsylvania, Vermont, or Delaware unless he believed in the divine inspiration of the Bible. In several of the States, Governors were required to be protestants. Catholics and "unbelievers" were not regarded as proper persons to hold office. Happily the days of religious fanaticism in politics seem to be at an end. At present the restrictions on suffrage are comparatively few and simple. With the exception of paupers, criminals, lunatics, and negroes in certain sections of the country, practically all men can vote; and nearly one-half of the women have (or

will have in the near future) the right to participate to a certain extent in the election of public officers and the decision of public questions.

The legislators receive salaries, the largest annual amount being 4,500 rupees in New York, and the smallest 450 rupees in Maine. Many States follow the per diem system, ranging in California from twenty-four rupees a day for each day the legislature is in session to nine rupees in several States.

The Senate is usually presided over by the Lieutenant Governor, if there is any; and the lower house is organized under a Speaker, chosen from among its own members.

Although the senators are generally older than the members of the lower house, yet the powers of the two chambers are co-ordinate. In other countries, such as in Canada, France, and England, the upper house is weaker than the lower. In America notwithstanding that the Senate enjoys a few special functions, such as passing on appointments and sitting on impeachments, the two houses have about the same power.

Most of the work in the State legislatures, as in Congress, is done through committees. A proposed law is called a bill. When a bill is introduced either in the upper house or in the lower, the bill is referred to one of the Standing Committees. A committee can amend the bill, substitute a new one in its place, or kill it outright. A committee has almost absolute power over the bills placed in its charge. In reporting a bill, the committee either recommends for or against it, advising its passage or urging its defeat. And the legislature as a rule follows the recommendations of the committee. When a bill has passed one house then it is sent to the other, where it goes through the same process. After passing both houses, the bill goes to the Governor for his approval. He may, if he choose, veto the measure. It can, however, be passed over his veto. If the vetoed bill passes each house again by a larger majority—usually two-thirds—it is enacted into law.

The legislators spare no pains to keep in vital touch with their constituents. This is true of the members of Congress as well as of the State legislatures. As soon as important bills are up for consideration, legislators keep their ears close to the

ground that they may readily detect rumblings of public sentiments. Moreover, representatives of various interested clubs and societies call on the legislators, and give their views on questions at issue. Should the legislature hold back a measure which is supported by public opinion the letter-writing brigade—always a very busy, always a very powerful force in the direction of American public affairs—gets immediately into action. Each member of the legislature is at once besieged and bombarded by a fusillade of private letters and telegrams demanding instant action. And woe to that lawmaker who dares to be heedless of these warnings! For as sure as he is living he will be adequately punished for his recreancy at the next election!

The legislature meets every year or once in every two years at the State capital. The biennial sessions have grown out of the desire to restrict legislature output, to keep the legislators from doing more harm than absolutely necessary. Too much legislation, they say naively, hinders business. The activities of the legislators do at times assume alarming proportions. "The annual output of all the legislatures," in the words of Bryce in his *American Commonwealth*, "has been estimated at 15,000 statutes. From 1899 to 1904, the number passed was 45,552. In 1909 there were passed in Maryland 741 acts, in California 729, in Pennsylvania 650, in New York 596, and in North Carolina 1319." It is the dearest ambition of every legislator to have at least one law to his credit, and thus make for himself a name to be remembered by posterity. That may not be particularly open to objection; but to an "outlander," as the Germans would say, many of his laws seem to be altogether unnecessary, if not positively foolish. There is a report that a bill was introduced into the Texas Legislature a few years ago the preamble of which contained these words: "Resolved, that the sky of Texas is bluer than that of Italy." Again, in the Legislature of New York it was decided that thirteen oysters make a dozen! Is it surprising that the administration has gained while the legislature has lost in popular confidence? Every year the press of the country roundly denounces the meeting of a State legislature as somewhat of a public calamity, and hails its adjournment with sighs of profound relief.

The head of the executive department is called Governor. He is elected by popular vote—although in some States the legislature may make the choice if there is no majority. The age requirement for Governor is usually thirty or thirty-five years. Moreover he must be an American citizen, and must have been a resident within the State for a period of from five to seven years.

The office of Governor is of considerable dignity, being second to that of the President of the Republic. Presidents and Governors are now and then inaugurated, but seldom with the semi-barbaric pomp and ceremony that still greet the European monarchs of lingering medievalism. Here in America, neither the President nor the Governor is hedged about by the ceremonials and formalities of royalty. The Presidents of the United States as well as the Governors of the commonwealths are, after all, of the plain people.

The term of office of a Governor varies in different States. In a few instances he serves only one year; in about half the States he is chosen for two years; and in the others he holds office for four years. The Governor is usually eligible to re-election. He can be removed from office by impeachment; this method of removal being much the same as in the Federal government.

The Governor receives a salary which, again, is not uniform in every commonwealth. One State pays its chief executive as high as thirty-six thousand rupees a year. This is the highest compensation for a Governor in America; while two others pay only nine thousand rupees a year to their chief executive. The office of the governors of Indian provinces may be said to correspond to that of the Governors of American States. It is therefore interesting to know that our governors in India, where the cost of living is infinitely less than in America, get immensely larger salaries. For instance, the governors of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, who are the most important officials after the viceroy, each carry, I believe, a salary of over one hundred and twenty thousand rupees per annum—being no little drain on the depleted treasury of India.

In the early days of the Republic such was the popular distrust of the executive that he was little more than a passive

spectator of the law-making process. He could not demand a reconsideration of laws; he had no veto power. Now he enjoys a more extensive range of powers. He can call the legislature to special session. In nearly all States a bill cannot become law without his signature. He can defeat or delay the passage of a bill by interposing his veto. The Governor is also invested with the power of pardoning or of reducing the sentence of criminals. Finally, the Governor appoints some minor State officers, and not infrequently the members of various department boards and commissions. In addition to these specific duties, the Governor is charged with the general enforcement of law and order throughout the State.

The Governor, as has already been stated, is the head of the executive department; but there are other important executive officers in the State government. Some of these are: the Secretary of State, who has charge of the records of the State and countersigns all proclamations and commissions issued by the Governor; the Treasurer, who receives and disburses the public moneys of the State; the Comptroller or Auditor, who is the book-keeper and accountant of the State; the Attorney General, who gives legal advice to the government and is responsible for the prosecution of criminal suits; the Superintendent of Public Instruction, who is the head of the public school system; and the Adjutant General, who is directly in charge of the State militia. In this list, the office of the Lieutenant Governor is not included because some of the Southern States do not have that office. In the States where there is a Lieutenant Governor he ranks next below the Governor. The Lieutenant Governor usually presides over the deliberations of the upper house, and fulfils the duties of the Governor when he is out of the State.

We come now to the consideration of the third department of the State, namely, the judiciary. Every State of the Union has an elaborate system of courts for the administration of justice. Indeed, every State has its own laws, courts, and judges. To be sure the power of a State does not extend beyond its boundaries; nevertheless the acts of a State are recognized as valid in all parts of the Union. "Thus, judgments of the courts of one State cannot be questioned in any other, and records of the

title of property are conclusive in every State. If this were not so, and if questions once determined could be re-opened to litigation in other States, the greatest confusion and injustice would result from the difficulty of presenting evidence to courts."

At the head of the State judicial system is a Supreme Court, which sits at the capital of the State. In a sense the Supreme Court exercises a supervisory control over all the lower courts in the State. "Its chief function is the correction of errors at law. Only in rare instances are cases started in first instance or begun in the Supreme Court." Most of its work consists in hearing appeals of cases tried in the inferior courts. The decisions of the Supreme Court are final, except in cases where they involve points over which it has no jurisdiction. In such cases appeals may be had to the Federal Courts.

Below the Supreme Court are district courts—that is courts of general jurisdiction. All actions, civil as well as criminal, may be started in these tribunals.

At the bottom of this system of judicial tribunals are the justice courts presided over by the Justices of the Peace. They hear minor cases in city, town, or village. They have only original jurisdiction. Save a few cases of very minor importance, appeals may be taken from justice courts to the district court.

When the State governments were first organized, judges were, for the most part, either appointed by the Governors or elected by the legislatures, and they held their offices for life or during good behaviour. At present in a large majority of the States, as a consequence of the growing democratic desire to control all government officials by the electorate, judges are elected by the people themselves and for comparatively short terms. While there is no general agreement as to tenure, in most States the judges of the inferior courts serve for from four to ten years. The Supreme Court tenure ranges from twenty-one years in Pennsylvania to two years in Vermont.

Persons who are not in sympathy with progressive democracy are prone to criticize the elective judiciary as being unwise and unsafe. But does the popular election of judges tend to lower the standard of judicial efficiency? Does the principle of popular

election impair the integrity of judges or impede the course of justice? The consensus of best thought among the leading American jurists seems to be that "appointment of judges and life tenure are undemocratic; that present methods are necessary to secure complete popular government." Further, they advance the argument that "the judicial, no less than other branches of government, should, through elections, be brought into frequent contact with the popular will."

For conviction of crimes, there are in the United States three forms of punishment, namely: fine, imprisonment, and punishing the body. Fines are usually moderate. Terms of imprisonment vary from one hour to a life sentence. The convicts are given some opportunity to reform. Their sentences are frequently shortened if they behave well. "All sentences for terms of years," writes Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University in his volume on *Actual Government*, "are subject to a deduction of about one-fifth for good conduct while in prison; and the average long sentence is much brought down by the frequent use of the pardoning power, so that prisoners who are under life sentence are said actually to average ten years in prison."

The prisoners are taught many useful trades and industries. They usually get good food, and have regular hours of recreation. They are not ruled by blows and curses. They are treated with consideration, and are helped to regain that self-respect which is a necessary basis for reform. The idea back of their treatment is that convicts are human even though they have transgressed the law, and they are entitled to human consideration. In many of the jails I visited I found rooms of the prisoners well fitted up with chairs, reading tables, and pink shaded electric lamps. Their floors were furnished with rugs, doors with lace curtains, and walls decorated with pictures. These rooms, in spite of their steel bars, looked to me more like a Turkish "harem room" than a prison cell.

Criminals are social delinquents suffering from physical or moral disease. The working motive in inflicting punishment upon such persons, in all enlightened countries, is to remove his error and set him right. Punishment is not an act of blind vengeance; punishment in itself is

not the main end sought. The chief object is to correct the fault, to redeem the man to society. Hence certain of the criminals are awarded indeterminate sentences. Under such a sentence the prisoner is released on parole. The paroled man is aided to get employment with some one who will not discriminate against him because of his prison experience. He is required not to change the place of his employment without the knowledge of the prison authorities, to save as much as he can, to shun evil company, and to report to the prison at stated times. Although he enjoys complete personal liberty, yet he receives "friendly and helpful supervision" from parole officers especially appointed for that purpose. As soon as the man succeeds in convincing the prison authorities that he has reformed and is able to live a law-abiding life, he is given an unconditional discharge. This usually comes after one has served a probationary period of six months to a year.

It will be easy to find reactionaries in Hindusthan who will hysterically leap to the conclusion that if prisoners were paroled in India, the country would be submerged beneath a crime wave. Listen to the expert testimony of the *Journal of the American Institute of Law and Criminology* on the success of the parole system! The *Journal* in its current issue remarks

"that the parole system, wherever adopted (in more than thirty-two States and other nations besides), has never been set aside. The mean average number who have made good on parole is eighty-four per cent. of the total number. Most of those failed were shortcoming on minor points."

Is not that a remarkable tribute to the efficiency of the parole system? Is not the best way to repress crime to amend the criminal?

Cruel, inhuman punishments are no longer patiently tolerated in America. With the exception of a single small State, Delaware, whipping as a legal penalty for crime is as much a thing of the past in the United States as thumb screws, and racks, and "collars of torture" in Europe. In some States the gibbet has been displaced by electric chairs where criminals are "electrocuted" instead of being hanged.

Capital sentences are very infrequently inflicted. The number of legal executions during the year 1915 was 119, and in 1914, only 74. The value of a man as an economic asset and the sacredness of his

life as a human being have exerted such an influence upon some of the best thinkers of America that already five States have abolished the death penalty.

In taking even a cursory glance at the State government no one can fail to be seriously impressed by its increasing democratic tendencies, which are especially noticeable in the use of such political devices as the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. By the initiative the people themselves reserve the right to initiate, to propose laws, and to submit them directly to the voters for their adoption or rejection. Through the referendum the people exercise their power to approve or reject laws already passed by the legislature. The initiative and referendum are used for constitutional and statutory laws, as well as for local ordinances. The advantages of the initiative and referendum are that they act as a brake upon the vagaries and the errors of judgment on the part of the legislature. They exert a wholesome educative influence upon the people. In order to vote intelligently upon a proposed law, the voters must study it in all its bearings. The result is that it awakens in them patriotic interest in public affairs, and makes them better fitted for the onerous duties and responsibilities of a free government.

Since 1908 the initiative and referendum are further supplemented in a few instances by the recall. This is a process by which the voters may dismiss "every elective officer" or "every public officer"—not even excluding the judiciary—before the expiration of the term for which he was chosen on any ground whatsoever which seems satisfactory to the electorate. The chief merit of the recall is that it enables the people to keep the government officials under their control. "The theories of recall," declares a recent writer, "are based upon the notion that in the people rests the authority to discharge public servants at any time by popular vote without proof of misconduct or maladministration in office. In other words, the relation of employer and employee should exist between the people and their agents at all times, and the people should have the power to discharge at will."

Space will not permit of the enumeration of all of the details of such an intricate gigantic machinery as State govern-

ment. It may be stated, however, that the most powerful influence which keeps this machinery going is the driving force of public sentiment. If in India some of the bureaucratic officials are as absolute as Jove himself, in America government officers are as humble and as responsive to the people as their humblest servants. In

short, the government of the United States represents the good sense of an independent nation, the highest political instinct of a free people.

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MR. LLOYD GEORGE

BY BABU LAL SUD, B.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

III

BEFORE the Coalition Government was formed, new problems of great importance began to emerge, chief among them being the abuse of the facilities for obtaining drink, the recrudescence of labour troubles, and the supply of munitions. These three questions formed the first grave domestic problem of the War. Mr. Lloyd George, who was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, threw himself heart and soul into the solution of these domestic problem of the war, and specially the drink question. It is said that in dealing with the drink question Mr. Lloyd George exaggerated the effect of drink on the production of munitions. But it is characteristic of Mr. Lloyd George that whatever he attacks he attacks with impetuosity, and in this case too his characteristic impetuosity did not leave him. He attributed labour shortcomings in munition works to drink among workmen, in the capacity of the chairman of a Committee appointed to organise the output of munitions, and submitted to the House of Commons proposals for higher taxes on alcohol. These proposals brought Mr. Lloyd George into conflict with the Irish Nationalists who took such a strong line against the proposed taxes on liquor that these proposals had to be dropped. However, two Bills were passed, one restricting the supply and sale of immature spirits, and the other imposing restrictions on drink facilities especially in war-work areas. But while Mr. Lloyd George stated that the drink facilities had to do a great deal with labour shortcomings in munition works, Mr. Asquith at the same time de-

clared that there was no deficiency in the supply of munitions and made no allusion to the drink question in his speech at New-castle. This singular contrariety of opinion bewildered the country; but it did not seriously disturb its mind. It, however, made it clear that all was not well with the Liberal Government, and prepared the people for the change in the Government, if events were to develop in that direction. And events did develop in the direction of change. Two personal issues came to the fore, the one concerning the army, and the other concerning the navy. The question of an adequate supply of munitions on the one hand, and the acute controversy between Mr. Churchill, the first Lord, and Lord Fisher, the First Sea Lord, resulting in the withdrawal of the latter from the Admiralty, precipitated the crisis. The question of munitions and the controversy at the Admiralty between Mr. Churchill and Lord Fisher resulted in a Coalition Government, formed from Liberal, Unionist and Labour parties. The Coalition Government met Parliament on June 3, 1915. Among other changes, a new Department, the Ministry of Munitions, was created with Mr. Lloyd George as its head.

The appointment of Mr. Lloyd George as Minister of Munitions was received with satisfaction both by the Press and the public. Liberals and Tories vied with each other in thanking the Government for his appointment as Minister of Munitions. "He knows our needs; he has done more than anyone to meet them already; he has the vision to look ahead and the strength to act," wrote "The Times" on his appointment to the

said post. In his first speech as Minister of Munitions he boldly told the country that the task before them was not a mere walkover but one of tremendous magnitude, and that it would only be by a concentration of every effort, energy and resource that we could win through to the end that we all desired. By painting the immediate future in somewhat sombre tints, he opened the eyes of the public to the tremendous task that was in front of them. He did not mince matters. He did not hide the truth. He did not prevaricate. But with his characteristic courage and boldness he plainly told the country that they could not afford to dwell in the fool's paradise in which they have been "luxuriating" for nearly a year. He struck the same note in a preface written by him to a book entitled "Through Terror to Triumph" containing his war speeches, which was published by Hodder and Stoughton in September, 1915. This preface, which is eloquent in language and impassioned in style, is worth perusal. The picture painted throughout is dark and sombre. "Russian fortresses, deemed impregnable," writes Mr. Lloyd George, "are falling like sand castles before the resistless tide of Teutonic invasion." The preface was strongly criticised by the Liberal Press, which described it as "dark as midnight," and pointed out that it was only in July 1915, that Mr. Lloyd George himself had divided the publicists into the Blue story school and Grey story school and had declared that both were wrong, the story being "mottled." But in this preface, they said, there was nothing "mottled" about the story. They further pointed out that in the whole preface there was not a single word about the British Navy. The Tory press, on the contrary, made capital out of this preface, and were so enthusiastic about it that some of them published the same preface two days running. Moreover, they used this preface as a fresh ground for active agitation in favour of compulsion.

Mr. Lloyd George himself has explained as to what made him write this preface in the preface itself thus:—

"That is why I am recalling these unpleasant facts, because I wish to stir my countrymen to put forth their strength to amend the situation. To dwell on such events is the most disagreeable task that can fall to the lot of a public man. For all that, the public man who either shirks these facts himself, or does not do his best to force others to face them until they are redressed, is guilty of high treason to the State which he has sworn to serve."

In the statement which he made in the House of Commons on December 20, 1915, on the work of his department, he did not fail to refer to the policy of being too late. In fact, Mr. Lloyd George has never failed to impress the fact of the seriousness of the situation upon his countrymen. As he is never tired of impressing the said fact upon his countrymen, he is accused of pessimism in certain quarters. "John Bull" in its issue of January 1, 1916, in its open letter to Mr. Lloyd George wrote:—

"I am inclined to rank candour high among the political virtues, but I do wish you would strike a less pessimistic note. For many of your qualities I have a genuine respect, but I cannot forget that almost every time you have set yourself up as a military prophet you have been hopelessly wrong, and am therefore inclined rather to discount your gloomy prognostications. In your last speech you seem to have been in the depths of the doldrums, but I am hoping you may manage to start the New Year with a smile. If not, you will certainly be 'encouraging the enemy' and what will Saint Simon say?"

But to charge Mr. Lloyd George with pessimism because he points out unpleasant facts with a view to remedying them is nothing short of an act of ingratitude. He wants to set right what is wrong, and you cannot set things right unless you know what is wrong. "The Evening News" in its issue of December 21, 1915, hits the nail on the head when it says:

"If pessimism means possessing the courage to face the worst and set right what is wrong, then it is pessimism that is going to win this war, and Mr. Lloyd George is one of the greatest of the pessimists."

Mr. Lloyd George is neither pessimist nor optimist, but he is "factist" (that is one who faces the fact and tells the fact); if I can correctly use the term. Or, he is, what they call a meliorist. The word meliorism was invented by George Eliot, and adopted later on by Professor James Sully, who turned it into a philosophical term. A meliorist is one who takes a middle course, i.e. who believes that the world is, on the whole, towards good, and who believes in the ultimate triumph of liberty over militarism, of justice over injustice, of righteousness over wickedness, of light over darkness, and of good over evil. But this is not optimism, but meliorism. And Mr. Lloyd George is a meliorist. He is not a pessimist, but a patriot. He is, in fact, the torch-bearer of the truth.

Mr. Beriah Evans, a prominent statesman, who has been in close political touch with Mr. Lloyd George,

has remarked that Mr. Lloyd George owed his success to four main causes—"courage, oratory, astute use of the press, and supreme smartness." These four qualities which he possesses to a remarkable degree have, no doubt, helped him materially in building up his political career, but, at the top of all his qualities and gifts, I believe, comes 'action.' "He has the fever of motion in the blood, and is always at the gallop." This is the thing which differentiates him from other politicians. They sometimes fear and falter, and hesitate and waver. But he does not fear. He does not "hum and ha." They fear consequences, and contemplate changes which the step they intend taking might bring about. But regardless of consequences, and without fear of changes, he at once plunges himself into "action" with his characteristic audacity. Mr. A. G. Gardiner says of Mr. Churchill,

"He knows no sanction except his own will, and when he is seized with an idea he pursues it with an intensity that seems unconscious of opposition."

I believe, this is as true of Mr. Lloyd George as of Mr. Churchill. Study his career from boyhood to statesmanship, you will find that the moment he is convinced of the justness of a cause, he cheerfully risks his all on it, and throws himself into it with an impetuosity and audacity which ignores all opposition, however stubborn and tenacious. In the present war, his life-long political friends have attacked him, because he has become a convert to conscription of all varieties. This conscription business has brought him eulogies from the unionists, and attacks from the Radicals. But Mr. Lloyd George is not a man to mind popular judgment. As long as his conscience is clear and he knows that he is in the right, he does not care a straw for public opinion. He is not governed by tradition. His mind does not live on the past. It always wrestles with the present, oblivious of the past, and comes out victorious. The majority of politicians are governed by tradition. Before they take any step, they carefully scan the consequences. But Mr. Lloyd George's mind is not moulded in that cast. It is not for all times, but for the crisis. He has the instinct for the big occasion, and the courage to meet it. From his past record of political life one might suppose that he has always been on the look out for the game—I mean, the great

game. Now, for instance, the public and the press are of opinion that the situation about conscription—I think, compulsion is a better word—would have been different but for Mr. Lloyd George. "The Daily Mail" in its issue of December 28, 1915, while writing about the Cabinet meeting on December 27, 1915, wrote:—"It is understood that before the meeting Mr. Lloyd George made his own position clear in a message to the Prime Minister. He intimated that unless Mr. Asquith's pledge is interpreted in the strictest sense and compulsion applied to the single slackers he could not continue to be a member of the Government." This "Daily Mail" tale of ultimatum from Mr. Lloyd George was denied by Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons on January 11, 1915. But it shows how the political situation revolves round Mr. Lloyd George's personality during these times. But I do not agree with those who think that but for Mr. Lloyd George the situation would have been different. On the contrary, I agree with Mr. Arnold Bennet "that Mr. Lloyd George might have been very different but for the situation..... Mr. Lloyd George is only a portent."

His oratory is too well known to render any demonstration necessary. Those who have heard him speak cannot deny him his perfect mastery of elocution. He is the most natural orator of his time. By "natural orator" I mean unstudied orator. Unlike the majority of orators, he draws his lessons from life, and that is the reason why he is always giving us life at first hand. He sees things not through books but with his own eyes. He has no formulas, no shibboleths, no theories and speculations to expound. It is this fact that makes him the most popular orator of his time. Mr. Lloyd George comes direct from the people. He "comes out of the great hive itself." All of them were and are, truly speaking, university men. They polished their periods through their books. They drew their lessons and inspiration from books. But Mr. Lloyd George owes nothing to books or to University life. He has had no education worth the name. All the education he has had came direct from life, came straight from experience. That is the reason why he can have his way alike with an audience of peers and peeresses, of shop-girls reluctant to lick stamps, of working-class people reluct-

tant to work with their employers, of commercial people reluctant to give way now and then, and of colliers reluctant to lick creation. It is this human touch which makes him so popular as an orator. He is not only the orator who can settle working-class peoples' strikes so satisfactorily. He is also the orator whom the commercial class consider as their own.

"Mr. Lloyd George's admissions of our past shortcomings", writes "The Times" in its issue of December 21, 1915, "and of our incurable habit of being too late, go far beyond anything said by any newspaper. To some newspapers they will be extremely unpalatable. But they were brave words, and we beg his colleagues to ponder on the fact that he enjoys the confidence of the public more than any of them because he speaks out more than any of them. He is not afraid of the truth or of confessing to mistakes; and his courage inspires confidence. The way to be in time for the future is to recognise that you have been always too late in the past."

As he is a natural orator, he never prepares his speeches. He waits for the occasion which inspires him. He is an improviser in that respect. An idea seizes him, and he dwells upon it with the freshness, frankness and innocence of a child. All his rhetorical qualities,—wit, humour, passion and sympathy—are brought into play at once. These qualities are always at his command. "We will have Home Rule for Ireland and for England and for Scotland and for Wales," he said addressing some Welsh farmers some years ago. "And for hell," interposed a half-drunken voice. "Quite right. I like to hear a man stand up for his own country," at once answered Mr. Lloyd George. It is this dramatic force and play of humour which makes his speeches so incomparable.

As an orator he is not a master of condensation like Mr. Asquith, who uses the least possible words to express his meaning. Unlike Mr. Asquith, he has nothing of sonorous and balanced periods. Unlike Mr

Churchill, he has no polished periods. Unlike Gladstone or Bright, he has nothing of pomp and long periods. Unlike Burke, he has nothing of his philosophy. Unlike Fox, he has nothing of torrential energy. Unlike Mr. Bonar Law or Viscount Grey, he has nothing of simplicity of style, absolutely free from rhetoric or polished phrases. But he can play upon his audience as a clever musician plays upon a musical instrument. He can do whatever he likes with his audience. He can rouse their passions or freeze their blood. He can be gay as well as grave. He can be tempestuous as well as still. But he is always impressive like a clever musician. Take the case of the Welsh Coal Strike of July, 1915. When all efforts to bring about reconciliation between the employers and the workmen failed, Mr. Lloyd George was asked to deal with the situation. With his alert diplomacy he settled the strike at once. His simple words, said at the right time and in the right way, at once smoothed the whole affair. The reason why people "get right" with him is, as already stated, that no one can understand and read men in a way as Mr. Lloyd George can. It amounts to intuition. He did not appeal to their passions, but to their mind. He treated them with respect, and offered them an argument and not an entertainment. He did not appeal to their emotions. He simply laid bare the truth of the fact before them. He not only understands and reads people mysteriously deep, but he has also a genuine sympathy. It is this human touch which appealed to the strikers and ended the strike, as if by the wand of a magician. The Welsh Coal strikers sang "Lloyd George idd y Gora" meaning "Lloyd George is the best." He is not only a man of action. He is also a tactician.

Mr. Lloyd George's broad shoulders are at present weighted with the greatest and gravest responsibility that a public-man ever undertook. He has to work from first thing in the morning till last thing at night.

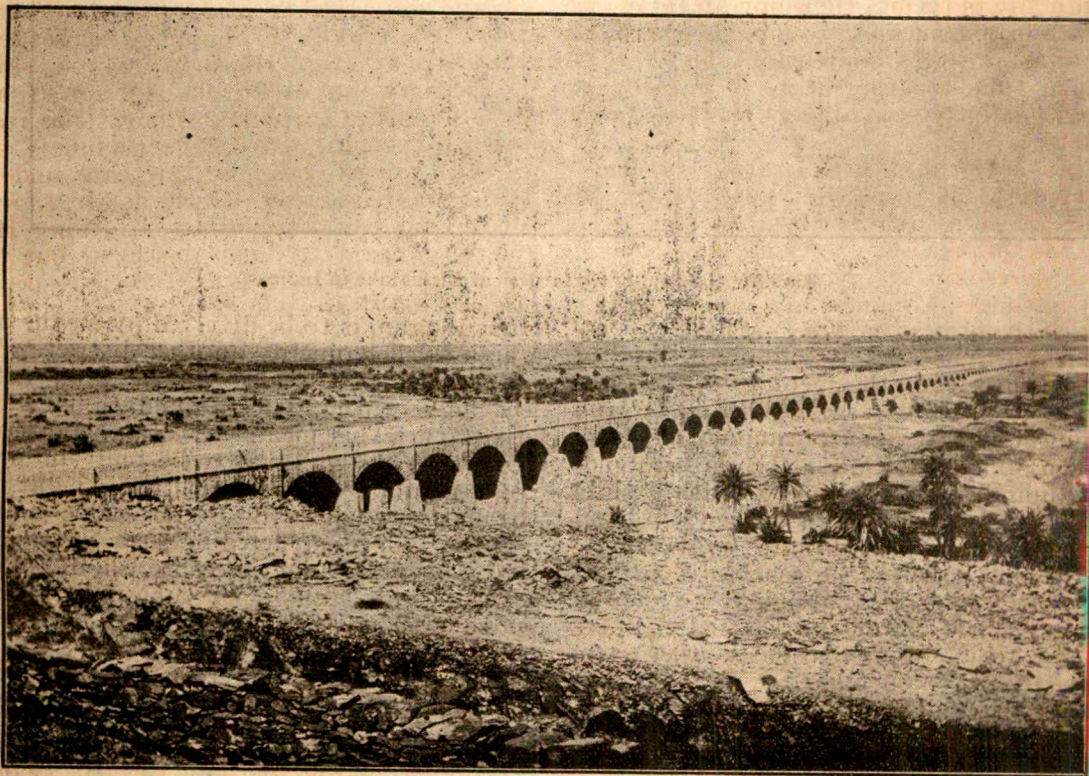
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MARIKANAVE—LARGEST ARTIFICIAL LAKE IN INDIA

By M. T.

THE Government of the Mysore State has always been ready to consider new opportunities for the development of the country, and during the past few years the active policy of the previous dewans has been carried on with even greater zeal. There is room for considerable developments in the industrial life of the people, but the State is essentially an agricultural one. How best to develop

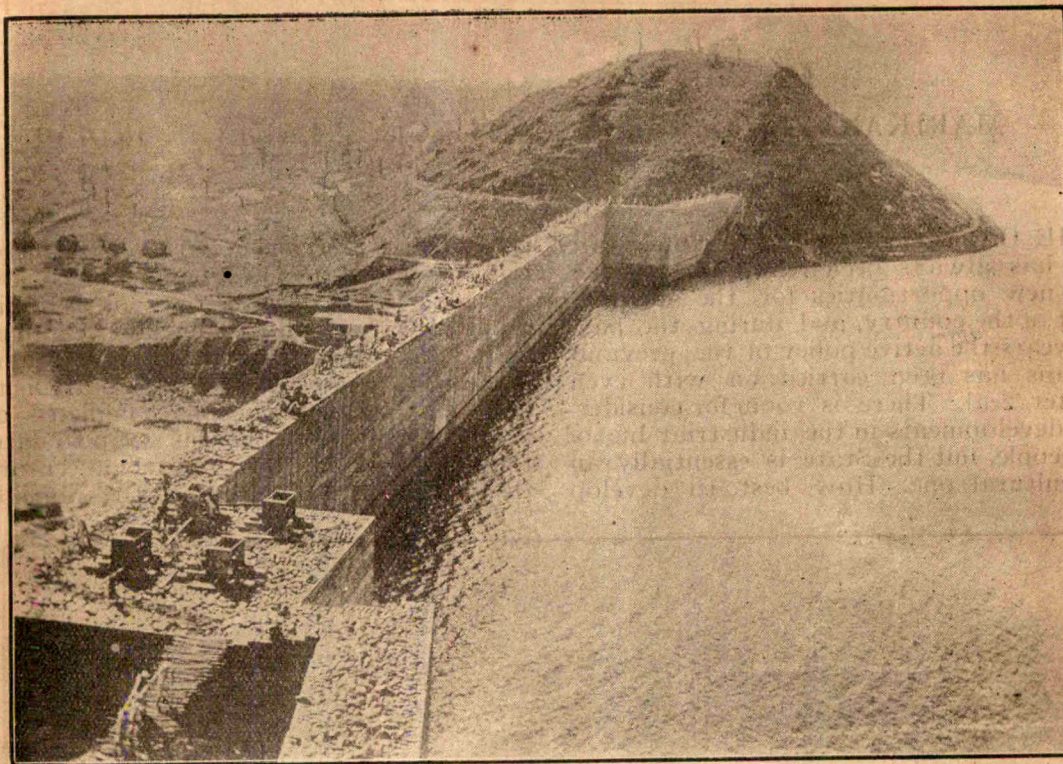
the Mysore Government to meet this need, and it is one of the finest engineering feats in India. To call it a reservoir is a misnomer, for it is really a huge lake, eighteen miles long, governing an area of 30 square miles. There are several other artificial lakes of larger dimensions completed or nearing completion, but this is, up to date, the largest in India. For nearly a century the possibility of damming the Marika-



One of the aqueducts of the largest artificial lake in India.

that branch of work has been the aim of successive dewans, and several schemes have been launched. As in other parts of India the need for water is one of the great problems in many districts, and the great project, known as the Marikanave Reservoir, is perhaps the greatest effort made by

nave gorge was remarked upon, and from time to time various schemes have been suggested, but it was not till 1892 that the subject was taken up seriously. Careful examination of the rocks was made, for it was necessary that a dam, such as they proposed to build, should have a founda-



Building the dam of the largest artificial lake in India.

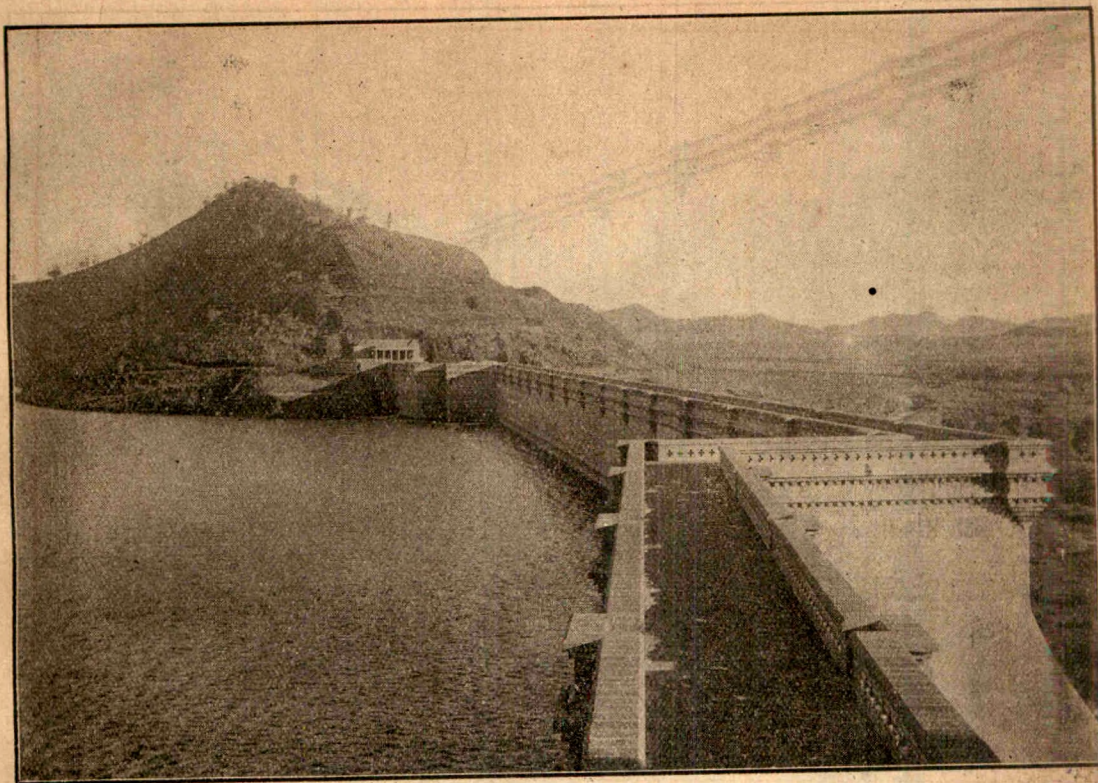
tion of the firmest nature. At first experts condemned, but later and more detailed experiments led the geologists to pronounce it absolutely safe. The work was commenced and a programme of work drawn up by Mr. Dalal, the Superintending Engineer, was followed, with results highly satisfactory, both to the State and to the people employed on the works.

The chief object of the scheme is to irrigate the land round about the town of Hiriyr in the Chitaldrug District—a tract of land, which, compared with other parts of the State, is barren to a degree. The annual rainfall is only fifteen inches, and in poor years as little as 6 or 7. The lake would thus prevent a huge amount of water running to waste and provide an extensive area of land with a regular supply which would thus protect the people during the frequent periods of local scarcity. Though full advantage has not yet been taken of the water available it is almost certain that the ryots will realise the value of this large tract of land which can, by a little labour, be made most fertile. A part of the supply now directed to the

Hiriyr taluq is to be diverted by means of a high level channel to another district.

The engineers decided that a dam, 142 feet high, with 20 feet foundations, was necessary. This meant a total height of 162 feet. The wall was to be built in uncoursed rubble and mortar, the weight of the masonry being 150 lbs per cubic foot, and the dam constructed in such a manner that the maximum pressure should not exceed eight tons per cubic foot. The width of the gorge was 240 feet. The dam which has been constructed is 1330 feet in length and fifteen feet wide. Arrangements have been made whereby any excessive monsoon discharge may be dealt with—a weir 470 feet long being constructed—and it is not likely that the capacity of the weir will ever be tested to the full by any such contingency.

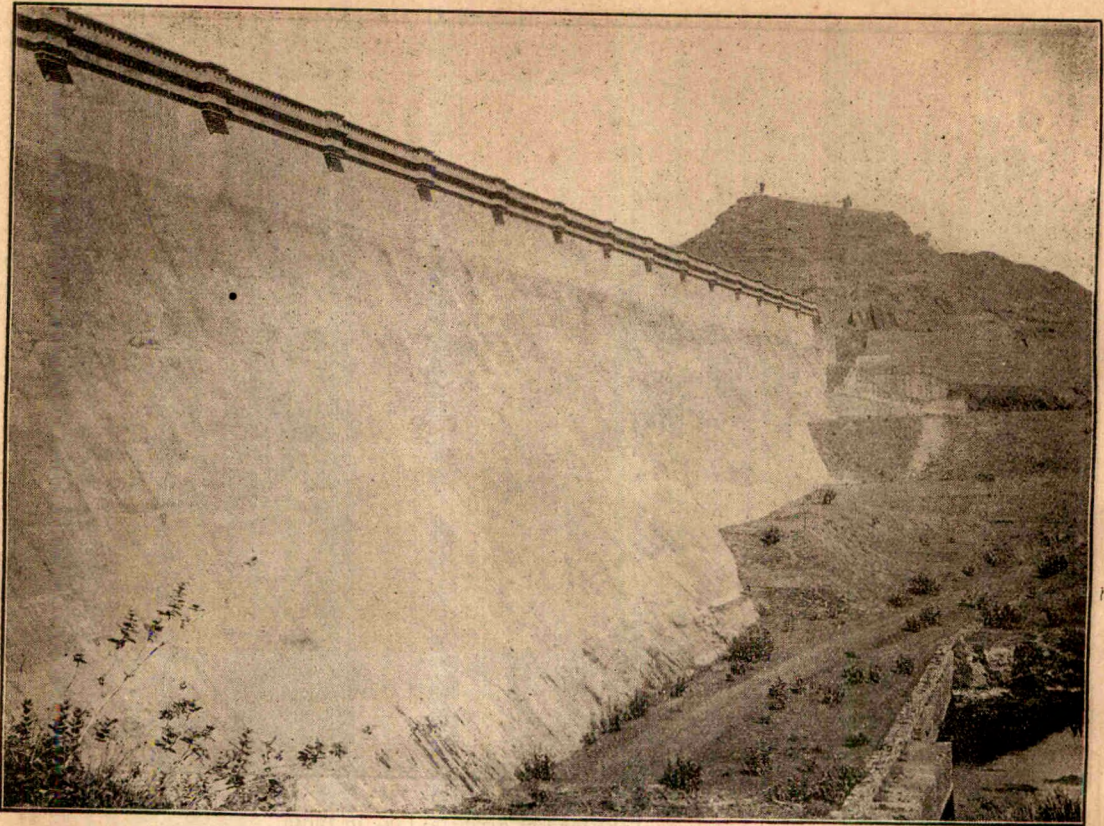
The work was not without its incidents. In 1898 the buildings for the staff were erected and preparations for the foundations of the dam went on apace. In four months the work received a rude check, for cholera broke out, a most serious matter among a community of over five thousand



The completed dam of the largest artificial lake in India.

crowded together in huts. Drastic measures were taken. The sick were isolated; pure water was provided and the people forbidden to drink of the contaminated stream which was the cause of the trouble; huts were destroyed and wells infected; in all about 400 people died. Some four thousand workpeople, who had been brought to the place as the result of hard work, decamped, taking with them some Rs. 2000 as advances. This was ultimately recovered. After this the place was free and no pains were spared by the authorities to protect the large number of coolies employed. Before they had completed the dam a heavy flood came, covered the walls and filled the place in which they were working with water. The water and sand were removed and the work of constructing the dam was continued, with little interruption, till the completion. The question of the nature of the stone to be used was decided by searching experiments. It was found that haematite quartite which could be obtained at comparatively little expense from the surrounding hills, would

serve the purpose admirably. Small stones were used, varying from half to eight cubic feet. At first trolley lines were brought into service, but later a cheaper method—by 'nowgunnies' or professional stone-lifters—was in vogue, and answered very well. The work continued steadily for several years and the channels for conveying the water were begun, but scarcity of funds necessitated a delay in the work. It was not till ten years were completed that the dam was finished. The rear face of the dam was covered with cement so as to avoid the growth of small vegetation on the slopes. The sluices for the regulation of the water are known as Stoney's patent gates. Each vent has two gates and are capable of discharging over 1000 cubic feet per second, under a head of six feet. Though each gate weighs almost six tons, only four men are required to lift them by means of powerful winches. The water on passing through the sluices, is carried back into the river below, and later is caught up by an anicut which sends the water along two large irrigation channels. Its flow is



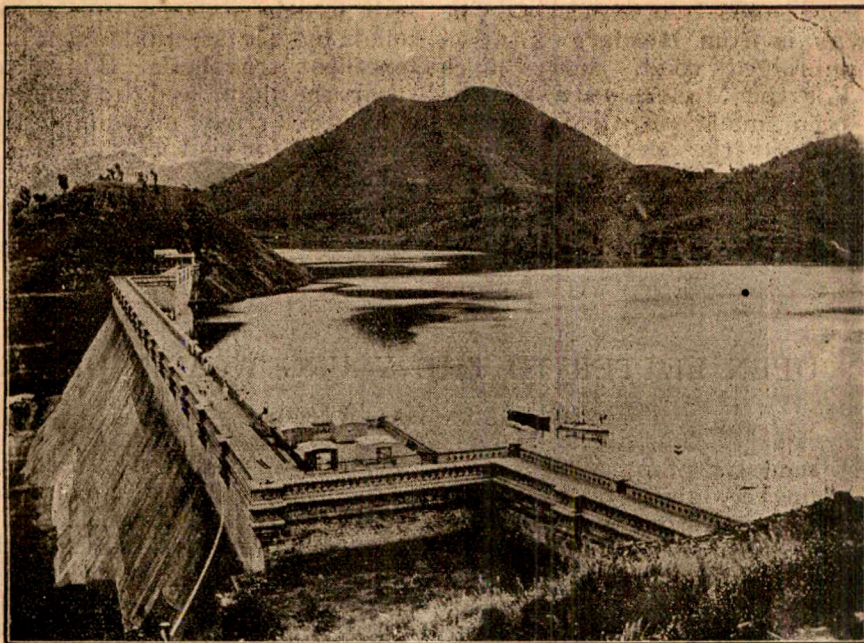
The massive embankment of the largest artificial lake in India.

so arranged that when power is needed a considerable fall of water is available. At the foot of the dam is a small temple, dedicated to the Mari goddess. The inhabitants of the district say that when she discovers how she has been insulted, she will burst the dam and the water, which will rise to the height of the Stambha of the temple at Hiriyur, will be swallowed by the Basava on the top.

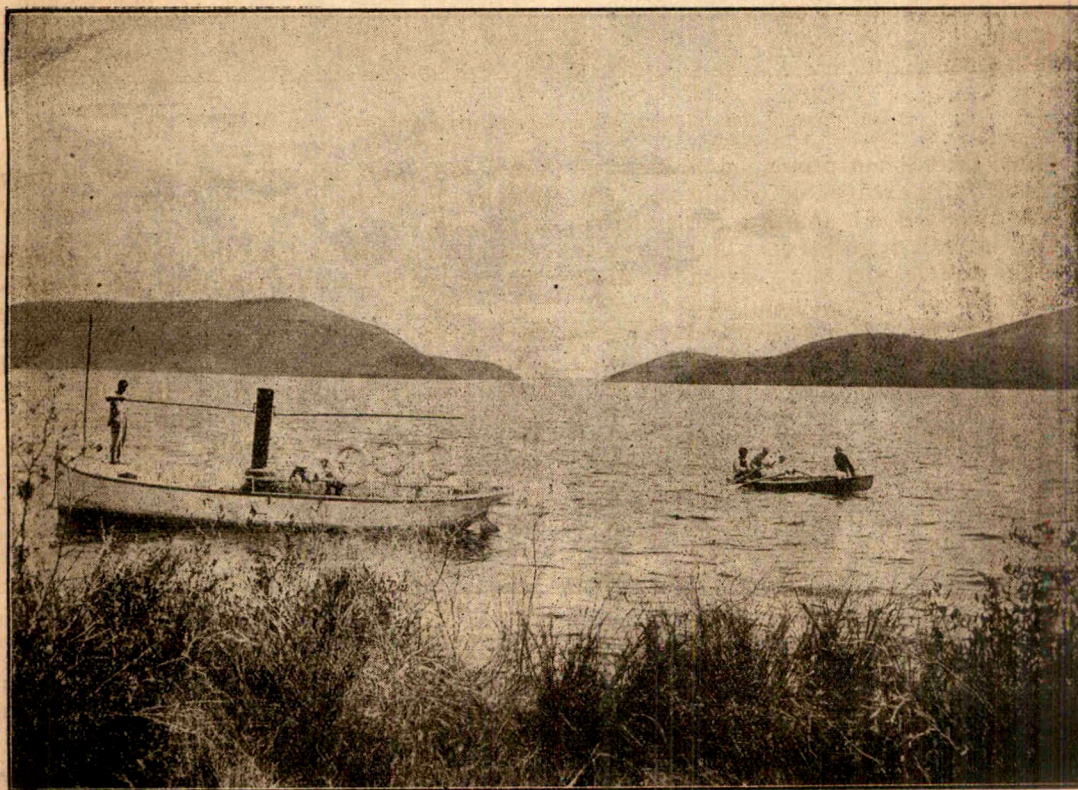
The lake covers a vast area, and the rising waters covered over a large number of villages. Thirty-two were submerged, and compensation had to be paid and other lands given to the people. Though the average yield of the catchment has been below expectation, due to abnormally poor rainy seasons, there is an average supply of about 20,000 units. The total cost of the project was forty five lakhs of rupees. While it was realised from the outset that the scheme was protective rather than remunerative, it is believed that it will ultimately pay at least three per cent. on the outlay. If the power can be used for

the cotton and other industries which may develop here, this rate will be considerably increased.

After this brief account of the history of the construction of this great artificial lake, it is necessary to give some description of its beauties. When the traveller first ascends to the top of the dam, he is delighted with the vast stretch of water before him, with the conical shaped hills on both sides covered with green foliage, the islands dotted here and there, and the inlets resembling closely the scenery of the Scotch lochs. There are two launches on the lake and it is a delightful experience to sail the whole length of the lake and to cruise among the islands. In December, a large number of ducks, teal and geese are to be seen, while the lake abounds in fish of all kinds. As time passes, there is no doubt that the whole scenery will be improved, and the presence of moisture will assist the growth of trees on the slopes of the hills.



View taken of the Marikanave lake from a near hill showing steam launch.



General view of the lake Marikanave.

Marikanave is not easy of access. The shortest way is from Hosdurga Station over an unbridged road, thirty miles distance. For the Maharajah a shorter road has been made so that he may touch the lake at the western end, from

whence the journey to the dam can be made by the steam launch. There is an excellent traveller's Bungalow situated near the dam, and by timely warning in advance, good accommodation can be arranged for visitors.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE YOUNG WOMEN OF INDIA

BY FRIEDA HAUSWIRTH.

THE first semester of my college course I spent in the family of the Dean, giving German lessons to the children and helping Mrs. Gardner in cooking, sewing, and general house-work in return for board and room. An American boy student, and later a Japanese boy student, did the heavy work around the house and

my fellow students. In fact, despite the experience with the little freshman girl, I rather shrank at first from close association with the girls. Before I was quite capable to freely give and take everywhere in friendship and comradeship, I had to overcome within myself considerable remnants of false pride and of European



Marine Laboratories of the Stanford University at Pacific Grove, California.

took care of the garden. On Saturdays I gave my services most of the day in order to reach the required aggregate of four hours work per day. This system left me time enough for study and lectures, but none for recreation or association with

estimation concerning "degrading menial labor," which made me oversensitive, and often caused me to repel frank and friendly overtures, misjudging them for patronage, which my foreign pride resented.

After I conquered sensitiveness and this

false valuation in my own mind, I found I was really not meeting it anywhere else. I discovered that everyone was sincerely willing to take me for just what I was, and not for what I *did*, in fact, that "working my way through" was cordially appreciated. I mention this because of my knowledge of the false valuation of manual work existing in India as in Europe, and because I desire to aid all girls, coming over to this country, and possibly resorting to some work which they would consider below their own caste at home, to arrive at a truer valuation of such activity.

During my first semester, under the impetus of the radiant treasures revealed to me in literature, an old vague dream of becoming a writer sprang full into life: I started to write in poetic form, in the German language. At this period the Dean drew my attention to the Scholarships obtainable at all universities. Some of these are devoted to specialized purposes and work, some are obtainable through competition or achievement in some field, and some are granted to deserving, indigent students to make their acquisition of education easier. In consequence I applied to the Joseph Bonnheim Junior Scholarship Fund. This Fund claimed to make no distinction of race, creed, or color, and made no very specialized, ultimate requirements. When asked by the scholarship committee to substantiate my claim to a free education on the grounds of wanting to devote myself to literature, I, in desperation and having nothing else, sent in that collection of lately written, lyric poems. The Scholarship Committee declared itself "incompetent to criticise" and sent them on to the Head of the German Department of the University of California. There the matter pended awaiting the report.

Meanwhile, majoring* in the German Department, I fortunately obtained an assistantship in it for the second semester, spring 1908. My task was to correct the students' compositions and grammar exercises. My use and knowledge of the

spoken and written German language was correct but the Department did not know that my technical knowledge of it was incomplete. I did not know its grammar beyond the elementary and half-forgotten instruction received in the Swiss Public Schools. I knew what the terms "subject, object, verb, noun, adjective" meant, but could not have recognized nor defined an "adverbial object" or the use of a "subjunctive in a subordinate clause." I had no one at all with whom I ventured to discuss such problems. The gaining of an accredited educational standing had been so hard and had eluded me for so many years, that even after I had gained full entrance standing I was troubled by the fear of losing my advantages if it were known how deficient and hap-hazard my former training had been. I decided therefore to correct my deficiency privately by individual study at home, even while carrying on the actual work of correcting others' mistakes. It was a hard but very much worth-while task, and mentioned here as one instance of how it is possible to gain all the intermediary knowledge which one may lack in any subject, even while acquiring higher instruction in it.

All this restricted me in a measure and, although I did well in my college work, did not leave me enough time nor energy to prove deeply into just what special line of study, occupation, or profession I was fundamentally fitted for.

The assistantship promised to net me about twenty dollars a month and I decided to give up the time-consuming housework. I had become acquainted with a professor in the German Department, who, like his wife, belonged to my nationality. Although not rich and having seven children of their own, they generously opened their home to me, accepting nothing but the meagre sum of fifteen dollars a month, barely enough to cover expenses. I spent some very happy months in their midst.

Aside from my studies and assistant work, I commenced to spend Saturdays and term-vacations sewing for various families. My Swiss sewing-school training having well prepared me for this, I received twenty-five cents an hour for such work, or two dollars and meals for an eight hour day. But even so, with the most careful managing, after paying the

* The work in American Universities is divided into Departments, according to subjects, e. g. Engineering Department, English Department, History Department, etc. The Department, in which a student expects to take his degree, is his "major" Department; other Departments constitute for him "minor" Departments.

tuition of fifteen dollars a semester, required of all foreigners and non-Californians, and after buying books and incidentals, the end of the semester found me some twenty-five dollars in debt.

Feeling certain of the continuance of my assistantship for the following year, the problem facing me upon the close of the college year was that of immediate summer employment. With the taste of the failure of the previous summer still bitter in my mouth, I refrained from troubling the Dean again. As I had not had time to associate much with other students, I knew little of the great variety of work offered and accepted, and still less of the means of obtaining it, least of all of the various students' associations which further such attempts. Therefore one week of vacation passed without my having found anything. Then a chance occurrence brought to me the position as "companion" to an elderly invalid, Mrs. S. This companionship developed to imply the most varied and unexpected round of duties: personal service, the lacing of shoes, the tidying of her bedroom, building open fires, picking faded roses from the beautiful bushes in the garden, feeding the cat, reading aloud, entertaining Mrs. S. and her company, attending to her correspondence, running errands, etc.

I found Mrs. S. very exacting indeed at first and the secluded country home with its invalid atmosphere, where for days at a time I saw no one but the old lady, the cook, the gardener and the grocery-man (none of whom was company), was appallingly depressing. The urgent need of a position and of money kept me quiet however, but many were the time I crept off weakly to my room to hide the tears of hurt and lonesomeness. As the weeks went by, they brought to me the realization of Mrs. S.'s own loneliness, mental illness, and complete nervous breakdown, and therefore of her helplessness in irritability; but they also brought moments of generous motherly warmth and loveliness. These grew more and more frequent as the summer wore on and her health improved, and I found an added joy and recreation in the wonderful garden surrounding the home, as watching beautiful flowers grow has always been one of my intensest pleasures.

Towards the end of summer, Mrs. S.

began to take interest in my studies and ambition and let me spend much time in special study in German literature. I was planning to take special examinations to obtain advanced credits, which would hasten my final graduation.

From the university came word that I was reappointed assistant in the German Department, and from the Bonnheim Fund (whose President, Mr. Bonnheim, I had met personally) I received the glad tidings that, upon recommendation of the professor of the University of California, a scholarship of twenty dollars a month was awarded me. How joyously thankful I was for the letter that assured me of the boon of financial aid. I went back to college radiant in body, spirit, and hopes.

The assistantship brought me in from ten to fifteen dollars a month that winter; in all my spare and vacation time I kept on adding to my income by sewing for others. The demand for this was always three times greater than I could supply. The first semester of that new year I lived alone in an attic room, cooking my own breakfast and supper on a little alcohol stove and only dining out. This left me quite independent and with time to spare for longed-for, special reading and for meeting my fellow students. I found that I even could afford to buy materials to sew for myself pretty things and dresses, which I, like most girls, liked and coveted. I may even have been guilty of skimping at times on breakfast and supper expenses for the sake of a prettier shade or texture. I began to take greater part in social activities, though, self-centered as I was, I continued to underestimate the importance of coming in close touch with student and community life on every plane. The previous semester I had joined the German Club of the university, a club devoted to both study and sociability; now they elected me President, as unsuspecting of the fact that I knew nothing about organization or executive duties as the German Department had been about my deficiency in grammar.

In October 1908, at the beginning of my second year, I took my special examinations in the German Department and obtained 18 advanced credits*; this meant

* One university "credit" or "unit" in any subject stands for one hour's work a week during one semester or half year.

that I already possessed forty credits, or one third the amount required for graduation from the university. At this time I still desired, for literary reasons largely, to return to Europe as soon as possible ; therefore I wished to obtain as good a knowledge as possible of English and English literature. In consequence I changed my Major, and, leaving the German Department, entered the English Department. This brought me in contact with a new group of students and I somewhat lost interest in the German Club.

When Christmas vacation came, I started sewing again. Christmas night I sewed until two o'clock A. M. in the employ of a belated gift-sender, and then hastened to take the earliest train to spend Christmas day with my now recovered Mrs. S., happy in my task of garlanding the rooms before the arrival of the other Christmas guests.

For the remaining days of the vacation, Mr. Bonnheim, Founder and President of the Scholarship fund, invited me with others of his students to Sacramento, the Capital of California. He was a man of great kindness and deep human sympathies, taking a truly fatherly interest in us. He provided theater parties, launch rides on the river, dinners, and gave us a royally good time.

Upon return to college came another epoch: I went to live with new-found associates, fellow students. Six of us rented rooms in one house. Two were sisters and occupied the same room; two were old friends and did the same; another girl and I each had a separate room, as I never felt willing to share my room. For my heated room and the privilege of the use of the kitchen and laundry, I paid nine dollars a month. We all did our own cooking and found that the cost of food never exceeded eleven dollars a month, and even went as low as seven, though we never stinted on food. On Saturdays we washed and ironed our own clothing. Instead of sewing, I now started to coach backward students in German at fifty cents an hour. But somehow I did not find among my housemates any with whom to discuss what I considered deep interests and problems. We were home-, but not intellectual companions.

Two girls in the house were entirely self-supporting. One of them typewrote for hours each day for students, professors,

and University Departments ; work which is paid but fairly well. She was a frail little thing with a will of iron, but no special promise or brilliance of intellect. Her main need and purpose in working for the bachelor's degree was to be able to obtain well-paid positions upon graduation. Her college career spelled to her largely drudgery and repression.

The other self-supporting student was a strong, healthy, common-sense, and commercially-inclined girl. She worked only in summertime to provide for the expenses of the whole college year. For two months each summer she rented a horse and buggy from livery stables and travelled thus alone from district to district in the country, from town to town, selling the wares of a school-supply firm to the trustees of public schools,—books, chalk, maps, paper, blackboards, anything and everything needed in a well-equipped school. She cleared in various summer vacations from two-hundred and fifty to over five hundred dollars each time, and no financial cares disturbed her devotion to the social activities of college life. Hers is the only case of such splendid success I personally know of, but I cite it to show that the achievement is possible to personalities suited to such work.

I always stood in awe before the work of these two fellow students, feeling myself incapable of either the sacrificing self-abnegation of the little plodder, or the resolute business-capability and absolute undauntedness of the other.

The next summer vacation I received a call to go again as companion to my white-haired friend with the flower garden. She had almost become a California mother to me and I was as gladly willing to go and render her the personal services as I would have rendered them to my own mother. I went, and what do you think ! Only to find still more astounding "duties" of a companion awaiting me than those revealed to me by the preceding summer. She knew that in order to graduate the following spring, as I earnestly hoped to, I needed the extra credits obtainable through attending a summer-school course. Though old and not strong, she took a long, four-hour trainride with me to the Marine Laboratories of the Stanford University, situated at Pacific Grove, chose for me a pleasant room near by, paid the tuition of twenty-five dollars, and left me

to enjoy a splendid six weeks' course of marine botany under excellent instruction and in one of the loveliest spots on the whole Pacific Coast.

This was my first work in science, and though I had undertaken it with the sole and not very commendable object of gaining additional credits, it left me with a deep appreciation and love of science, scientific methods, and the wonderful, hidden workings of nature.

Returned from my summer school to my friend's country home, another surprise awaited me: friends of hers were ready to visit the wonderful "Yosemite National Park" in the heart of the High Sierra Mountains. One among this group was a Stanford girl and friend of mine, and Mrs. S. had planned for me to join them, though she herself could not accompany us on the strenuous trip. Thus I saw and lived for one whole week in the very heart of that most precious scenic jewel of California. It was the first time that I had been in the high mountains since I left my native Alps and the experience was one continuous inward song. It was there that I for the first time in my life slept out under the open starry sky, at the foot of giant Sequoias where we had placed our cots, scorning to sleep in our tents. These Sequoias clustered under a sheer cliff three thousand feet in height. There was a curiously broadening joy in the discovery of another spot on earth as beautiful as my cherished Alps. Yosemite Park, aside from its grand beauty, had a special fascination for me: wild deer and bears still roamed through it, and the last remaining members of the tribe of Indians originally inhabiting that section lived there.

For the remaining weeks of the summer vacation I returned to my wonted duties by the side of my white-haired friend.

The following semester my scholarship was increased to thirty dollars a month. I gave up all other work, except a few hours of coaching, in order to be able to call all my time my own, because I was expecting to graduate next spring. My special examinations and the summer course now assured the completion of my college course in three instead of the usual four years.

At the beginning of this semester, I was elected to the English Club. This Club had a decidedly literary tinge, and is more pretentious than the German Club. A few

of its members were also organized into Round Tables, one for the men, one for the women students. Each Round Table met separately once a week, combinedly about once a month, or in open meetings of the Club, in order to submit, read, and mutually criticise original literary productions. These meetings were attended by some members of the faculty. I considered it quite an honor to have been asked, but whatever the fault, the work and the sociability of these clubs never satisfied me. I had still failed to acquire the social ease which makes gatherings enjoyable. These clubs served, however, to bring into my college life a few most admirable and stimulating friendships. Not until these came to me had I found anyone with whom I could share my thoughts on a thousand subjects, with whom I could discuss and compare conclusions I had drawn. With these new friends, all of my own impetuous age, started a period of endless, eager arguments and criticisms, ranging anywhere from intolerant discussions about the faculty to social wrongs, economic determination, nebular theories and thought-transference. I took the keenest joy in such thought-contact. It was at this period that I first came in contact with Hindusthanes and Indian philosophic and religious thought, which opened up new and bright vistas to me.

I was becoming more and more absorbingly, although theoretically, interested in labor and women's problems, in the struggle of the unfortunate classes, in economic and social science. The many technical requirements of my Major Department, which consumed my time, began to grow irksome. I begrudged spending hours and hours studying Spenser's "Fairy Queen," when I longed to read Spargo's "The Bitter Cry of the Children." My literary training became too narrow; my university work seemed so little related to actual life; the consciousness of my woeful ignorance of the most vital moving powers underlying society grew painful. I was only just beginning to experience the real thirst for concrete knowledge of the Why and How of human and social interrelations, muddles, and miseries. I began to wish I had studied more economics, history, science, education, and hygiene, instead of so much language, literature and art. I began to deplore that my University had no Domestic Science De-

partment, no courses specialized to answer the needs of women. Not until this last year of college, and hardly even then, did it become clear to me what my (and what I considered other women's) educational needs really consisted of; not until it was almost too late to saddle another mount and I seemed compelled to have to turn away from the spring of learning when most thirsting.

I felt others, specially the Scholarship Trustees, expected me to graduate. I was using money given me for special purpose, claimed by myself, that of preparing myself for literature, a purpose on the fulfillment of which they had a right to count. The practical, experienced mind of Mr. Bonnheim, a business-man, had given this ambition of mine a certain bend to which I had tacitly agreed though I never relished it: Whatever developed afterward, I was first to teach literature and language in High-School classes. To "just teach" (in a state already overcrowded with teachers) according to an established system, the soundness of which I questioned from my woman's point of view, for the sole sake of my financial independence, seemed condemnation to me at a time when I longed to discover "the wherefore of the why." The more the existence of the still wider fields of knowledge and my ignorance of them dawned on my mind, the more I felt "unfinished."

But I graduated, received my Bachelor's Degree in May 1910.

My Scholarship was to continue for another year after graduation, until I obtained my Master's and High-School Teacher's Degree in English. But convincing (perhaps hypnotizing) myself more and more that the essential life-interests of those whose money I used, were diagonally opposed to mine, and that my vague ideas of what I ultimately wished to *become*, conflicted with their definite ideas of what I ought to *do*, I intended to forge ahead along new lines, this time entirely on my own resource. I wanted to prepare for broader, constructive service to humanity, especially the down-trodden suffering masses. Eager and hot-headed as I was, I never stopped to consider that I really knew nothing about the social convictions of my benefactors, but simply because they possessed the power of being "benefactors," adjudged them "capitalists" and "class-enemies."

I relinquished my Scholarship; it seemed the only honest thing to do.

As a temporary means to an end I turned to the selling of books during the following summer vacation. From my fellow student I had learned that in selling things lay great promise of quick financial returns. The Book Company assigned the district of Sacramento to me, the domicile of Mr. Bonnheim. I found that Mr. Bonnheim still took the same kindly interest in me, and I was asked to come before a committee meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Scholarship Fund. Here I faced the group of gentlemen seated around their long table, and questioning me about my reasons for giving up the Scholarship and about my future plans. I do not remember much of what I said, nor do I know what they really thought of my attitude; but the interview ended with my persistence in my determination to do without further aid, and their kindly suggestion that I should still think it over. A little later I received a letter from them informing me that a certain sum would not be disposed of before the beginning of the next semester, and that I could still call for it should I change my mind. Most generous treatment of a rebel, was it not?

In Sacramento, for my book-selling work, I gathered the names of prominent people, catalogued them, and approached these first, systematically opening my field of work. Armed with the references of a few of these people, I gradually widened my circle of "prospects," a term applied to possible buyers. There were times when, ringing the doorbells from house to house, I did not succeed in selling anything; on my "best" day I cleared thirty-two dollars. I averaged six dollars a day, but expenses were heavy. I could have earned far more had it not been for remnants of false pride and an inherent dislike of approaching strangers with the request to buy which hampered me and soon made my work fitful and many days a torture to me. On the whole, I received courteous treatment, and even made friends of total strangers, but sympathy and politeness may not be expected from all who are urged to buy and part with money when they are busily bent upon other things and feel no need for the proffered ware. But certainly for anyone with business taste and suited to approach strangers on gainful, personal

interests. this line of students' activity offers rare opportunity for self-support, and both American and Hindusthanee students have succeeded in it,

As for my educational and life plans, I decided not to bind myself for the time being to anyone or anything, either personality or profession or position. I intended to continue studying, determined to keep on seeking and acquiring until social institutions and human problems should become clear enough to me to convince me unmistakably of *what* and *where* my true place was in this scheme of things entire. It did not occur to me that I might possibly find my answers and my true place sooner, and could judge systems more quickly and correctly, by taking, even if only temporarily, a definite place in one of them, a wheel among wheels, and thus acquiring an inside working knowledge by which to sift or change or strengthen my untested theories. As it was, I had no idea of whether I would ultimately be nurse or wife or labor leader, would work in America or Europe or India. But work, useful true work I hungered for. I craved a field into which I could throw all the hot enthusiasm of my soul and the loneliness of my heart.

Had I at this period had close family or national ties, these would probably have drawn me back and naturally swung me into some satisfying, definite work and action. But life had surrounded me with weak family ties and death had meanwhile broken most of these; moreover leaving Switzerland with the conviction (right or wrong as it may have been) that my family, country, and nation had no place for me nor need of me, added a further strongly detaching and de-nationalizing factor.

Had some great American problem cried out to me in the concrete shape of related human hands stretched towards me for collaboration and help,—I would have answered the call with a fierce joy. But the concrete human contact, which wholesomely links theory and practice, was missing in my life, as (or perhaps because) it was missing to a great degree between academic education and domestic and public life. I was too close in time, place, thought, and emotions to this problem to be able to even perceive, much less handle, it clearly in its practical

solution. One thing I knew: I dreaded to work just for the sake of a living. As no personal responsibilities forced me to compromise, I chose unconsciously what Sister Nivedita since consciously expressed: "Let us ordain ourselves free of the means of living: let us give our whole mind to the developing of life itself."

Had I been an Indian girl, I am certain that the call of my family and the need of my nation would have drawn me back home after graduation, and this "developing of life itself" would have gone hand in hand and been quickened and simplified by immediate educational work for my people.

I have portrayed the maze of inward conflicts and uncertainties, into which I was thrown at the end of my college career, to emphasize strongly some values which the young mind, under the inrush of new ideas and individual development in a foreign land, may easily overlook and minimize: the value of home-, community-, and national ties!

Young women of India, you need not, like myself, search blindly after knowledge and fulfilment, search far and wide for the true work of your life, for your place. Your home and your Motherland drives you forth with bitter cries of Her need for more education, ever more education, for a redemption of Her darkened glory.

Girls of India,—the joy of life lies in service, the true fruits of education in learning how to serve WELL. Wherever you go, tenderly preserve the memories of your home and community and nation. If they point to conditions which your mind tells you are detrimental to social progress and individual happiness, be big enough to be glad of your contact with these conditions just because of, not despite, their defects! Be glad,—for they point out to you steadily the road to your life's work; they form the very center around which and for which you shall sift the fruits of your learning and education and power of adaptation.

Yours is the task of learning how to teach in the home and in schools, of judging and combating the true causes of ignorance, poverty, disease, inequality *in your country*. Wherever you are, whatever you do, whoever may influence you,—keep your mind steadily centered on this. Be slow to let personal desire or

individual development interfere with this, your national Dharma.

Some such turning point, some such imperative need for personal choice, as the one described in my college career, comes into the life of most ardent students. When it comes to you, let it not confuse your central aim. Never forget that need, motive, and purpose of your life's fulfilment hang waiting over your cradle, crouch in your path.

The need I have mentioned: your Mother's poverty. The motive: every true Indian woman's joyous desire to do all in her power to relieve this need. Let this be your purpose: to train yourself to select wisely and retain firmly only the best in and of all countries for the sake of enabling yourself to help establish in India a great system of woman's education; to see to it that this system will not be unwisely patterned after a system which answers only another country's needs or the needs of men; to see to it that the system will be so closely interwoven with life's real needs and daily purposes, as to prevent the break between academic training and domestic and social activities, which is so painfully apparent in a great deal of western women's training, which defeats its own ends, and causes untold waste of youthful energies through ruptures and difficult readjustments.

Therefore, Sisters of India, go wandering about in other lands where you know grows the herb to relieve your Mother's pain. But ever as you wander, let the stinging sorrow of Her cry ring in your ears until such time as your powers are quickened, your fount of knowledge rises to the surface, your courage is mated to wisdom and self-sacrifice. Then let it draw you back! For that bitter cry will change into your Mother's hopeful, longing call for dawning redress, as your feet will hasten in glad response to retouch Her shores, to lay youth, service, and triumphant life into Her empty outstretched hands!

Sisters of India,—your task is clear!

We stand on common ground: the choosing of our work;—you, the work of preparation; I, the work of fulfilment!

I think I am ready; I trust you are!

And my love to you!

May the frank revelation of my own experience contribute a grain of helpfulness, of freer courage to some sister somewhere in India. May it induce her to strike out hopefully. America's institutions are open to her, and America certainly has not lavished all its generosity and hospitality on me; there is ample left for such as approach it with clear eyes and a raised head.

RAILWAYS IN INDIA

STATE VERSUS COMPANY CONTROL.

THE Secretary to the Railway Board, in a Circular-Letter dated Simla, the 27th June, 1916, addressed to the several Indian Chambers of Commerce, Trades Associations and other bodies in India, whose interests are "specially affected" by the Railway policy of the Government of India, draws attention to, and invites opinion, on the question of the comparative advantages of the management of Railways in this country,—touched upon in an article which appeared in the *Modern Review* for January, 1914, headed

the "Nationalisation of Indian Railways"—by Companies and directly by the State, which has since the appearance of that article attracted much attention, and drawn considerable public discussion. It has since then twice been discussed in the Viceregal Legislative Council and the question has also been discussed in the columns of newspapers and pages of periodicals every now and then, for the last two years, from the time when the ball was first set rolling. In March, 1914, i. e., within three months after the appearance of the article

in *The Modern Review*, the Hon'ble V. Varaghabachariar, from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council, moved for an enquiry into the matter, but his Resolution, reasonable though it was, fell through owing to some inexplicable reasons, possibly owing to a strenuous official opposition to it. Not discouraged by this, however, the question, which is of more than ordinary interest to the Indian tax-payer, was revived last year by the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla, who demanded an enquiry into the matter from his place in the Supreme Legislative Council. In this second debate in the Council Chamber of the Empire, the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Railway Department of the Government of India said, that the Railway Board were carrying out a departmental investigation of the question. This investigation, we are now given to understand in the Circular-letter mentioned above, has since been completed. The Railway Board's enquiry has, however, been mainly directed to an examination into the value of statistics, but owing to divergent conditions which prevail in the different systems of Railways in this country, the Railway Board, we are told, have been forced to the conclusion that it is not possible to arrive at any definite finding upon the statistical results obtained, and they have, accordingly, decided to pursue the matter by an enquiry into the practical side of Railway working founded upon the every-day experience of those commercially interested in railways in order to determine whether State or Company-managed lines have rendered the better service to the public, and they will, accordingly be glad to be favoured with replies by the public bodies aforesaid, to the following questions :—

(1) What particular railway or railways do your members most frequently have dealings with ?

(2) If with both State and Company-managed lines, does the experience of your Association lead to the belief that the public are better served by one than by the other in—

- (a) promptitude of despatch and delivery,
- (b) in rates,
- (c) in the manner of dealing with complaints,
- (d) in the care and handling of goods,
- (e) in the matter of passenger traffic ?

(3) If dealings are with one system of railway only, have you complaints to make under any of the sub-heads to the question (2) ?

2. I am at the same time to enclose a short note in which the Railway Board have attempted to bring together the main arguments which have been put forward on the general question. It is thought well that you should have a statement of this kind before

you, but it is not the intention that you should necessarily discuss it in your reply. Your Association may prefer to confine their observations to those aspects of the case of which they have direct experience or special knowledge. The Board desire, therefore, to make it plain that they do not ask for more than replies to the specific questions set out at the end of the first paragraph of this letter, but they will of course welcome any remarks your Association may wish to make on the more general considerations involved in the case.

3. I am to add that this question of general policy with regard to the management of railways is of immediate interest in connection with the East Indian Railway contract which is terminable in the near future (if you think that any special considerations apply to this case I am to ask you to state them) and, since the time that is left before the expiry of the contract is not too long for a settlement of the numerous points that will arise, the Board will be greatly obliged if they are favoured with an early reply to this reference.

The following appendix is attached to the Railway Board's Circular letter :—

(1) The case for State-management, or, in countries where railways are at present private property, for nationalisation, may briefly be stated as follows. It is represented that the results of railway history all over the world are in favour of the State taking a larger share in the administration of railways. It is perhaps alleged, though this does not appear to be a point on which stress is laid, that State-management is more efficient or economical than management by private companies. And, it is certainly urged that State-management achieves objects which it is not reasonable to expect from private enterprise.

(2) The criticisms that have been brought against this view are, first, as regards the appeal to experience that as a matter of fact by much the greater part of the railway mileage of the world is still held by companies, and further that the existence of State-management or ownership in other countries could be relied on as an argument only if it had been adopted as justified on its merits whereas the fact is that the adoption of a State system has seldom been the result of a definite policy; precisely as happened in India so in the great majority of cases elsewhere the system has been largely moulded by financial necessities. Secondly, as regards efficiency, it is said that this necessarily varies, and good and bad examples of working can be quoted under both systems but that a general survey affords no ground for holding that a State system has the advantage. It is added as a definite disadvantage of a State system that its working is liable to be affected in many ways by political influence, and experience shows that the consequences may be very serious.

(3) The main point, however, is one of principle—what should be the objects of railway administrations and how are these best attained. The opposing views on this point are, first, that railways should be administered as part of the machinery for the general development of a country whether this is remunerative from the point of view of the railway account or not, that this task clearly cannot be demanded from private enterprise which must have an eye to profits and that consequently railways fall of necessity within the domain of State industries. On the other hand, it is urged against this view that it is based on the assumption that railway profits are vicious and are secured only at the expense

of the general public ; that this assumption is incorrect and that there is not in fact an antagonism between the commercial principle of railway working and the general interests of a country ; that however frequently it may be overlooked the fact remains that there is a definite and strong community of interest between railways and trade, neither of which can prosper without the other ; that consequently railways will do what they can to foster trade by all means which, either immediately or in their ultimate result, they can make remunerative to themselves ; that concessions in rates which will not even in the long run prove remunerative amount to a subsidy ; that subventions in this form are open to obvious objections, and that they are certain to affect very seriously the revenue from railways. Doubts are expressed further whether in the working of rates for the development of its country, State would be as efficient as private companies and experience is said to show that State control invariably produces a rigidity in the rate system which interferes with the attainment of the maximum economic advantage to be derived from the interchange of commodities and prevent the full development of trade which is secured by the freer and more elastic treatment of rates by independent railway administrations.

(4) In India the system which has grown up is a composite one ; the great majority of the railways are owned by the State, but all except three of these State lines are managed by companies, who have a small share—about a tenth—in the properties they administer. In the railway history of India there are three main periods. To begin with, as was natural, since they were the creation of an English Government, private enterprise was favoured for the construction and administration of railways. It was found, however, that private enterprise stood in need of Government assistance and this led to the formation of guaranteed companies. The particular system adopted was found to be defective, and for a time State agency exclusively was favoured ; this was the second stage. The transition to the third stage was a slow one, it occupied the years from 1879 to 1892 ; during which two committees of the House of Commons, in 1879 and 1884, considered the subject and a very large volume of correspondence passed between the Secretary of State and the Government of India. The final conclusion, however, was that there is room both for State agency and for companies and generally, though there have been examples both of companies lines being taken over by Government and of State lines being leased to companies, and each case has been treated on its merits and with due regard to the circumstances of the time, the preference has been for company-management. The Mackay Committee said in 1907, "the consistent policy of the Government of India for many years has been to arrange for the railways in India, while remaining State property, to be leased to companies which work them on behalf of Government on a profit-sharing basis. There is no disposition on the part of Government to depart from this policy which has worked satisfactorily," and the Government of India at that time accepted their views. The question now is whether a change of policy is desirable.

(5) The company system as it exists in India has been criticised from two points of view. On the one hand, it is said that the companies have so limited an interest both in respect of the amount, of their capital and of the period for which the rail-

ways are entrusted to them, that the real benefits of private enterprise are not obtained from their employment in railway administration. This argument, however, is defective ; since if there is an advantage in private enterprise the remedy would be not to abolish the companies but to increase their stake in the business, and it is seldom advanced.

(6) The more common criticism is that the control of Government over the companies in spite of its preponderating share in the property is inadequate and that this defect is accentuated by the fact that the Boards of these companies are in London.

(7) The reply of those who support the company system is first that some misapprehension appears to exist on the subject of Government control, the provisions for which as contained in the various contracts with companies appear to them ample. An extract from the Railway Board's Administrative Report for 1914-15 summarising these provisions is attached for reference.) Secondly, they say, it does not follow that because Government own by far the larger share, they should retain in their own hands the direct management of railways. There appears it is added, to be no opposition to branch line companies in this country, though these are private concerns, owning and in some cases managing railways, and the objection taken to the administration by companies of the trunk lines of the country may be due, therefore, not so much to a dislike of the principle of private enterprise as to their *English domicile*. If so, however, the opposition to main line companies seems to exalt into a governing factor what is a secondary, though no doubt a very important, consideration. Finally, the feature of the existing system to which objection is taken may prove to be temporary. In the past, that is to say, the Boards of companies have necessarily been located in London because practically the whole of the capital of these companies was held in England, but it is urged by those who favour company-management that a change in these conditions will gradually be brought about through a greater proportion of capital being held in this country. If so, the objection will be met by a natural process in the course of time, and it would be a mistake if private enterprise is on other grounds to be preferred, to bring all lines under the direct management of the State in order to remove it.

(8) In addition upholders of the existing system claim that it has positive advantages. They say that the present allocation of different parts of the Indian system of railways to semi-independent administrations produces a healthy competition and spirit of emulation which would be lost if all were brought under State-management. They claim that the financial burden of maintaining and extending the whole railway system of India is clearly too great for the Government to bear alone ; that the main line companies can give material financial assistance, and that if Government were to buy them out, it would not change the proportion of State and private contributions to the railway property of the country ; the State, while increasing its holding in the main lines, would have less to invest in extensions and the result would be merely to shift the field of private enterprise.

(9) Finally, they say that very much the same considerations apply in the matter of administration as of finance. A policy of State-management for all the railways in India would inevitably tend to centralisation ; in this respect again the Government would be overburdened, and it would be well advised

according to this view to be content as at present with a general control and for the direct management of railway affairs to retain the services of the companies.

The extract from the Administration Report on the Railways in India for the year 1914-15 referred to in para 7 of the appendix to the Railway Board's letter quoted above is as follows:—

The administrative control exercised by the Government over the Companies is as follows:—

The Company is bound to keep the line in good repair, in good working condition, and fully supplied with rolling stock, plant, and machinery; to keep the rolling stock in good repair and in good working condition; and to maintain a sufficient staff for the purposes of the line;—all to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State.

The Secretary of State may require the Company to carry out any alteration or improvement in the line, or in the working, that he may think necessary for the safety of the public or for the effectual working of the line.

The Secretary of State may require the Company to enter into agreements, on reasonable terms and conditions, with the administrations, of adjoining railways for the exercise of running powers, for the supply to one another, of surplus rolling-stock, for the interchange of traffic and rolling-stock and the settlement of through rates, and for additions and alterations to or the redistribution of existing accommodation in junctions or other stations in view to their convenient mutual use.

The train service is to be such as the Secretary of State may require. In order to secure a general control over the rates quoted by Companies the Secretary of State has retained power to settle the classification of goods and to authorise maximum and minimum rates within which the Companies shall be entitled to charge the public for the conveyance of passengers and goods of each class.

The Company has to keep such accounts as the Secretary of State may require, and these are subject to audit by the Secretary of State.

In all other matters relating to the line, the Company is made subject to the supervision and control of the Secretary of State, who may appoint such persons as he may think proper for the purpose of inspecting the line, auditing the accounts or otherwise exercising the power of supervision and control reserved to him. In particular the Secretary of State has the right to appoint a Government Director to the Board of the Company, with a power of veto on all proceedings of the Board. All the moneys received by the Company in respect of the undertaking, whether on capital or revenue account, have to be paid over to the Secretary of State.

All expenditure by the Company has to be stated and submitted for the sanction of the Secretary of State.

It affords us sincere pleasure that the Government of India have at last thought it fit to move in the matter, which is unquestionably a very important one in the interests of the Empire. We are, however, afraid, the views given in the appendix *pro* and *con*, the existing arrangement have been set forth in a manner which is not

likely to be very clear to the ordinary man in the street who is none the less interested in the question of the State *versus* Company Control of our Railways than "the commercial" concerns for whose opinions the Government appears to be so solicitous. The appendix, which we have taken special care to study minutely, though professing to be an impartial document showing both sides of the case for and against State *versus* Company Control of Indian Railways, is far from a fair representation of the case, which is unquestionably one that under the present circumstances the State should, as far as possible, take over the management of the Railways, as opportunities present themselves. Mr. Vijiaraghachariar while moving his Resolution the year before last drew pointed attention to the grave defects of the guarantee system obtaining in this country in the case of not very remunerative railways, the indifference on the part of the Companies to the convenience of the 3rd Class passengers who contribute largely to the earnings of Railways, and various other matters connected with the Railway Administration in this country. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoollah who had given his staunch support to the previous year's Resolution, but without avail, in moving his own Resolution last year expressed his regret that the State should forego a large share of profits arising from the Railways and relinquish the same in favour of Private Companies who had but little stake—these companies owning about 7 per cent. only of the Capital invested in Railway building in this country—to deserve it and that instead of the Railways being worked direct by the State they should be controlled by Boards of Directors of these Companies living 6,000 miles away from the seat of the operation. We are really sorry that the Railway Board's letter almost wholly ignores these points while giving prominence to matters going in favour of Company-management. The Railway Board appears to us to be anxious to somehow shut out any proper discussion of the contents of the appendix attached to their own letter inasmuch as they state that it is not their intention that the "associations" whose interests are "specially affected" whom the Board have thought fit to consult, should express their views only upon the summary of arguments as given in their letter and the

public bodies consulted by them are not asked or expected anything other than replies to the points specified in the letter in question and while the letter in question devotes more than seven paragraphs to set out the alleged defects of the State-management of Indian Railways and in support of the superiority of the Company-management and in favour of Company-Control, it disposes of rather in a few curt lines all that may be said in favour of the State management. This attitude of the Board, we are constrained to say, appears to be somewhat one-sided, and we feel it, therefore, a duty incumbent upon us to state more fully, or rather repeat what we said a couple of years ago, in these pages the principles which should guide the Government in the matter of the construction and management of the railways in a country like India where the interests not of this or that clique or concern, but the interests and welfare of all should form the main motive of the Administration.

Railway building and railway working are, as we have tried to show in our previous article on the subject referred to above, is clearly among the primary functions of the State, for making and maintaining highways is unquestionably a Governmental duty; and Railways are nothing but the high roads in an improved form which has, in course of time, come into the vogue since George Stephenson's epoch-making invention, with two additions of carrying freight and passengers. The same reasons which render it necessary for the State to make and maintain ordinary roads hold good equally in railway building and railway making. Ruskin is very explicit on the subject. He says :—

Neither the Roads nor the Rail-roads of any nation should belong to any private person. All means of public transit should be provided at public expense by public determination where such means are needed, and the public should be its own 'shareholder.' Neither road, nor railroad, nor canal should ever pay dividends to anybody, they should pay their working expenses and no more. All dividends are simply a tax on the travellers and the goods, levied by the person to whom the road or canal belongs, for the right of passing over his property. And this right should at once be purchased by the nation, and the original cost of the road-way, be it of gravel, iron, adamant, at once defrayed by the nation, and then the whole work of the carriage of persons or goods done for ascertained prices by salaried officers, as the carriage of letters done now.

The principles laid down in the above are unimpeachably sound according to a large majority of modern writers on politi-

cal economy and it is in complete accord with the commonsense point of view, and this is why there is an unmistakable drift towards Government ownership and Nationalisation of Railways in France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and other countries in Europe; and in the States of the American Union as well as in Great Britain itself there are signs of the adoption of this principle in no remote future.

But whatever may be the arguments in favour of the continuance of private enterprise in the opening and working of Railways in the self-governing countries of the West, the State-control of their working in India, considering its peculiar political situation, should be the only right policy of railway management in this country where all capital is imported from abroad and all the profits arising from their working find their way abroad. Private enterprise in Railway building in India means employment of European capital.

There is besides another phase of railway management in this country where the existing Railway Companies are all foreign: and if, besides the railways already owned and worked by them all the State lines pass into their hands, they will not only have a lion's share of the profits arising therefrom, the Indian taxpayers for whose benefit and in whose interest the country should primarily be ruled will not only be deprived of the profits but they will be precluded from holding any appointment in the railway administration. At present a considerable number of Indians find employment in the Superior Ranks on State Railways. In the event of the working of these Railways passing into private hands our countrymen will be deprived of all these appointments. To prove this we have not to go very far. For instance, out of 140 superior appointments on the Eastern Bengal Railway no less than 27 are held by the Indians—12 Engineers, 9 in the State Railway Superior Revenue Establishment in the Traffic Department, 1 in the Medical Department, 5 in the Audit and Accounts Department and 1 in the Store Department. Two holders of these 27 being the heads of very important departments, namely the Engineer-in-Chief, and the Chief Examiner of Accounts. As a contrast to this there is not a single officer of the higher rank employed on the East Indian Railway. The Railway Companies who work for

their own profits and not certainly in the interests of the people are not supposed to see any good in employing the natives of this country in their service, and no one can force them to do so.

They often talk of inefficiency of the Government Departments and we are not unaware of Mr. Herbert Spencer's sneering reference to it in his "Study of Sociology" which is laid so much stress upon by a certain section of the Anglo-Indian press headed by *The Statesman* of this city. Spencer says:—

"The State should purchase the Railways, is confidently asserted by those who every morning read of chaos at the Admiralty, or cross-purposes in the dockyards or diplomatic bungling that endangers peace or frustration of justice by technicalities and costs and delays,—all without having their confidence in officialism shaken."

But does Spencer, or those who are of the same mind with him, go the length of suggesting that for these various "chaos," "cross purposes" and "diplomatic bungling," "frustration of justice," etc., that contracts for working the Navy, the Army, the Diplomatic functions and the Courts of Justice be given to some firms of private enterprise to secure better results? No one claims infallibility for the Government machineries; but whereas these machineries are subject to public criticism and national control, the private syndicates which are run in the interests of the Shareholders are immune from such criticism and such control.

The appendix attached to the Circular-letter issued upon which we make these remarks appears to have put the public in a wrong scent inasmuch as it has not laid stress upon the primary principles of ownership and working of the Railways which should be run in the interests of the Nation. Even if there be any inefficiency in the State Control this may be removed, but to us it appears in bare justice to the people of this country that the Railways should be in the hands of the Government. Surely the Post Office and Telegraphs which are worked direct by the State agency are among the most efficiently managed departments of the State.

The history of the introduction of the Railways in this country may be given in a nut-shell. The railways were first built in India between the year 1850 and 1869 by Companies under contracts with the State which guaranteed to them a fixed interest on

their capital; and they were also given their land free of charge. Under all these contracts the Government reserved the right to purchase the lines at the end of 25 or 50 years. In 1869 the State intervened more directly and undertook the construction of railways by Government officers and for the next ten years all new lines were constructed in this manner. In 1879, however, Companies were again allowed to enter the field and from that year till now the construction of Railways has been carried on, partly by Government and partly by Companies, with capital raised partly by Government and partly through the agency of Companies. A great majority of these railways taken over by the State in terms of the contracts, were, however, leased to the then existing Companies and have continued to be worked by them, except the three lines, the Sind-Punjab and Delhi, which has since developed into the North-Western, the Oudh and Rohilkhand and the Eastern Bengal, are worked directly by the State. The lines which are not owned by Government are the Southern Punjab and the Bengal and North-Western, but of these three the Government holds the right of purchase at certain dates. The actual position then is that Government either owns or can become owners of all the Railways in India; and that of those which it does own, it works three itself, representing about 7,000 miles and has leased the remainder to Companies representing a mileage of some 18,000 miles. But its responsibility does not end here. Under the contract with the Companies the State undertakes to supply the Companies with the requisite capital. The raising of capital by these Companies is also provided for, but the amount so furnished represents relatively a small proportion of the whole. The relationship, thus, between the State and the Companies aforesaid is, in fact, that of a partnership, and this partnership in the interests of the people of India we wish to put an end to.

In the very beginnings of Railway development in this country, in the year 1853, Lord Dalhousie, the then Governor-General of India, recorded a minute embodying this governing principle of the maintenance of control in the hands of the State. He wrote:—

"I heartily trust that the East India Company and the Government of India may hold by the prin-

tipler on which they have acted in the present case. I trust they will ever avoid the error of viewing railways merely as private undertakings, and will regard them as national over which the Government may justly exercise, and is called upon to exercise a stringent and salutary control.....for the interests of the State and for the protection of the public."

And for "the protection of the public"

and in their interests it is high time that all railways leased to Companies should pass into the hands of the State is what we demand in the name of the Indian taxpayers, for reasons set forth in this and in our previous article on the subject.

RAI CHARAN MUKERJEE.

THE KUTASTHAVADA OF SANKARACHARYA

versus

THE AGNOSTICISM OF HERBERT SPENCER

III

VIII. H. SPENCER'S 'FIRST PRINCIPLES' ON THE UNKNOWABLE.

WE should be doing a grave injustice to H. Spencer, if we omit to mention what he said later in life on the 'Unknowable' in his First Principles (I-iv); for, there he seems to have somewhat outgrown his former agnosticism, at least in the sense in which his overzealous followers of to-day understand him. His views as expressed there, almost touch or at least follow close at the heels of those of Sankara. Having noticed the views of Hamilton and Mansel—"The absolute is conceived merely by a negation of conceivability" (Hamilton), "The Absolute and the Infinite are like the *Inconceivable* and the *Imperceptible*, names indicating not an object of thought, or of consciousness at all, but the mere absence of the conditions under which consciousness is possible" (Mansel),—Spencer goes on to say:—

"The answer of pure logic is held to be that by the limits of our intelligence we are rigorously confined within the relative; and that anything transcending the relative can be thought of only as a pure negation, or as a non-existence."

He then proceeds:

"Unavoidable as this conclusion seems, it involves, I think a grave error: The premiss in the form presented is not strictly true. There remains to be stated a qualification which saves us from that scepticism otherwise necessitated. Besides that definite consciousness of which logic formulates the laws, there is also an *indefinite consciousness* which cannot be formulated. To say that we cannot know the Absolute, is by implication to affirm that there is an Absolute. The *Noumenon* everywhere named

as the antithesis of the *Phenomenon* is throughout necessarily thought of as an actuality. The Relative is itself conceivable as such, only by opposition to the Irrelative or Absolute. The *relativity of knowledge* postulates the *positive existence* of something beyond the relative. If the non-relative or Absolute is present in thought, only as a mere negative, then is the Relative itself unthinkable for want of its antithesis. Whence results the disappearance of all thought whatever. Though philosophy proves to us that *the Absolute is not this, nor that, nor that*—though in obedience to it we relegate one after another each idea as it arises, yet, there ever remains behind an element which passes into new shapes. The continual negation of each particular form and limit simply results in the more or less complete abstraction of all forms and limits; and so ends in an *indefinite consciousness of the unformed and unlimited*."

He goes on to say:

"An ever-present sense of real existence is the very basis of our intelligence. By the laws of thought we are rigorously prevented from forming a conception of absolute existence; we are by the laws of thought equally prevented from ridding ourselves of the consciousness of absolute existence,—this consciousness being the obverse of our self-consciousness. And since the only possible measure of relative validity among our beliefs, is the degree of their persistence in opposition to the efforts made to change them, it follows that this which persists at all times, under all circumstances, and cannot cease until consciousness ceases, has the *highest validity of any*." (II-iv.)

IX. COMPARISON.

You see how closely, and yet knowing nothing about *Sankara*, Spencer follows him: *Sankara* following his master, the great seer *Yagnavalkya*, speaks of *Brahma* as "सबस्य सब"—the Essence of Essences—"यत् सबस्य सब तदेवावशिष्यते." Spencer almost paraphrasing that expression,—says that "the Absolute has the highest validity of

any." Commenting on Yagnavalkya's description of Brahma by negatives :—"अखल-मनसु" &c., Sankara says that it means that the "अक्षरब्रह्म" is "सर्व-विशेषाद्विहितं," or what is elsewhere called "नेति नेति"—"अथ अत आदेशो नेति-नेति" or not this, not that. (P. 433). Says Sankara—"ननु कथं नेति नेति इति शब्दाभ्यां सत्यं सत्यं निर्दिष्टं"—"How, by the words 'not this, not that,' is it intended to explain the सत्यं सत्यं or the Truest of the true? By the elimination of all particularity due to separable accidents (सर्वोपाधिविशेषापादेन)." Spencer may almost be said to translate literally the Vedantic 'नेति नेति'—when he says that "the Absolute is not this, nor that, nor that." Not having received the necessary training in 'निदिध्यासन' or Self-isolation and Self-realization, Spencer could not indeed realize that the Absolute is Prajnana-Ghana, or Vijnana-Ghana, or Self-consciousness—pure and undiluted,—"इदं महद्भूतं अनन्तं अपारं विज्ञानघन एव" (p. 462)—which Sankara thus explains :—"This is that mighty Being called *Paramatma* from whom by *Avidya* you are defined and limited off, because of your connection with the accidents of effects and instruments, and thus individualised, you are also thereby made liable to death, and all the ills of life. That individual form is seated deep in the *Paramatma* which stands to it in the relation of a great ocean (to a drop of water), and which is pure, and of one kind, of taste like a lump of salt, which is Consciousness pure and unmixed."* It must be said to the credit of H. Spencer that without the exercise of the Vedantic Self-isolation and Self-realization "निदिध्यासन,"—he has been able to discover that besides that definite consciousness of which logic formulates the laws, there is also an indefinite consciousness which cannot be formulated ;" and that he should be able to teach almost in the

style of the Vedantic seers of old that the continual negation of each particular form and limit, simply results in the more or less complete abstraction of all forms and limits, and so ends in an indefinite consciousness of the unformed and unlimited." His idea of the Absolute as "an indefinite consciousness of the unformed and unlimited"—indeed falls far short of Yagnavalkya's "विज्ञानघन", or of Sankara's "ब्रह्मनिष्कालजगति." Be that as it may, for a mere philosopher like Spencer to have apprehended so much was indeed a marvellous achievement. The "सच्चिदानन्दघन" of the Vedanta,—he could realise as 'सत्त्वन', or as "having the highest validity of any." He could almost touch the 'चिह्न', as an "indefinite consciousness of the formless and unlimited." The "आनन्दघन", the 'All-blissful' he could not be expected to realise without the necessary progress in that Self-realization called निदिध्यासन or Samadhi.

It was only in their Samadhi or "Vision Beatific" that our *rishis* themselves could realise that "All things come from that Blissful, in that Blissful they live, into that Blissful they pass away, and disappear,—"आनन्दाद्भव खलु मानि भूतानि जायन्ते । आनन्देन जातानि जीवन्ति ॥ आनन्दं प्रयन्त्याभिसंविशन्ति ।"

Notice Spencer's expression "unclassable and therefore unknowable," by which he identifies knowing with classifying. If that be all, if the Absolute or the substance of mind be said to be unknowable merely in the sense that it is unclassable, Sankara would unhesitatingly say 'Ditto to Spencer.' The Absolute or ब्रह्म, according to Sankara too, is inaccessible to the "लौकिको दृष्टिः" or the phenomenal seeing connected with the eye (चक्षुःसंयुक्तान्तःकरणवृत्तिः), to which alone, definition, classification, and generalization refer. Sankara would even fully endorse Hamilton's proposition so far as this लौकिकोदृष्टिः, or phenomenal seeing is concerned :—"The absolute is conceived merely by a negation of conceivability"—and would fully support the doctrine of the Relativity of all knowledge, so far as that लौकिको दृष्टिः is concerned, for in his उपदेशसाहस्री Sankara says :—"अदृष्टं द्रष्टुमिच्छातं दम्भमित्यादिशसनात् । नैव

* "इदं परमात्मस्थं महद्भूतं यस्यात् अविद्यया परि-
च्छिन्ना सती कार्य-करणोपाधिसम्बन्धात् मिला-भावमापन्नाभि,
मर्त्या संसारधर्मवती अस्मि, स खिलभावः महासमुद्रस्यानीये
परमात्मनि शुद्धे सैव्यवचनवत् एकरसे प्रज्ञानघने प्रवेशितः ।
घन शब्दो जात्यन्तरप्रतिषेधार्थः । नात्यन्तं जात्यन्तरं अन्तरालि
विद्यते" ।

ज्ञेयं मया नृणां परं ब्रह्म ज्ञयन्तं"—(३९)—'The seer who is not seen,' 'the knower who is not known,' and "thou little knowest the nature of Brahma if thou thinkest that thou knowest well"—यदि मन्यसे सुवेदेति दम्भमेवापि ननं त्वं वेद्य ब्रह्मणो रूपं,—from these teachings it follows that *Parabrahma* cannot be said to be the *Jneya* or object known either by myself or by anybody else, meaning of course so far as the *लौकिकी दृष्टि* goes. In that sense and in that sense only *Sankara* would have nothing to object to the agnostic position. But that would not be really true or the whole truth, for *Sankara's Kutastha Self* is a *Nityatmajyotih*—or an everknown light of Self-consciousness, and immediately and directly perceived—(साक्षात् अपेराक्षात्). Says *Sankara*:—*"स्वरूपाव्यवधानाभ्यां ज्ञानालोकस्वभावतः। अन्यज्ञानान्प्रेक्षत्वात् ज्ञातं ब्रह्म सदा मया॥"* "Being my own essence, there being nothing else intervening between me and Brahma, being of the very nature of a self-luminous Consciousness, and not depending for the proof of its existence on any other knowledge, Brahma is always known to me"—of course implicitly, and that knowledge has to be made explicit *Sadhana* or training.

I should also note here that what *Sankara* calls the *Kutasthanityatmajyotih*, is also the Personal or better still, the Super-personal Ruler within all,—*"Antaryami Purushah,"* or if Emerson's expression should be preferred, the "Over-soul" in all (*"परमात्मा सर्वान्तरः"*); but not indeed, what some Neo-Hegelians would call, "a colony of selves"—resembling a "foot-ball team." Says *Sankara* in the *Antaryami Vidya-Bhashya*:—"Under the rule of this *Akshara* or Indestructible One, who pervades all, under the rule of this Brahma immediately related to us and not remote from us, the Self in all (*Sarvantarah*),—just as under the rule of the king, his kingdom suffers no harm, but goes on as usual, so also under the rule of this *Akshara Brahma*,—the sun and moon like lamps adapted for the world for day and for night, and designed and made according to His design by that Great Ruler, for that very purpose, with the full knowledge of the services they would render to the

worlds,—stand well-supported." * (*Javananda*, p. 629).

X. THE TRINITY.

Sankara, I should add, even goes so far as to evolve an apparent, though not real,† Trinity or 'Three in One and One in Three' out of that One (अक्षर) Brahma or *Kutasthanityatmajyotih*:—यमन्तर्यामिनं न विदुः, चेन्न विदुः, यच्च तदक्षरं दर्शनादिक्रिया-कर्तृत्वेन सर्वेषां चेतनाधातुः" (p. 627)—(1) "The Ruler within all, or *Isvara*, whom His creatures do not know or the *Superpersonal Relative Self* or God, commonly called *Saguna Brahma*; (2) the *Kshetrajna*, or subordinate self of the creature who does not know that Ruler within, or the *personal relative self* of the creature, commonly called *Jiva*, and (3) that changeless One (अक्षर) who as the Active agent in all actions—such as seeing, etc., stands as the Conscious Substratum underlying all, or the Impersonal Absolute Self or Brahma, commonly called *Nirguna Brahma*." The Trinity thus propounded by *Sankara* might well bear comparison with the Hegelian Trinity or the common Christian Trinity of (1) the Father or the absolute eternal Idea or God before creation, (2) the Son or Being-for-other,—Nature and Spirit, and (3) the Holy Spirit which brings about the unity of the Father and the Son. What *Sankaracharya* calls "the Self-conscious Substratum of all"—*"Sarvesam chetana-dhatuh,"* and "described as 'not this' 'not that,' being the One without particularity"—*"nirvisheshatvat-ekatvat cha neti netiti Vyapadesobhavati,"* i.e., the impersonal Brahma, corresponds, to what Hegel calls the Father—"the absolute, eternal Idea in its essential existence, in-and-for-itself, God in His eternity before the creation of the world, and outside of the world." (With this compare the *Purusa-sukta* "त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि" "Three-fourths of whom is the eternal in Heaven"). What *Sankara* calls *Kshetrajna* or *Jiva*, the sub-

* यदेतदधिगतं अक्षरं सर्वान्तरं साक्षादपरोक्षात् ब्रह्म, एतस्यैव अक्षरेण प्रशासने यथा राज्ञः प्रशासने राज्ञः अस्त्विति नियतं वर्तते एवं, एतस्य प्रशासने सूर्यग्राहणमसौ अक्षरी राज्ञोः लोकप्रदीपौ, तादृश्यं न, प्रशासित्वा ताभ्यां निर्वाणमानं लोकप्रयोजनविज्ञानवता निर्मितौ, विष्टतौ स्थातां ।

† भेद एषां प्रत्युपाधिकृतः, न स्वत एषां भेदोभेदो वा सैवैवधनवत् प्रज्ञान घनैकरस स्थाभावात् ।" (P. 638).

ordinate creature-self having the particular forms of effects and instruments relating to individual desires and acts, and all due to *avidya*,* would correspond to what Hegel calls "the Son" or 'the Other,' or 'Being-for-another' in "the form of manifestation or appearance." "What is thus differentiated is Nature, the world in general and spirit." Christ according to Hegel is Sonship *explicit*, the Notion, or the Son as he ought to be. In all other men Sonship is *implicit*, and has to be made explicit by training. What Sankara calls the "The Ruler within"—"*nityaniratiśaya Jnanasaktyupadhiratmantaryamisvarah*"—"God, the Ruler within, having eternally infinite intelligence and power, as His attributes" (p. 639),—"Svena svabhavenaksharam para uchyate,"—"Who in His own nature is called the Unchangeable and Supreme"—"*tatha Hiranyagarbhavyakritadevata bhavati*"—"Who likewise also becomes the Hiranyagarbha, or the golden germ) the presiding god of the world-germ,"—would also seem to correspond to Hegel's conception of the Holy Spirit; for says Hegel "God thought of simply as the Father is not yet the True." "God eternally begets His Son, distinguishes Himself from Himself, and being in the other, He is simply with Himself, and this is the form of love. This love is spirit, the Holy Spirit." "Spirit is infinite return into Self, infinite subjectivity, not Godhead conceived of in ideas, but the real present Godhead, and thus it is not the substantial potentiality of the Father, not the True in the objective or antithetical form of the Son, but the subjective Present and Real. This is the Spirit of God, or God as present real spirit, God dwelling in His Church." (Phil. Rel. V. iii, p. 107).

It should be remembered that Hegel was not altogether unenlightened with regard to the Indian religion,—though it would have been better for the latter if he were,—for his enlightenment gave him just light enough "to make darkness visible." Apart from the striking family-likeness between Hegel's Trinity, and what he calls our "*Trimurti*," Hegel himself observes: "The most striking and the greatest feature in Indian mythology is unquestionably this Trinity in Unity." (Phil. Rel. V. ii. p. 14). From this one is inclined to presume that

* "अविद्याकामकर्मविशिष्टकार्यकरणोपाधिरात्मा संसारो जीव उच्यते" (Jiva., p. 639).

in propounding his dialectic method, and his Subjective Idealism, Hegel must have taken the hint from the Vedantic *Sarvamavada*—or Self-in-all, in whatever crude form it may have reached him in his day.

X. AVIDYA AND THE RELATIVITY OF ALL KNOWLEDGE.

I have placed before you the case for Sankara's Kutasthavada, as well as that for Spencer's Agnosticism; and would leave you to decide whether you would not consider it childish to call the Absolute as "unknown and unknowable," and thus shelve away, the problem of problems of life, burying the eyes, as it were, ostrich-like in the sands of Relativity, and to console yourself with saying, you 'cannot know,' what your whole human nature impels you, even whips you on to seek and know. Now a word about this Relatively and its connection with the vedantic *Avidya*. H. Spencer refers to 'the Relativity of knowledge' of Hamilton and Mansel, by which they try to prove that "by the limits of our intelligence we are rigorously confined within the relative; and that anything transcending the relative can be thought of only as a pure negative, or as non-existence." In the course of this discourse I have also had to speak of the *avidya* of the vedantic philosophers of the schools of Sankara or Ramanuja:—"अविद्या परिच्छिन्ना सती"—"Defined and determined off by *avidya*." What is this *avidya*? What is its relation to "the Relativity of all knowledge" of Hamilton?

Briefly speaking by *avidya* is meant the losing sight of the Absolute in our natural craving for the Relative. Hegel may be said almost to describe the Vedantic *avidya* when he says: "The true knowledge of God begins when we know that things, as they immediately are, have no truth." (Logic—112). I will however present you with my translation of a part of Sankara's preface to his Sutrashashya in which Sankara himself explains in detail what is meant by *Avidya*:—"The object or विषय represented by the perception of the not-self, and the subject or विषयी represented by the perception of Self are by their very nature opposed to each other as darkness is opposed to light." I should notice here that Spencer almost reproduces

this conclusion of Sankara, when he says :—
 "In brief a thing cannot at the same instant be both subject and object of thought." Then Sankara goes on :—"It is quite apparent that the subject cannot be the object, or *vice versa*, the object cannot be the subject, and necessarily the properties of the one cannot be the properties of the other. From this it follows that to see the subject (विषय) which is all-consciousness, and apprehended only by the perception of Self,—to see that subject as the object which is (unconscious and) apprehended by the perception of not-self, and to ascribe the properties of the subject to the object, or likewise to reverse the process, and see the (unconscious) object as the all-conscious subject, and to see the properties of the object in the subject, ought to be regarded as an *illusion*. And it is from such seeing of the one in the other, and seeing the properties of the one in the other,—without discriminating the one from the other, although the two entities as well as their properties are quite different from each other,—there results an illusory perception in which truth and untruth unite in wedlock as it were, and produce, as their offspring, the natural course of practical life,—as saying 'I am this,' 'this is mine' etc. What is this confounding of the one with the other (अध्यास) ? It is of the nature of an act of memory, being an act of seeing in what follows, that which was seen before it (स्मृतिरूपः परत्र पूर्वदृष्टावभासः)." You will thus see the connection of the Vedantic *Adhyasa*, which is but another name for *avidya*, with what has been called by Mill and others as "the Association of ideas." Sankara goes on :—"How is it possible to see the properties of the object of perception to be those of the all-penetrating Self (प्रत्यगात्मा), when that Self cannot be an object of perception (अविषये) ? Do you mean that the all-perceiving subject though it cannot be perceived as a 'you'—(युष्मत्प्रत्ययापेतस्य), it can still be an object of perception ? I will tell you. Considering the question more deeply, the all-penetrating Self (प्रत्यगात्मा) is not altogether not an object (अविषय) of perception, for it is the object of perception of Self. Being also immediately perceived, it is quite apparent to all as the perceiving Self of all (प्रत्यगात्मप्रसिद्धः). This *Adhyasa* or illusion of subject and object (विषय-विषयी) as describ-

ed above, is what the learned understand by *avidya*. "त मेत एवलक्षणं अध्यासं पण्डिता इविदा इति मन्यन्ते ।" By the clear discrimination of the one from the other, to know the reality as it is, is *vidya*—"तद्विवेकेन च वस्तु-स्वरूपावधारणं विद्यामाहः ।"

Now to show the full scope of *avidya*—as covering the whole field of practical life, or what is implied by Hamilton's doctrine of 'the Relativity of all knowledge'—Sankara says that "all the uses of the terms,— 'proof' and 'thing' to be proved"—in practical life—"सर्वे प्रमाण-प्रमेय-व्यवहारा लोकिनाः" have reference to this intermingling by illusory association of self and not-self called *avidya*—"तमेतमविद्याख्य मात्मानात्मनां पितरे-तराध्यासे पुरस्कृत्य सर्वे प्रमाण-प्रमेय-व्यवहाराः पचन्ताः ।" "How do the proofs, such as knowing by direct perception and the rest,—प्रब्रह्मादीनि प्रमाणानि—relate to persons subject to *avidya* (अविद्यावद्विषयानि) ? I will tell you: So long as one does not feel with reference to his body and organs &c., that it is me, or that it is mine, one is not in a position to be a knower of anything through the body and the organs,—for in reference to such a one the very desire for such kind of proof is out of place, "प्रमाणप्रब्रह्मरूपपचेः." So long as the organs of sense are not included in one's Self,—as being one's own, the use of sensuous perception can not take place. The organs of sense too on the other hand are not in a position to perform their functions unless they have a Self to them for their support. What is true for the organs, is true for the body also;—one can not be said to do anything with the body, unless and until he has connected with the body the idea of Self. The Self too which is by nature free from the bonds of the unreal (*i.e.*, the phenomenal world), can not also in that case be said to be a knower in relation to all this (*i.e.* the phenomenal world). The very desire for (sensuous) proof is not possible, unless there is a knower (connected with the senses). It thus follows as a necessary corollary, that the uses of sensuous perception, and such other means of right knowing, all relate to the objects of *avidya*." This is but another form of stating the proposition of "the Relativity of all knowledge."

better :—as Raja Rammohan Ray sang
 “महाभाया निद्रावग्ने देखिबू खपन.” This charm-
 like soporific effect of Avidya not only makes
 one to forget the “प्रज्ञान-चन”, or “all-con-
 scious” nature of the Self, which Yajna-
 valkya took so much pains to impress upon
 his wife, and not only leads the Self to attach
 to and associate with the ever-changing
 “कार्योत्पत्ति-सङ्घातः,” sum or lump of effects and
 instruments, e.g., the body and the organs,
 but leads also to the creation of an alto-
 gether false or empirical Self,—which
 Sankara thus describes :—“We have said
 that *Adhyasa* is the perceiving of a thing to
 be what it is not,—“अतस्मिंस्तद्वद्भिः”. By way of
Adhyasa when people see their wives and
 children maimed or whole of limb, they feel
 as though they themselves were maimed or
 whole of limb, thus seeing in the Self the qua-
 lities of things external to it. Likewise also
 they see the qualities of the body in the Self,
 when they say, ‘I am fat or lean,’ or ‘I stand
 or go, or jump.’ In the same way they see
 in the Self the qualities of the organs (sens-
 ory or motor), when they say ‘I am dumb,
 unsexed, deaf, one-eyed, or blind.’ Similarly
 also they see in the Self the qualities
 of the internal organs (अन्तःकरण),—such as
 desire or will, doubt or determination.
 In this way they see an individual per-
 ceiver of the Self (अहम्-त्वमिदं) in the Seer of
 all wherever the individual self shows itself
 (अग्निषष्ठप्रचारसाक्षिणि) in the Self that penetrates
 all (प्रत्यगात्मणि). Likewise also by revers-
 ing the process, they see that Universal
 (प्रत्यगात्मानं) and All-seeing Self (सर्वसाक्षिणं)
 in the internal organs, &c. Such then is
 the nature of that *Adhyasa* inherent in
 all things (नैसर्गिकः), without beginning
 without end, having the form of an
 illusory perception (मिथ्याप्रत्यक्षः) which is
 apparent to all (सर्वलोकप्रत्यक्षः), as prompting
 their determination to do and to suffer (कर्तृत्व-
 भोक्तृत्वप्रवर्तकः).” I may myself add here that
 that this illusion called *Adhyasa* or *Avidya*
 may show itself in a mistaken identifica-
 tion of the प्रज्ञान-चन or All-conscious Self
 with the most trivial of things. Think
 how in a game of whist even when played
 for love and not for money, the unex-
 pected trumping of an important card
 upsets the young player who loses, or

fills with joy the young player who wins. My little son was once playing the game called *Dak*, and happened to forfeit all his trumps. O, how it cut him to the quick. He began to beat his brow, and almost went mad, as if he had lost a son, or a Zemindari,—till a slap on the cheek from his mother, roused him from that hysterical fit of *avidya*. Indeed you might look upon Hume's doctrine that “we know only mental states,” or that “we are ourselves but the particularized sums of mental states,” or upon Hamilton's “of the Relativity of all knowledge” that “our mental states are ours only, or have reality only in relation to ourselves,”—or for the matter of that upon the agnostic position itself as glaring instances of the bewitching effect of what Sankara calls *avidya*. This *avidya* you will also see, while including all that can be covered by those doctrines of Hume, Hamilton, or Spencer, goes much deeper, in as much as it also reveals their common blunder, called in the Vedanta the illusion “of the tenth” (दशम न्यायेन),—that of excluding from the calculation the knowledge of the all-seeing Self, the self-conscious substance of Mind, or the Absolute subject, the knowledge of which, as Sankara has shewn, underlies, though *implicitly* all particular knowledge whatever. That implicit knowledge can always be made *explicit* by training, or *sadhana*. Spencer's agnosticism only reduces the position of Hume and his school to an absurdity. With Sankara on the other hand though *avidya* is the illusion of subjectivizing the object as much as the objectivizing of the subject,—neither the subject nor the object is like the X of an insoluble equation, as Spencer puts it, for the subject is always known immediately, as well as directly (साक्षात् अपरोक्षात्), and the object known at times when associated with a mental state connected with the eye (चक्षुःसंयुक्तान्तःकरणवृत्तिः). Lastly I should also note here that Sankara's *Adhyasa* or, *Avidya* is the antinomy of *apavada*, *Vidya*, or *Viveka* i.e., discrimination of the subject and its attributes, from the object and its attributes, so as to prevent their merging together, and thus to rectify the blunder of our hedonistic practical life, which we share in common with the brutes, by the

cultivation of *Vidya** or the making explicit by the proper exercise of reasoning (मनन), and of deep meditation (निदिध्यासन), that perception of one-ness of the Self or सर्वज्ञभावः— which exists inherent though implicit in all men, and distinguishes the man from his brother, the brute. Thus Sankara's *avidya* and *vidya* both based upon unimpeachable facts of self-observation, self-analysis, and experience, might be taken as the Vedantic contribution to Kant's list of the “antinomies of cosmology” which might help to reconcile the irreconcilable in his ‘Practical Reason’, and his ‘Pure Reason.’

XI. THE CONCLUSION.

Now a word of explanation. Why, do you think, I selected this rather abstruse subject to tire your patience with? My sole object is to create in you an interest in the study of India's philosophy, by showing how much deeper it is than the deepest of the systems of European philosophy. As Indians, we owe a duty to the world, to ourselves,—and above all to our Pitriloka, a duty that none can discharge so well as we can. We are the natural custodians of the treasured wisdom of our ancestors, and it is a sacred duty that we owe to God, and to our ancestors, to transmit it to the world in all its original vigor and purity. The world to-day stands badly—very badly indeed,—in need of it. The hollowness of a mere egoistic or hedonistic civilization is now apparent to all. Now, more than ever, does the world look up with hope to the treasured wisdom of our *rishis* or seers for an *altruistic* civilization, either based on the self-renunciation of the great Buddha and his immediate successors, or to a civilization

* Compare the Yoga-Vasishtha :

“अविद्या, सम्परिज्ञातं, इदमेव महोषधं ।

अविद्यावित्तयाधेस्त्रिभिरस्यैव दीपकं ॥ १२ ॥

अविद्या सम्परिज्ञाता यदैव हि तदैव हि ।

सा परिज्ञीयते भूयः स्वप्ने नेनवहि भोगभूः ॥ १३ ॥

उपशम—६४ ॥

“Perception of the *Jagat* or objective world as different from the Self, is a diseased vision due to *avidya* alone, and this fully understood is the sovereign remedy for the disease of *Avidya*, spread far and wide, even as the lamp is the remedy in regard to darkness. No sooner is this *avidya* fully understood, she dies away, even as the enjoyments of a dream die away as soon as it is realised to be a dream.”

based on the ideal of "One-Self in all"—
 सत्त्वात्मभावः—of the Vedanta, as championed
 by Sankara, which was, and is, and ever
 will be the true "salt of the earth,"—which
 you hold in trust as the only key for the
 realization of the dream of ages,—of the
 'coming of the Kingdom of Heaven,' or
 "the return of the Golden age" or "of the
 Satya Yuga", which in some form or other
 has warmed the hearts of men in all
 countries, and times.

Are you not aware that the late Prof.
 MaxMuller gave our nation the greatest
 compliment, when he called us "a nation of
 philosophers?" I had the rare honour of
 knowing the late Professor personally.
 He was not a man to indulge in hollow
 compliments. Where then is our philoso-
 phy gone now? Has she fallen under the
 curse of Kumbhakarna and gone to sleep?
 Worse still, like Rip Van Winkle 'of the
 western fable, will she sleep on without a
 break for a whole cycle of years? Shall
 we not rather do all we can to wake her
 up now from that death-like sleep, when a
 groaning world invokes her help, and set her
 about her Divine mission,—the redemption of
 a brutal humanity? Do you need to be shewn
 how backward we Indians are today in philo-
 sophical studies and researches? Do you need
 to be told that the very best of us are but
 doing the "चिह्नपेषण,"—or as they say, "chew-
 ing the cud" of the ill-drawn and ill-digested
 conclusions and generalizations of a Mill
 or Spencer, or of a Kant or Hegel? Do
 you need to be shewn that the very best of
 us are but wasting their God-given energies,
 like Samson in the service of the Philistines,
 in gathering only the aftermath of
 European systems of philosophy, in barren
 criticisms merely for students' examination-
 purposes,—panting after the good luck of a
 European fame even "as the hart panteth
 after the water-brooks." Physical and
 chemical studies and researches require a
 free access to well-equipped and expensive
 laboratories, which in our present condi-
 tion is not easy to get even for the best
 Indian D. Sc's of the London University,—
 and yet India has produced a physicist
 and a chemist to whom physicists and
 chemists now look up for new light. But
 where shall we look for a worthy represen-
 tative of India's philosophy,—a worthy rep-
 resentative of this nation of philosophers?
 And yet it is philosophy which least of all
 requires the fitting up of expensive labora-

tories,—for which every man is for himself a
 living laboratory for research-work. Raja
 Rammohan Ray was the first among us
 moderns—to revive the study of Sankara's
 philosophy. But, alas, after him the flower
 of our youth have been fruitlessly grinding
 at philosophizing, without as yet produc-
 ing any tangible result. Do you know,
 why? Have you ever tried to discover the
 cause, why this "nation of philosophers"
 should stand to-day without a single true phi-
 losopher, worthy to be named by the side
 of Spencer or Kant, Hume or Hegel? Let me
 tell you, why it has been so, why it must
 be so, unless our present methods are radi-
 cally improved.

'Mere imitation,' as Emerson has said,
 'is suicide of the soul'—as much for a
 nation as for an individual,—and nowhere
 is its suicidal effect more marked than in
 the domain of India's original research in
 philosophy. Nations like individuals have
 special aptitudes,—or, what they call, genius.
 The aping methods and lessons by rote in
 philosophical study, under which our stu-
 dents have been brought up for the last
 half of a century or longer, has dealt a sort
 of death-blow to the philosophical genius
 of our nation. What might have been a
 great source of strength to a healthy grow-
 ing intellect, by opening new vistas of
 thought, has been our bane. If our young
 men are well-grounded at least by a course
 of training in the vernacular,—in our own
 six systems of philosophy, before they are
 called upon to wrestle with the philoso-
 phical genius of Europe, it would, like
 Jacob's wrestling with the angel, secure a
 valuable accession of strength to their
 growing intellects. As it is, they are
 made to go—unfledged and raw,—a-beg-
 ging for light, to a class of "blind
 leaders of the blind" of the West, who
 have converted the very name of Hegel,
 —who more than any other, closely
 approaches our Vedantic ideal in philo-
 sophy, and who may be said to occupy a
 rung of the Vedantic ladder of 'One Self in
 all' (सत्त्वात्मभाव)—into a sort of Tower of Babel,
 justifying the complaint of Wallace that
 the so-called "interpreters of the Hegelian
 philosophy have contradicted each other
 almost as variously as the several com-
 mentators of the Bible." It is much to be
 deplored that those of us who dabble in
 Hegelian philosophy, instead of trying to
 illuminate its dark places by directing on it

the search-light of the Vedanta, do but swell the chorus of that confusion of tongues of Hegel's so-called disciples, and "find no end, in wandering mazes lost."

As a people we are born and brought up in systems of philosophy not inferior to any now in command of the world's market,—which we sucked almost with our mother's milk, the light of which flows into us almost as readily as the running down of water. These our indigenous systems of philosophy—the Vedanta, the Sankhya, or the Nyaya, or the Buddhistic,—Madhyamika, Yogachara, Baibhashika, and Sautrantika (of which we now know little more than the mere names), must be revived, by the infusion of new blood,—either by the light of new truths, or of new methods of investigation,—if they are to live,—and not remain, as they do now, the mere mummies of long dead systems of philosophy; they must be made to recover their old vigor so as to be fit to serve as the stock on which the philosophies of a Spencer or Kant may be safely grafted, to the advantage of both the stock and the graft.

All true growth is organic or by assimilation from within outwards. Our indigenous systems of philosophy,—like the Vedanta, or Sankhya, are organic growths from within us. If any foreign system of philosophy is to obtain a footing among us, and do anything more profitable than merely earn bread for our hungry stomachs, they must, like all exotic plants in the hands of the skilful gardener, be carefully and judiciously grafted on to one of our old indigenous stocks,—Vedanta, Sankhya, or Nyaya, so that a living organic union of parts may take place, as much for the benefit of the stock, as

for that of the graft, much like the union that has taken place between the Greek and Indian astronomies. Through succeeding generations of neglect, the thread of life of our systems of philosophy have almost been snapped asunder, so that they are fast losing vitality, and their pulse is fast sinking. Through hard and toilsome study on the part of our youth alone can that thread be fully restored and reinvigorated, and their organic powers of digestion, assimilation, and ejection of excreta, be stimulated. Instead of placing the cart before the horse, and thereby wasting the energies of our youth in the abnormal course of first mastering alien philosophies, we should follow the normal course of nature by first serving to them, at least as a vernacular course in philosophy,—our indigenous systems—as the staple food—the Dal-Bhat—to their raw growing intellects, and on their attaining maturity, serve to them the *Pulao* and *Korma* of foreign philosophy, having recourse to such laboratory methods for appetising sauces, or as stomachic condiments and *chutnies*, as our modern psycho-physiology, or psycho-physics will permit. To reverse that normal course is to kill true philosophic life in our nation. Restore that normal course of healthy growth, and you shall have among us, at no distant date, the suitable soil and conditions for the growth of genuine philosophy, and shall produce genuine philosophers fit to rub shoulders with a Spencer or Kant, a Hume or Hegel,—stalwart champions worthy to stand up before the world as the representatives of a "nation of philosophers."

(Concluded.)

DVIJADAS DATTA.

THE WIFE OF HIS YOUTH

BY LILIAN TWIGG, AUTHOR OF "OUT OF FOCUS," "THE MIRACLE," "TO-MORROW," &c.

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"A good man wasted. In the hands of a nice woman there's no knowing what John Andrews might have risen to. As it is, he's just where his father left him, and that's the price he's paid for being a bachelor."

The rich woman who spoke gathered her furs about her and stepped into the latest model of luxurious landaulettes, followed by a deferential companion; while the poor woman who listened lingered shivering on the pavement.

"She's not right," murmured the poor woman. "A man with that mouth would never have risen to big things. Perhaps she didn't know him when he was clean shaven. I've not had her advantages, but I had sense enough to advise him to grow a moustache."

The February blizzard, with its choking dust, caught the speaker in its grip, and her frail figure shook with a hacking cough.

"These winds will carry me off, Jacky," she said aloud to the little lad at her side, and he manfully tried to place himself between her and the bitter wind, clinging tightly to her skirt as if he thought she would be literally swept away.

For half an hour she had been walking up and down the street irresolutely, pausing each time she passed a massive, dignified door on which was a brass plate bearing the inscription, "John Andrews, Solicitor."

Suddenly, summoning all her courage, she grasped the child by the hand and, boldly entering, ascended the broad staircase. She tapped bravely on the door at the head of the stairs. Unfortunately it was opened by an old confidential clerk, who, recognising her, hesitated, but when she said with an authority she had never asserted before, "I must see Mr. Andrews, Collins, it's urgent," he meekly approached an inner door.

"Mrs. Dauncey, sir. She says she must see you," he said.

A voice within resignedly replied, "All right, show her in." The lack of enthusiasm in the tone might have chilled the timid soul of the little woman under ordinary circumstances, but to-day she had made up her mind that nothing should daunt her, and still holding Jacky firmly, she let herself be ushered into the sacred precincts of the successful lawyer's private office.

"He's having a bad afternoon," muttered the confidential clerk, as he resumed his seat at his desk. "That old tartar of a Mrs. Delaney just gone, and now this young woman turned up again to worry his life out of him."

John Andrews rose uneasily.

"Rose," he began, "you ought not to have come here; you know every time you set foot in this office—in fact, in this town—you impair my position—" He stopped,

shocked by the sight of her emaciated face and form.

"Your position!" she said with a scorn that was new to her. "Your position! It's too late now to think of paltry things like that. I've been sacrificed all along for your position. I've kept quiet, I've eaten my heart out in solitude for your position, but I'm beyond all that now." Her excitement brought on a fresh spasm of coughing distressing to witness.

John Andrews came and stood over her. Her suffering aroused in him a tenderness that her weakness had awakened ten years before.

At last she sank back exhausted but quiet.

"If only you had let me know, Rose, that things were like this with you, something could have been done."

"You remember I wrote asking you to see me, but you took no notice. You just sent that grey-faced man," pointing to the outer office inhabited by the confidential clerk, "with the usual money."

The words went home. "I'll try to make up for it now," Andrews said, eagerly and kindly.

"It's no use now—too late. I got an order for a sanatorium, but when they saw me they said I was a case for the hospital."

She spoke with a quietness that carried conviction; all that was manly in John Andrews' naturally weak nature responded. With strong, unhesitating arms, he raised her from the chair into which she had sunk, and, unmindful of the astonished gaze of the little lad, held her firmly to his breast.

"A case for a hospital! My wife a case for a hospital," he muttered. "Good Heavens! Why was I ever weak enough to be persuaded into a position like this?"

She yielded to his embrace. Her love for him had always been the only strong, determined thing about her. Directly she felt he belonged to her again her womanliness longed to comfort him.

"You were only young, John, and it was quite true that I wasn't suitable. And, as your mother said, I hadn't it in me to rise."

"You were my choice—you were the wife of my youth. Why did I listen to what anyone said about you?"

"We were both young and easily led. I know now I didn't even look ladylike. Your mother thought she was right. I felt bitter at the time, but now it doesn't seem worth while to be bitter about any-

thing or with anyone." She turned to the child with a yearning look. "It's him that gave me the pluck to come; he's so like you and yours that even your mother couldn't object to him. You'll take care of him John?"

"I'll take care of both of you," answered Andrews with determination; and as for the first time he let his eyes rest on his nine-year-old son latent paternal instinct stirred in his breast. In that moment he realised what he had sacrificed to his mother's pride.

"What is your name?" he asked, as he placed his hand under the lad's chin. In the little upturned face he saw the portraits of his own ancestors reflected.

"Jacky is what I'm called, but my name is John, after my father," said the child proudly. "It's your name, too, isn't it?" he added innocently.

The man's lips trembled as he said, "That was good of you, Rose; I didn't deserve the child should bear my name."

"It seemed the only name," she replied so simply and prettily that all the old easiness of the courting days came back to them once more, and as twilight fell they sat hand in hand upbraiding themselves, excusing each other, he promising as of yore, she falling under his spell in the old happy way, while the child flattened his nose against the window-pane absorbed in the traffic of the busy street below.

"Rose," said Andrew earnestly, "you must let me take the matter into my own hands—you must let me make amends in my own way. I'll think about the best course, and to-morrow I'll come for you and the child. Now for a taxi. No, not to the station; you are not going to be jolted by any train; it will take you right home. Tell your landlady to do everything she knows how to do for your comfort. Tomorrow I shall come and fetch you."

She shook her head sadly. "No, John, I'm too ill to try to be a lady now. I don't want to come to you now; I used to want to dreadfully, but that has passed. I'm only thinking of Jacky."

"Leave everything to me." Drawing her hand through his arm he patted it soothingly.

So arm in arm they passed through the outer office, oblivious of the scrutiny of the confidential clerk. It took all John Andrews' moral courage to appear in the

street, where he was so well known, escorting a frail, shabby woman, and permitting the demonstrative Jacky to tug at his free hand. It was disconcerting that the desired taxi did not appear with promptitude, but as Rose Dauncey emerged into the chill outside air another spasm of coughing overtook her, and the natural embarrassment of the man of the world gave place to an overwhelming anxiety.

"Expect me early to-morrow, and take care of yourself," were his last words as they slid silently away.

He ascended the staircase, went straight to his own room, and, shutting the door, sat down to think.

He saw her as she had first walked into that office more than ten years ago—a young and very inefficient typist, with pretty, dependent ways that made a strong appeal to him. He had soon realised it would be better to dismiss her and temptation at the same time, but the intercourse was pleasant. It was the first time he had indulged in flirtation, and the novelty held him. The thing glided, he found himself compromised, he found also that she regarded the matter seriously, so seriously indeed that it flattered him.

They had been married secretly in London, where they had spent a short, blissful honeymoon. Then had followed his confession to his haughty, widowed mother, her contemptuous denunciation, and the promise wrung from him to leave his helpless young wife. He remembered the girl's fear as she fled before the elder woman's anger, making no stand, dumbly accepting her fate, eager only to miss the cruel epithets hurled at her. Then his mind travelled over the intervening years, until lately lived under oppressive regime of his mother, so that independent thought withered, and natural affectionate impulses had to be stifled. Each quarter Collins had borne the allowance agreed upon to a town, some sixteen miles distant, where, according to another stipulation of her mother-in-law, the young wife lived under her maiden name as Mrs. Dauncey.

He recalled how, on a certain morning after his third visit, Collins had nervously entered the private office and announced the birth of a son. For a few days after that news John had wavered in his adherence to his mother. Perhaps her keen wits divined this, for she suddenly determined on an immediate visit to Egypt, a

journey demanding her son's attendance. Six month's travel restored the young man to his naturally submissive state of mind.

* * * * *

The substantial mansion, on the outskirts of the town of Bradfield, inhabited by the Andrews for three generations, was now presided over by John's elder sister, a middle-aged spinster who had inherited in no small measure her late mother's austerity, though in the daughter's case it was tempered by a sense of justice. Still, the thought of his sister's caustic tongue caused John to slacken his speed as he walked up the trim, gravelled drive by which his home was approached.

"I must break it carefully to Agnes," he kept on repeating to himself. When first he started on his homeward journey he said it quite cheerfully, but with the house in full view, and with the thought of his prim sister, sitting rigidly in a straight-backed chair, looking just as his mother had always looked, his heart failed him. The moment his wife became acknowledged he knew everything in the old home would be changed; still, he had made up his mind.

Dinner was silent, restrained; Agnes Andrews was too self-centred a woman to have much general conversation, and tonight John, who usually made an attempt at talking, sat engrossed in his own thoughts.

The parlourmaid withdrew; his tongue was loosened.

"Mrs. Delaney called this afternoon. What a wearying woman!"

"What did she come for?"

"Ostensibly to talk over a mortgage, but really to ask me to dinner."

"She has a widowed daughter returned home to live," said the sister significantly.

"Ah!" ejaculated John. "She reminded me I'd been a bachelor long enough." He leaned across the table and lowered his voice. "Agnes—my—my wife, has been to see me to-day."

His sister started. "She promised mamma she would never come," she answered severely. "I suppose she heard mamma was dead, and so considered the promise not binding. Those sort of people have no nice sense of honour."

"Hush, Agnes!" commanded her brother. "Whatever my wife's faults—and God knows her little faults were so slight that they should only have endeared her to us—

lack of nice feeling was never one of them. In real refinement she is equal to the highest in the land."

"Then why didn't you assert yourself before?" ejaculated Miss Andrews with more common-sense than he had expected her to show.

"Because I was a dull fool and a coward," he answered bluntly.

His sister's next remark surprised him still more.

"I've never agreed with what's been done. I've always felt it was wrong, only while mamma lived I dare not say it; no, even though I was a woman turned forty I hadn't it in me to disagree with mamma in anything. Of course, I think your marriage was foolish, but it was a marriage, and I've hated telling all the lies that the secrecy imposed meant I had to tell."

"And I've hated going about the world a living lie. I've felt a cad every time old Collins has looked me in the face."

"You'll bring her here, of course?" Agnes. Andrew's voice faltered. Her short reign had been sweet; moreover, she was heartily attached to the only home she had ever known, and the thought of quitting it hurt her heart as well as her head.

"But you need not go, Agnes. There'll be room for all of us," said her brother, divining her thoughts.

"I shall go," she jerked out in a voice that could trust itself to say no more. Andrews accepted her decision, for he knew her presence would intimidate a girl of her own rank, much more the submissive little creature who had lain helplessly in his arms but three hours ago. Besides, new feelings surged within him; he became conscious that he had been a very lonely man, the joys of a wife and child were suddenly going to be his. He wanted them to himself. He would take them away from the searching winds of Bradfield to a warm South Coast watering-place he had in his mind; the sun should woo back colour to those wan cheeks; his tenderness should coax back the once ready smile; hope would again look out from her loving eyes. Perhaps in a few weeks she would be sitting opposite him at that very table. How the choice flowers, and shimmer, and glitter would please her childlike mind! He leaned back dreaming luxuriously. But there was still her health to be reckoned with; the fairy castles he was building

wobbled as the incessant cough echoed in his ears.

"She's very ill," he said slowly; "very ill."

"What of?" said the practical sister.

"I'm afraid to think what it may be—what it is in fact—a nasty cough—"

"Doctors are very clever, and you can afford the best," said the practical sister.

Andrew took out his watch uneasily. "It's only half-past eight. I might go to-night and see that she is really well looked after," he murmured apologetically.

"Now, don't be foolish, rushing from one extreme to the other," said the practical sister decisively. "Go and smoke and quieten your nerves."

He was so used to the stern rule of the women of his family that even to-night he was powerless to resist, and walked obediently towards his own particular den.

Half way across the hall he turned back. His sister still stood on the dining-room hearth in deep reverie.

"I forget to tell you, Agnes," he said, with boyish bashfulness, "that there's a child—a boy—just like us." And having made this startling announcement he disappeared again.

"Oh, I'm so glad!" The words were spoken from a lonely woman's heart. She had just been summoning the strength to face a life shorn of all that, to her, made it worth while, and her usually hard face softened at the thought of the new interest a child would bring.

"If they grow absorbed in each other I shall come to see the child," she thought wistfully.

The allowance arranged by John Andrews' mother had been in accordance with Rose's position as a typist, and not on the

scale that the wife of a well-to-do man might have expected and demanded; hence the locality that John found himself in the next morning was drab to the point of depression. As he turned into a narrow street flanked by two long rows of houses of dismal similarity, his conscience smote him that his son had been reared in those surroundings, and that the sad malady that gripped poor Rose had had these conditions to aid its progress. The self-condemning thoughts spurred him on, as if he were anxious to end the evil he had wrought.

A capable, cheery woman answered his impatient knock with commendable promptitude. He was glad to realise Rose had been in kindly hands.

"Come in, sir," she spoke as if she expected him. "You'll be the gentleman so mentioned. My husband's just gone to your office, sir."

A great fear took hold of Andrews.

"Isn't she here? Where is she?" he gasped.

"She died at six o'clock this morning, sir. She'd been bad for months, but yesterday, feeling a bit better, she would go out. She came back in a taxicab; she hadn't strength to get out; death had set its seal on her even then. We did everything we could for her, sir."

The words smote him.

"Yes; but I didn't," he said hoarsely.

He stood with clenched lips; the weariness seemed suddenly to have grown firm.

"I want to see her," he said.

The woman hesitated as if about to ask his right to intrude into the death chamber, but he brushed past her.

"She was my wife," he said.

FORMS AND TYPES OF STATES IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., *Premchand Roychand Scholar.*

I.

HOW FAR THE ANCIENT HINDUS WERE A
POLITICAL PEOPLE.

THE question as to how far the ancient Hindus were a political people and evolved political constitutions of their own presents an interesting line of investiga-

tion. The subject is indeed one of the many dark spaces in our early history requiring to be illumined, one of the many forgotten chapters awaiting restoration at the hands of painstaking and sympathetic research.¹

1. The sources have been duly acknowledged in their proper places. As regards the Vedic evidence, I am

EVIDENCE ON THE SUBJECT : ADMINISTRATIVE
EXPERIENCE.

The fact cannot be gainsaid that the ancient Hindus knew of both small and large states, kingdoms and empires, and acquired the necessary political experience in the administration thereof. There is besides a large literature extant, treating of political topics, which has been handed down from generation to generation.¹

LITERATURE ON POLITICS DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY.
TREATING OF SAME.

These professedly political works are as a rule compilations from other older works and thus serve to preserve the political experience and knowledge of the race. The *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya is a monumental work of this kind which refers to the previous knowledge, and in some points attempts a comparative study of the subject.² There are other works which are more or less representative of their times and throw much light on the subject by their mass of information. But we should draw not merely upon these treatises, or those portions of them that deal

indebted in a special degree to Messrs. Macdonell and Keith's 'Vedic Index,' ('V. I.') references to which are too numerous to be mentioned in each particular case.

1. Besides the printed works such as the Kautilya *Arthasāstra*, Sukraniti, Kāmandakiya Nītisāra, Nītiprakasikā attributed to Vātsampāyana, Nītivākyaṃrita of Somadeva, (with their commentaries, if any, in print or manuscript), several *Samhitās* treat of the subject e.g., Manu, Yājñavalkya &c. Over and above these, there are treatises in manuscript in several libraries in India as well as Europe dealing with the subject or its portions. A list of these about two hundred in number is given in an Appendix to my *Studies in Anc. H. Polity*, vol. II, (in the press) from which these pages have been taken.

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M. A., D. Sc., recently returned from England, kindly informs me that Dr. F. W. Thomas, Ph. D., Librarian, India Office, is bringing out a printed edition of a work on polity attributed to Brihaspati.

2. The '*Arthasāstra*' quotes the following schools of opinion viz. Manu, Usanas, Brihaspati, Bharadvāja, Vśālāksha, Pisuna, Kaṇvapadanta, Vātavyādhi, Parāsara, Bāhudantiputra [see pp. 6, 13 and 14], Kātyāyana, Eanīko Bhāradvāja, Dīrghaschārāyana, Ghoṭamukha, Kīnjalka, Pisunaputra [p. 251].

The last passage of the '*Arthasāstra*' speaks of Kautilya having used many noteworthy works on polity with their commentaries—

Dr̥ṣṭvā vipratipattim bahudhā sāstreshu
bhāshya-kārāṇām,
Svayameva vishṇu-guṇtaschakāra sūtramcha
bhāshyamcha.

(p. 429).

specifically with polity, but also upon others which though not directly treating it, throw many hints and sidelights, the combined effect of which may clear up many an obscure corner of the subject of our enquiry.

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT KNOWN IN ANCIENT
INDIA. MONARCHY THE PREVAILING BUT
NOT THE ONLY FORM. EVIDENCE OF
THE KAUTILYA.

India has seen a multitude of forms of government, and her political experience has not been derived from one form alone. Monarchy was the prevailing form of Government but it was not the only form. The *Arthasāstra* knows of a constitution in which the sovereign power is wielded by a family or clan (*Kulasangha*), and states in connexion with the succession to a vacant throne that a pure monarchy may pass into a constitution of the aforesaid kind by a combination of circumstances.³

NAMES OF THE PRINCIPAL SELF-GOVERNING
CLANS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Kautilya extols this constitution for its safety and efficiency. He also mentions many self-governing clans viz., Lichchhivika, Vriji-ka, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, Kuru, and Pāṇchāla as well as those of Kāmbhoja and Surāshtra.⁴ Some of these clans appear in the list of the sixteen independent peoples existing at or shortly before the time when Buddhism arose viz., Angā, Magadhā, Kāśī, Kosalā, Vajji, Mallā, Chetī, Vamsā, Kuru, Panchālā, Machchhā, Sūrasena, Assakā, Avantī, *Gandhārā* and Kambojā.⁵ A few other clans of the time were the famous Sākiyas, Bhaggas of Sumsumāra Hill, Bulis of Allakappa, Kālāmas of Kesaputta, Kaliyas of Rāma-gāma, and Moriyans of Pippalavana.⁶

1. Kulasya vā bhavedrājyam kulasangho hi
durjayah,
Arājavyasanābādhaḥ sasvadāvasatī kshitim.
'Arthasāstra,' Bk. I, 'Rājaputtra-rakshanam,' p. 35.

2. 'Ibid.,' p. 376.

3. Rhys Davids' 'Buddhist India,' p. 23.

The names common to both Kautilya's and other lists have been italicised. The Vajjians include Videhas of Mithilā and Lichchhavis of Vesālī.

4. 'Buddhist India,' pp. 17-22.

Rāma-gāma i. e. Rāma-grāma identified with Deokali—a city between Kapila and Kusinagara. See Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India.'

Pippalavana or the Pippala Forest—the site of the Charcoal Tower, see 'Ibid.'

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SAKIYA CLAN.

An insight into the administrative machinery of some of these clans can be obtained from a study of the methods by which they disposed of the business of the state. The administrative together with the judicial work of the Sākya clan, for instance, was done in a public assembly—their common Mote-Hall (*Santhāgāra*) at Kapilavastu, where both young and old met to attend to state-affairs.¹ The Mallas had a similar hall where Ananda is said to have gone to announce Buddha's death.² An office-bearer corresponding to the Greek Archon, or the Roman Consul and bearing the title of Rājā was elected to preside over the meetings and act as the administrative head.

Besides the Mote-Hall at the metropolis, there were several minor halls at towns and other important places as also in every village within the dominion of each clan, where the local people did their share of administrative business.³ The building of Mote-Halls, rest-houses and reservoirs, the mending of roads between their own and neighbouring villages, the laying out of parks and such other works of public utility, for instance, constantly exercised the co-operation of the villagers including women who were proud to take an active part in these public affairs.⁴ Thus the people obtained opportunities for exercising their head on village and town affairs which gave them a training in the more difficult work of guiding and controlling larger interests common to many such townships and

village-communities. We find an instance of such administration of larger common interests in the local self-government obtaining in the capital of Chandragupta Maurya.¹

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE VRIJIS.

The Vrijis or Samvrijis (i.e. United Vrijis) were a confederation of eight clans of whom the most important were the Lichchhavis with their capital at Vaisālī, and the Videhas with their chief town Mithilā. The Vrijis were all republicans,² and the Lichchhavis, we notice, did not elect a single chief like the other clans already mentioned but a triumvirate to conduct their administration.³ The people of Kāśī (Benares) had once their republic which is testified to by their possession of a public hall used as a "parliament chamber for the transaction of public business".⁴

THE EVIDENCE OF GREEK WRITERS: MEGASTHENES;

Megasthenes records an Indian tradition that "from the time of Dionusos to Sandrokottos, the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years; among these a republic was thrice established,"⁵ which along with the following two passages from the pen of the same authority point to democracies in ancient India:—

(I) "At last after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved, and democratic government set up in the cities."⁶

(II) "Maltecorae, Singhae, Marohae, Rarungae and Moruni are free, have no kings

1. 'Buddhist India,' p. 19, quoting Ambattha Suttanta translated in Rhys Davids' 'Dialogues of Buddha,' I. 113.

2. *Buddhist India*, p. 19, quoting *Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta*, 6. 23.

3. *Buddhist India*, p. 20. Each hall was covered with a roof but had no walls (*Ibid.*).

4. *Buddhist India*, p. 49 quoting *Jātakas*, I. 99.

It is no doubt creditable that Indian ladies should discharge the responsible duties of public office. If we take note of their achievements in fields other than the political or public, we may not have reason to doubt their capabilities in the sphere of action. If we are to believe Megasthenes [See Megasthenes' *Ancient India* (Mc. Crindle's transl.) Fragm. LVI], we have to credit them with the administration of the Pandæ, who, we are told, were the only race in India with women-rulers. And if the references to *Strī-rājya* in such works as the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bṛhat-Samhitā* &c., have any significance, they point to political power wielded by women.

1. See Megasthenes (Mc. Crindle), op. cit.

2. Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 77, f. n. and Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, pp. 25, 26.

3. *Buddhist India*, p. 19.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 35 quoting *Jātakas*, 4. 74.

5. Megasthenes' *Ancient India*, Fragm. L.

6. *Ibid.*, Fragm. I. Prof. Hopkins remarks, "Megasthenes plainly implies that self-ruled cities in distinction from cities governed by kings were common in his day. Indeed, his words take such towns as a matter of course." *J. A. O. S.*, XIII, p. 136. He quotes Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, II, pp. 127 and 36) and adds that Vaisālī was such a city with a council of five thousand, each member of which provided one elephant. An officer called *uparaja* under whom was a commander-in-chief of the army, worked on behalf of the people. A book of customs regulated their actions.

Ibid., p. 136 f. n.

and occupy mountain heights where they have built many cities."¹

ARRIAN;

There are further evidences of non-regal states in ancient India. Arrian says that the Nysaia were free, had a president and entrusted the Government of their state to the aristocracy.²

CURTIVS;

He also refers to the Oreitai³ as an independent tribe with leaders, while Curtius mentions the Sabarcae as "a powerful Indian tribe whose form of Government was democratic and not regal"⁴ and the Cedrosii

1. Megasthenes' *Ancient India*, Fragm. LVI.

2. Mc. Crindle's *Ancient India: Its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, pp. 79, 80, 81. For identification of the Nysaia, see *Ibid.*, Appendix, Note G, pp. 335-340.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 168. For identification of the Oreitai, see *Ibid.*, f. nn. on pp. 167, 168.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 252. See *Ibid.* f. n. 4 for identification of the Sabarcae. Lassen identifies them with the Sambastai. Regarding the Sabarcae, Cunningham makes the following remarks in his *Coins of Ancient India from the Earliest Times to the 7th century A. D.*, p. 76:—"Quintus Curtius mentions a tribe named Sambracæ or Sabracæ who had no king but were led by 'three' generals. Orosius calls them Sabagræ. Now the coins of the Yaudheyas show that they were divided into three tribes, and as Vāgar means a 'warrior,' it is possible that the three tribes may have been called Sam-vārgi or the 'united vāgars.' The great fort of Bhatner is in Bāgar-des and the Bikaner Rājā was called 'Bāgri Rao' by Akbar. In the same districts also are the Bhatīs, who derive their name from Bhata a 'warrior.' It seems therefore not unnatural to conjecture that the three 'warrior tribes' of Jchiyas, Bāgris and Bhatīs may be only divisions of the great clan of Yaudheyas or Samvāgris.

According to the same authority (See *Ibid.*, pp. 75-79), one of the best examples of what approaches to the republican or democratic state in ancient India is that offered by the Yaudheyas who organised themselves for military purposes. They are at least as old as Panini; they resisted the invasion of Alexander; and they continued in power up to the days of Rudra Dāman (A. D. 150) at whose hands they suffered a serious reverse as stated in his Junāgadh inscription. The last noteworthy mention we have of them is in the Samudra Gupta Inscription on the Allahabad Pillar (A. D. 470). The long continued autonomy of this military clan is proved by the coins they issued, of which we have numerous finds brought to light dating from the first century B. C. Some of the symbols used on these coins are distinctly of a military significance e. g. Figures 6, 7, 8, 9. (*Ibid.*, op. cit.) in which appear soldiers, spear in hand.

as a free people with a council for discussing important matters of state.⁵

DIODORUS.

Diodorus describes the Sambastai as dwelling in cities with a democratic form of administration,⁶ and Taula (a name which has been restored to Patala as its correct form) as "a city of great note with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan; for in this community, the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a council of elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority."⁷

THE MALLOI AND OXYDRAKAI.

The Malloi are simply referred to by Arrian as "a race of independent Indians"⁸ but the Oxydrakai, we learn from him, were attached more than others to freedom and autonomy which they preserved intact for a very long time before Alexander's invasion.⁹ The Malloi (i.e. the Mālavas) and the Oxydrakai (the Kshudrakas) figure in a few Sanskrit works e.g. the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*¹⁰ and the *Mahābhārata*.¹¹

THE KATHAIANS.

There was a race in the Punjab living under democratic institutions viz., the

1. Mc. Crindle's 'Ancient India etc.' p. 262. The name "Cedrosii" is the same as "Gedrosioi"; for identification, see p. 169, f. n. 2.

2. "Sambastai" is, according to some authorities, the same as "Sabarcae" already mentioned. For particulars regarding the Sambastai, see Mc Crindle's 'Ancient India etc.' p. 252, f. n. 4, and also p. 292.

3. 'Ibid.' p. 296. For identification of Patala, see 'Ibid.' Appendix, Note U, pp. 356, 357.

4. 'Ibid.' p. 140. For identification of Malloi, see Note P, pp. 350, 351; Malloi = Mālava.

5. 'Ibid.' p. 154. For identification of Oxydrakai, see 'Ibid.' Note P, pp. 350, 351. Oxydrakai = Kshudraka.

6. 'Ibid.' Note P, p. 350.

Arrian mentions the Abastanoi, Xathroi, and Arabitai as independent tribes without any reference to their form of Government. (See Arrian's 'Anabasis' in Mc. Crindle's 'op. cit.' pp. 155, 156, 167. For identification see f. nn. on those pages.) The Abastanoi are identified by some with the Sabarcae. For Siboi and Agalassoi, see V. Smith's 'Early India' 3rd. ed. p. 93 citing Arrian's 'Anab.' VI, 5; Curtius, IX, 4; Diodorus XVII, 96.

7. They formed part of the Kaurava army in the Great War (Pargiter, in J. R. A. S. 1908, p. 339 citing 'Mbh.', vi, 2106, 2584, 2646, 3852, 3853, 4808, 5484, 5648; vii, 183; and viii, 137). See also V. Smith's 'Early India,' 74 n. and 94.

Kathaians, who formed part of the people known as the Arattas (kingless) described by Justin as robbers and denounced as such in the *Mahābhārata*, and whom Chandragupta Maurya used as weapons for wresting for himself the sovereignty of the Punjab.¹

THE 'MAHABHARATA' ON THE 'GANAS' OR SELF-GOVERNING COMMUNITIES; DISCUSSION OF THE VARIOUS MEANINGS GIVEN TO THE TERM.

The *Mahābhārata*² expatiates on the policy that should be followed by the monarch in regard to the *Ganas*, and by the *Ganas* themselves for self-preservation. These *Ganas* appear to have been self-governing communities. Though in the *Sānti-Parva* (ch. 107) the word *gana* appears to refer more clearly to self-governing communities than to mere corporations of traders or artisans, or to the "aristocracy in a state" as Mr. Pratāp Roy wrongly translates it, yet it should be noted that the word bears other significations in other contexts. The commentary of Nīlakantha is very meagre on the aforesaid chapter, and from what he has said, it cannot be made out that he has put on the word *gana* any other meaning than that of self governing community. He interprets *gana* by *sura-jana-stoma*. The chapter gives some details of its constitution, wherein its members are described as the same by *jāti* and *kula* and its state affairs as conducted by a body of leaders who are advised to keep among themselves alone the matters they discuss (see slks., 23, 24). The commentators of the *Samhitās* appear to be right in interpreting the word *gana* as "corporation" or "guild" in a few

passages.¹ Prof. Hopkins remarks² that the growth of commercial interests led

I 'Manu, III, 154 has 'ganābhyantar'—a passage which along with many others previous and subsequent, speaks of the persons who should be hunned by good Brāhmanas at sacrifices to the gods and manes. Among the persons thus condemned is included a Brāhmana who is "within a gana" ('ganābhyantar'). Buhler following Medhātithi Govindarāja and Nārāyaṇa translates it as "one who belongs to a company or corporation i.e. of men who live by one trade." It is further explained by Nārāyaṇa as "the headman of a village or the leader of a caravan." According to Kullūka and Rāghavānanda, it means "one who misappropriates the money of a corporation." Monier Williams in his 'Sanskrit-English Dictionary' interprets it as "one belonging to a religious corporation." Here it does not appear that the meaning of "one who belongs to a 'republic'" has any special appropriateness. The same may be said also of 'Yajñavalkya II, 190 ('using gana-dravya'), II, 195 (in which is used the expression 'srenī-naigamapāśhandiganānam'), I, 161 (where 'gana-dikshin' has, according to Monier Williams 'Sanskrit-English Dictionary' (henceforth indicated as M. W.), among other meanings, that of "one who officiates for a corporation as a priest"); 'Gautama XV, 18 (having 'gana-preshya' i.e. "a servant of a guild"), and XVII, 17 (containing the word 'gana'). The same may also be said of 'ganapa' (Varāhamihira's 'Bṛihat-Samhitā', XXXII, 18), 'gana-mukhy' (Ibid xvii, 24), 'gana-pujya' (Ibid, XVI, 33), 'gana-pungava' (Ibid), IV, 24, 'gana-nāyaka' ('Kāthāsaritāgāra', C. 41) 'gana-pūrva' (Mbh., xiii, 1391) and 'gana-pramūcha' occurring according to M. W., in Buddhist Literature. (I have followed M. W. as to the above meanings).

The 'Arthasāstra' also uses the word 'gana' in this non-political sense e.g. in the expression 'kārusilpigana' in Bk, II, 'Samāhartri Saṁvāya prasthāpanam', p. 60. We need not note here the various other meanings which the word may bear in other contexts e.g. "village-assembly" (Foy) 'Die Königliche Gewalt', p. 20, n. 1), "local committee or court" (Jolly's 'Recht und Sitte' p. 136), 'as emblemage' (Dr. Fleet's 'Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. III, p. 291 and n. 3)—See also Dr. F. W. Thomas article, 'J. R. A. S.' 1914, p. 1011. The 'Vṛāda ratnākara' (p. 669) gives its meaning as an assembly of Brāhmanas.

I may mention that 'gana' (=Vrāta, Sardana) in the sense of guild appears to have had Vedic precedents noted by Roth in the 'St. Petersburg Dictionary' in connection with the 'Panchaviṁśa-Brāhmana', VI, 9, 25; xvii, 1, 5, 12; 'Vājasaneyi Samhitā' xvi 25; 'Taittirīya-Samhitā', I, 8, 3, 2. This sense has however been doubted by Messrs Macdonell and Keith. Guilds however existed in Vedic times (See Fick's 'Die Sociale Gliederung. p. 182 and Macdonell and Keith's 'V. I., I, 140 341, 342, 403—404 referring to many Vedic passages Hopkins' 'India Old and New' pp. 169-205; his chapter on guilds, in which among other things the antiquity of the institutions is traced. According to his opinion, they date back to about 600 B. C.).

1. Mc. Crindle, op. cit., p. 406 Appendix and Mc. Crindle's 'Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature' p. 38 f. n. Aratta is from Sanskrit 'Arāṣtraka' (see Cunningham's 'Geography of Ancient India', p. 215). Regarding the places occupied by the Punjab autonomous tribes, see Mr. V. Smith's article: "The position of the Autonomous Tribes of the Punjab conquered by Alexander the Great," J. R. A. S., Oct. 1903, utilizing Major Raverty's paper in J. A. S. B., 1892, Part I, entitled "The Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries: a Geographical and Historical Study."

2. Sānti-Parva, 107.

3. 'Sānti-Parva,' ch. 107, slk. 6.

1. J. A. O. S. XIII, 81, 82.

ultimately to the establishment of a sort of trade unions or guilds. They are mentioned early as of importance (see *Manu*), though they may belong to a late period in their full development. "Such corporations had their own rules and laws subject to the king's inspection, the king not being allowed (theoretically) to have established, or to establish any laws that contradicted those already approved or sanctioned by usage. The heads of these bodies are mentioned together with the priests as political factors of weight whose views are worth grave consideration. As an informal instance of it, we find a prince (Duryodhana) defeated in battle and ashamed to return home—"for what," he exclaims, 'shall I have to say to my relatives, to the priests and to the heads of the corporations.'¹ Prominence is given to the guilds (?) in the later books of the *Mahābhārata*. There also we find corporations (?) of every sort under the name *gana*; of the members of which the king is particularly recommended to be careful, since enemies are apt to make use of them by bribery. But dissension is their weak point. Through dissension and bribery they may be controlled by the king. On the other hand 'union is the safeguard of corporations.'²

I should remark that the word "corporation" as used in the above extract does not serve as a good synonym of *sreni* or *gana* in its reference to the self ruled community of military people. Dr. Fleet after much discussion with Dr. Thomas over the proper rendering of *Mālava-Gana-Sthiti* comes to the conclusion³ that though *gana* may have many meanings and has to be translated in in each particular case according to the

context, it is best rendered in the above expression by "tribe". Dr. Thomas objects on many grounds, one of which is that when "coins are used by the authority of a *gana* (which is the case with the Yaudheyas), or an era is maintained by it (which is the case with the Mālavas), plainly the absence of royalty is implied."¹

The *gana* of the *Mahābhārata* (xii, ch. 107) also points to its independence or at least semi-independence which the word "tribe" does not express. In order to bring out this essential implication of *gana*, the word "tribe" should have some qualifying epithet, for which I prefer the expression 'autonomous tribe' (used by Mr. V. Smith), or self-governing community.

Many such communities have been pointed out above as existing in ancient India, evidenced by the *Arthasāstra* and other works of both Indian and non-Indian authors.²

OLIGARCHIES IN VEDIC INDIA.

It appears therefore that *gana* has several significations, and may stand for: *autonomous tribes*, *guilds*, as well as for local committees, the context making clear its meaning in every particular case.

It does not appear clearly whether any oligarchy existed in the Vedic period. According to Zimmer,³ there are traces in a passage in the *Rig-Veda*⁴ that normally there was no king in some states, the members of the royal house holding equal rights. It is compared by him to the state of affairs in early Germany.⁵ Messrs. Macdonell and Keith, however, are of opinion that the passage depended upon is not decisive for the sense ascribed to it, "though of course the state of affairs is perfectly possible and is exemplified later in Buddhist⁶ times."⁷ This

1. 'Mbh.' III, 249, 16 as quoted by Prof. Hopkins (J. A. O. S., xiii, 82)=III, 248, 16 (Burdwan Ed.) The Sloka has 'srenimukhyāḥ' = 'silpisanghātamu-khyā prakṛitayāḥ' according to Nilakantha. 'Mbh.' xii, 54, 20 and 'Rāmā.' VI, 111, 13 (Gorresio) are also cited.

2. 'Mbh.' xii, 107; xii, 59, 49 'srenimukhyopajā-pena'; Nilakantha understands military 'sreni'. See also 'Manu,' viii, 41.

3. Cf. 'Parishadah' srenayascha' Gorresio's 'Rāmā.' II, 120, 5 and also "sayodhasreninagamah," 'Ibid.' II, 123, 5. The military help from the 'sreni' is equal to that from the mercenaries (bhṛita) according to 'Dhitarāśāstra's' calculation ('Mbh.' xv, 7, 8). See 'J. A. O. S.,' xiii, 82.

2. 'J. R. A. S.,' 1915, p. 139.

1. J. R. A. S., pp. 1011, 1012.

2. As to the existence of autonomous tribe in the Punjab, Eastern Rajputana and Malwa in the fourth century A. D., Mr. V. Smith ('Early India,' 3rd. ed. p. 286) says that the Yaudheya tribe occupied both banks of the Sutlej, and the Madrakas the Central part of the Punjab, the very regions that were occupied by the Mallor, Kāthiās etc. living under republican institutions.

3. 'Altindisches Leben,' 176, 177.

4. 'Rig-Veda,' X, 97, 6; 'Atharva-Veda,' I, 9; III, 4.

5. Tacitus 'Annals,' II, 88.

6. Cf. Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist India,' p. 19.

7. Vide 'V. I.,' II, p. 216.

latter view gains support from the case of Chitraratha who performed a special kind of sacrifice (*dvirātra*) which led to the result that the Chitrarathis were distinguished from other royal families by the fact that "the chief of the clan received a markedly higher position than in most cases, in which probably the heads of the family were rather an *oligar chy* than a monarch (with) his dependents."¹

HOW FAR MONARCHY WAS ELECTIVE IN ANCIENT INDIA; EVIDENCE OF MEGASTHENES AND THE *Rāmāyana*.

Megasthenes records that the *vox populi* was recognised as an effective and potent factor which the responsible officers consulted in cases of failure of heirs in the royal house. On such occasions, "the Indians", we are told, "elected their sovereigns on the principle of merit."² We learn from the *Rāmāyana* that respect was shown to the opinion of the people in the choice of a successor to the reigning sovereign as also on the rather rare occasions of failures of heirs in the ruling house.

Prof. Hopkins says that the assent of the people was obtained to the succession in the first place. After the king's death, the priests and people met in the royal court and decided which prince should be king. The chief priest made an address explaining the death of the king and the necessity for having a new king on the throne. The elder son (Rāma) being banished, the younger must reign to prevent the many evils of anarchy. The older councillors expressed their assent, saying, "Even when the king was alive, we stood at your orders (*sāsane*); proceed, then; give your orders." After this the election was practically over, and only the ceremony remained to be performed."³

THE ELECTIVE PRINCIPLE IN VEDIC TIMES.

There are also traces of the existence of the elective principle in the Vedic times. Zimmer⁴ is of opinion that the Vedic monar-

chy, though sometimes hereditary as can be shown by the several cases in which the descent can be traced,¹ was yet elective in the other instances, though it is not apparent whether the people selected from among the members of the royal house or those of all the noble clans. Geldner² argues however that the evidence for the elective monarchy is not so strong, as the passages³ cited are regarded by him not as indicative of choice by the cantons (*Vis*), but of acceptance by the subjects. This is of course, as Messrs. Macdonell and Keith observe, no proof that the monarchy was not sometimes elective. The practice of selecting one member of the royal family to the exclusion of another less qualified is exemplified by the legend of the Kuru brothers Devāpi and Sāntanu referred to in Yaska,⁴ the value of which as evidence of contemporary views is not seriously affected by the legend itself being of dubious character and validity.⁵

INSTANCES OF SOVEREIGNS DEPOSED OR EXPELLED.

The power of the people was stronger in those days in proportion to the greater insecurity of the sovereign. There are several references to the latter being expelled from their dominions, and to their efforts to be reinstated to their former position.⁶ The

1. E. g. Vadhryasva, Divodāsa, Pijavana, Sudāsa, Purukutsa, Trasadasya, Mitrātithi, Kurusravana, Upamasravas &c.; Lanman's 'Sanskrit Reader,' 386. A 'kingdom of ten generations' (Dasapurushamrajya) is mentioned in the 'Satapatha-Brāhmana,' XII. 9. 3, 3. Cf. V. 4. 2, 8; 'Aitareya-Brāhmana,' VIII. 12. 17.

2. 'Vedische Studien,' 2, 303.

3. Rig-Veda, X, 124; 8; 173; 'Atharva-Veda' I 9; III, 4; IV, 22.

In some passages (AV, III, 4, 1; IV 22, 3. Perhaps RV, III, 13, 5. Cf. RV, VII, 39, 2. See Weber's 'Indische Studien,' 18, 22) the use of the word *Vispati* for a sovereign is taken by Zimmer ('Altindisches Leben,' 164, 165) as indicative of election. The word in the ('Taittirīya-Samhitā II, 3, 3, stands evidently for "the chief representative of the 'Vis' i. e. the people or subject class"; see 'V. I.' II 338.

4. 'Nirukta,' II, 10.

5. 'V. I.,' II, 211, 269 top.

6. The technical term is 'aparuddha (expulsion). Cf. 'AV' III, 3, 4; 'Kāthaka-Samhitā,' XXVIII, 1; 'Taittirīya-Samhitā,' II, 3, 1; 'Maitrāyanī-Samhitā,' II, 2, 1; 'Panchavimsa-Brāhmana,' XII, 12, 6; 'Satapatha-Brāhmana,' XII, 9, 3, 3 etc.; 'Kausika-Sūtra,' XVI, 30; Caland, 'Altindisches Zauberritual,' 37 ff. The 'AV' has spells in the interest of royalty (see III 3. Cf. Bloomfield's 'Hymns of the AV,' III, ff.

1. 'V. i.,' I 262 'Panchavimsa-Brāhmana,' XX, 12, 5 and referring to Hopkins' 'Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences,' 15, 51, 53; Weber, 'Indische Studien,' I, 32 and 'Indian Literature,' 68, n.

2. Megasthenes' 'Ancient India,' Fragm. L.

3. 'Rāmāyana' (Gorresio) II, 69, l. ff., 33. See Hopkins, J. A. O. S., XIII, p. 145.

4. Zimmer's 'Altindisches Leben,' 162 ff., Weber's 'Indische Studien' 17, 88; Bloomfield's 'Hymns of the Atharva-Veda,' 336.

inviolability of the sovereign's authority is recognized even in the Vedic period, he himself being "exempt from punishment" (*adandya*) but having the power to inflict on others judicial punishment (*danda-vadha*).¹ The expulsion was the last resort of the people who could of course effect it more with the aid of the abnormal circumstances that came about than by dint of their unaided will. The sovereign's immunity from punishment should therefore be taken as the normal rule. A few instances of the sovereigns deposed or expelled from the realms may be cited here: Dushtaritu Paumsāyana (the first word literally means "hard to fight"), king of the Srinjayas, was deposed by them from a principality that had existed for ten generations, but was restored by Pātaya Chakra Sthapati in spite of the resistance of Balhika Prātipiya,² the Kuru king. Dirghasravas (i. e. far-famed), was also banished from his kingdom,³ as also Sindhuksht who had to remain in exile for a long time before he could be restored.⁴ The case of Vena⁵ being deposed in later times may also be mentioned:

THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE AS EXEMPLIFIED
IN THE RITUAL CALLED RATNAHAVIS.

A trace of the deference paid to the will of the people in early times exists also perhaps in the ritual of the *rājasuya* called the *Ratnahavis* in which offerings were made by the king on eleven successive days in the houses of persons termed *Ratnins* including among others a *kshatriya*, village-headman and such other individuals who were either mere subjects, king's officials, or relatives, to whom or at least to some of whom, the

¹ 'Satapatha-Brahmana', IV, 4, 4, 7. Cf. 'Pārasakara-Grihya-Sūtra' III, 15 where the "staff" as the emblem of royal, temporal power, implying punishment, is said to be applied by the monarch (*rājapreshito-dandah*).

² 'Satapatha-Brahmana', XII, 9, 3, 1 ff; 8, 1, 17. Weber's 'Indische Studien', I, 205, 207.

³ 'Panchavimsa-Brahmana', XV, 3, 25.

⁴ 'Ibid.', XII, 12, 6. According to Oldenberg, 'Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft', 42, 235, fn. 3. Sindhuksht was probably a mythical personage. Even assuming him to be so, the story testifies at least to the expulsion of sovereigns as not an impracticable conception of the people of those days.

⁵ 'Vishnu-Purāna', pt. I, ch. 13.

title of *rājakartri* (king-maker) was applied.¹ Though in later times, the ceremony may have been no more than mere formality observed during the inauguration, yet in its inception in remoter periods, it was probably associated with the deference shown to the opinion of the people, who then wielded much greater power in the state. Some of the *Ratnins* were perhaps representatives of the people or certain classes of the subjects, turned into mere ceremonial figures in subsequent times by the growth of the royal power.

MONARCHY THE ORDINARY FORM OF
GOVERNMENT IN VEDIC TIMES.

The ordinary form of Government in Vedic times however was the monarchical, as might be naturally expected from the situation of the Indian Aryans surrounded by hostile races. There are clear signs that the power of the monarch was curbed by the existence of the assembly which he had to consult, and concord between them was essential for the prosperity of the former as also of the people at large.²

GRADATION OF KINGLY POWER.
DIFFERENT TITLES INDICATING THE GRADATION.

In the titles assumed by the sovereigns as well as the epithets by which they are mentioned, we find evidences of higher and lower positions among them. Messrs. Macdonell and Keith remark that the states were seemingly small³ and there are no clear signs of any really large kingdoms, despite the mention of *Mahārājas*. This may be true but it does not negative the position that there were royal hierarchies among the states of the early Vedic period. The area upon which the Aryans spread themselves in those times was not even the whole of Northern India,

¹ 'Aitareya-Brahmana', VIII, 17, 5. 'Atharva-Veda', III, 5, 7. 'Satapatha-Brahmana' III, 4, 1, 7; III, 22, 18. See Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's articles in the 'Modern Review', Jan., 1912, and May and July, 1913.

² 'Atharva-Veda' VI, 88, 3; V, 19, 15 'V. I.' II, p. 431.

³ Cf. Hopkins, 'Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences', 15, 32 for the "Panchavimsa-Brahmana". The 'Satapatha-Brahmana' and the later parts of the 'Aitareya-Brahmana', with their traditions of 'Asvamedhas', 'horse-sacrifices', and their recollections of the glories of the Bharatas represent a more advanced stage of social relations and city life, but even they hardly know really great kingdoms." 'V. I.', II, p. 254 fn, 65.

and necessarily we cannot expect to have an emperor with a territory extending from sea to sea. Yet among the existing states, one or the other rose to a supremacy over some others which prompted its ruler to assume a title indicative of his superiority to the subordinate states. *Samrāj* is the epithet applied to a "superior ruler" in the *Rig Veda*¹ as also in later works expressing a greater degree of power than that of a *Rājan*² ('King'). *Adhirāja*³ frequently met with in the early Sanskrit literature signifies an 'overlord' among kings or princes.⁴ Similar

ly, we have *Mahārāja*,¹ *Rājādhirāja*,² *Ēkarāja*.³

some in which a king defeated a few others, the two parties being sometimes aided by their own allies. Sudāsa, for instance, helped by the Tritsus defeated in a great battle the ten kings Simyu, the Tervasa, the Druhyu, Kavasha, the Puru, the Anu, Bheda, Sambara, the two Vaikarnas and perhaps the Yādu who led with them as allies the Matsyas, Pakthas, Bhalānas, Alinas, Vishānins, Sivas, Ajas, Sigrus and perhaps Yakshus ('V. I., I, 320). There is again the fight in which the Srinjaya king Daivata conquered the Turvasa king and the Vrichivants, and another in which the Jahous and the Vrichivants contended for sovereignty. ('V. I., II, 319, 499). From these, I think, it is not unreasonable to infer that some at least of the terms signifying degrees of power, or superiority and inferiority of rank among kings should denote an actual counterpart created by the victories and defeats in battles which increased or decreased their powers and territories.

¹ 'Aitareya-Brahmana', vii, 34, 9; 'Kaushitaki-Brahmana', V, 5; 'Satapatha-Brahmana', I, 6, 4, 21; II, 5, 4, 9 etc.

'Rajapati' is used of Soma in the 'Satapatha-Brahmana', xi, 4, 3, 9 and is not indicative of temporal supremacy.

² 'Rajadhiraja', 'king of kings' is used as a divine epithet in the 'Taittiriya-Aranyaka', I, 31, 6 though as a title of paramount sovereignty in later times.

³ In the 'Rig-Veda' (viii, 37, 3) the term is used metaphorically. In the 'Aitareya-Brahmana', viii, 15, the word according to Weber, 'Über die Königsreihe, den Rājasūya' in the 'Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften' zu Berlin, 1893 p. 141 f. n. 2, means "a king over a 'mandala'." But the expressions used by the 'Aitareya' itself in a subsequent passage of viii, 15 are "Ēkarāt' of the earth up to the sea." See also AV, III, 4, 1.

¹ 'Rig-Veda' III, 55, 7; 56, 5; IV, 21, 2; VI, 27, 8; viii, 19, 32.

² In the 'Satapatha-Brahmana' (V, 1, 1, 13; Cf. xii, 8, 3, 4; xiv, 1, 3, 8) the 'Samrāj' is higher than a king. See Weber's 'Über den Vajapeya', p. 6 (in the 'Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin' xxxix, (1892).

³ 'R V', X, 128, 9; 'AV', vi 98, 1; 'IX', 10, 24; 'Taittiriya-Samhitā' II, 4, 14, 2; 'Maitrāyanī-Samhitā', IV, 12, 3; 'Kāthaka-Samhitā', viii, 17; 'Taittiriya-Brahmana', III, 1, 2, 9; 'Satapatha-Brahmana', V, 4, 2, 2; 'Nirukta', VIII, 2.

⁴ Messrs. Macdonell and Keith after giving the above meaning express doubt whether a real 'overking' is meant by the word, and inclines to the negative view. An over-king of the early Vedic period should however be taken with the limitations peculiar to the age to which he belonged; and we cannot expect to find then the political conditions or the great extent of territory that made the overlords of after times what they were. It is not improbable that a powerful Vedic king should conquer a few others and bring them under his control. Of the battles of the time of which we have record we find

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE POST OFFICE, By Sir Rabindranath Tagore (Translated by Mr. Devabrata Mookerjee) Published by Macmillan & Co. Limited.

W. B. Yeats in his preface to the Post Office writes: 'When this play was performed in London a year ago by the Irish players, some friends of mine discovered much detailed allegory, the Headman being one principle of social life, the curdseller or the gaffer another, but the meaning is less intellectual, more emotional and simple.' This is indeed a very important literary distinction and has to be told again and again in connection with the mystical plays of Sir Rabindra. People are so much anxious about the meaning that it seems they would rather peel off the flesh of the fruit and be

content with the stone. This shows that a delicate literary instinct is a much rarer thing than scholarly erudition or dry intellectuality. Most people approach literature with an intellectual schematism and fail to grasp the deeper suggestion of poetry. They are not satisfied until they can congratulate themselves on the discovery of an allegory, and allegory is nothing but a ready ideality which may coincide with the plot. Thus in an allegory the idea which the poet wishes to communicate is the main thing and the poem or the drama is nothing but a garb which has made it more presentable. In themselves the parts of such a drama do not form one organic whole, but their inter-relation is dependent on the inner meaning—the regulative idea. Apart from this, the drama will not yield any-

thing more. It is this want of relation between the parts, which forces the mind to reject them as non-substantial and to seek for some other deeper reality or Truth, which is sought to be expressed by the poet and as such upholds the whole plot within itself. This idea in an allegory is necessarily forced upon us, as the plot of the drama is made to contain such a contradiction in it, that it falls to the ground of itself and can only be reinstated when looked at from the point of view of the veiled idea. This idea here therefore is not such that it animates the whole frame, but is on the other hand the only life which shines through the radiant form of the whole. Accept the idea, accept the drama; reject it, the drama falls. The Head is the arbiter and not the Heart.

With the Post Office however we have got an altogether different class of literature to handle. Underlying it there is of course some idea, but that idea is not so much expressed by the contradiction of the general plot or the particular characters, as by the resonance of the joyous strain. There is neither any mental crisis nor any absurdity in the development of the plot and we have not to start with an idea in order to get into the drama as in the case of an allegory. On the other hand it makes its effect naturally of itself and the radiant orb of joy which emanates has its crown fringed with the streak of a glorious idea. Instead of the idea leading us to the drama it is the latter which fascinates and enlivens us with joy. Under its quickening touch we are rejuvenated with a divine life and in this youth of delight and joy our ears long for some maiden whispers which it hears from a distance like the humming of the bees. This whispering idea which is the after-effect of joy is essentially different from that which we find in an allegory, for here the idea is not sought for its own sake, but revealed to us in and through a career of joy. The linguistic activity which sustains and accomplishes it is entirely different in character, method and essence and is called *Vyanjana* by the Sanskrit rhetoricians to distinguish it from the other type called the *Lakshana*. The necessary characteristic of *Lakshana* is this that a new meaning or idea is forced upon us by the apparent contradiction of the primary meaning or the meaning on the surface and it is just this sort of an oscillation that constitutes the movement of an allegory, the secret of which consists in this that the plot of the drama, the development of the characters and the mutual relations become strange and absurd without the "Aropa" or the similitude and the shock of this absurdity forces the mind to the similitude (*Rupana*) in the light of which everything becomes clear. The difference between this and the *Rupaka-Dhwani*, the *Vastu-Dhwani* or the *Rasa-Dhwani* is this that here the similitude, the idea, or a delicate emotion (as the case may be) is revealed to us as the echo of the general effect of the drama which is independent in itself like the resonance of the lute or the guitar. The *modus operandi* of this linguistic activity, however, is not so easy to detect as that of the other, for the suggestions here are not revealed either from the primary or the secondary meaning but directly from the inner psychosis of the person of the hearer. The words in themselves are not so much responsible as the skill of the artist. The poet plays the strains of delicate emotion with a touch of his 'infecting' genius in such a way that our sleeping passions, cravings, yearnings and ideas in the dim twilight region of the subconscious are awakened with a pleasant surprise, and the whole

roll of our psychical personality begins to unwind. Our psychical personality of inter-penetrating tendencies receives a suggestive shock and is set in motion of itself through the dominant movement of life itself and we are transported to an ideal world of imaginative structure which appears as much real as the Real itself. This poetic communication, this infection is, therefore, the result of a double action, the objective or that on the part of the poet, consisting in the skill in projecting an image of his own heart for the conceptive faculty and the subjective or that of the reader, consisting in the action of a peculiarly sensitive nature which can receive these projections or communications. Every man says whatever he wishes to convey to his hearers, but it is the poet alone who not only says but sends a thrill as well. So it is that the man in the street hears and understands whatever is said to him, but it is only the fortunate few who have rare poetic faculty that can receive the thrill which a poet sends and can transport themselves into joy. It is neither intellectuality, wisdom, erudition, scholarship or anything of the sort, but like the eye or the ear, it is possibly a different sense and a very delicate one, a special gift of nature, which few people have the fortune to possess.

It is therefore that we often find that with many people, true poetry goes unheeded. They are more busy about the husk, possibly some moral instruction or an intellectual riddle. It is on this account also that we find that many bunglers in literature (otherwise honest and intelligent and sometimes well-read too) are anxious under a patriotic garb to shift the matter and ideal of poetry to a ground which is intelligible to them and demand that the theme of poetry should strictly be restricted to the gross reality around us on which it is the business of the poet to work in such a manner as to transform it into a moral instruction or an ideal. It will be out of place here to enter into any elaborate discussion about this strange confusion of duties between a poet and a moralist of which we have already said more than is necessary for a short criticism like this. Our intention, however, in speaking of all these is simply to invite the attention of our readers to the fact, which they sometimes forget in confusion, that the creation of the poet is essentially a thing of beauty and joy for ever; and Beauty is as true as Truth itself. We know with Kant that Beauty reveals the abiding harmony of the inner and the outer, the microcosm and the macrocosm. It is the revelation of the True to the heart, as what we call truth or the idea is a revelation to the head and there is not the slightest excuse to justify the former by the latter. Beauty is as much its own end as truth itself and as much an ideal of the heart as any idea can be.

It may now be hoped that I may be excused if I make bold to say that the main charm of the Post Office, is neither a moral instruction nor a patriotic ideal but a peaceful and gentle feeling of yearning after the infinite.

The tale itself is very simple. The god-son of a citizen Madhab, Amal by name, is advised by his physician at the time of his illness to be always kept indoors with all the doors shut up. But the child is very intensely anxious to go out, see and enjoy. But he is shut up in spite of it. He sits with a melancholy air by the window and asks every passer-by, the traveller and the dairy-man about the world outside, the Shamy river and the Panchmura hills, and almost dies with anxiety to be out to those places. He longs to be

out, he longs to be free; this is the only voice of his life, the only joy that he is capable of enjoying. "Time waits for none but goes on for ever" and Amal longs to "fly with the time to that land of which no one knows anything." He wishes to have a message from the King from his great Post Office set right in front of his window. He sees the flower girl Sudha and would like to go out to the dense forest to blossom there into a Champa with the flower girl by his side as sister Parul. The flower girl promises to give him a flower on her return and goes away. Boys come at his window; he takes great delight in their play and gives them his own toys, but amidst them all, his anxiety for the King's message persists unabated along with his longing to become free. In the second or last Act the same anxiety for the King's message grows to its utmost intensity as is evident from his conversation with the gaffer; and at last comes the message that the King himself will come to visit him. All doors are flung open and lamps put out and, bathed in the streaming light from the eternity of stars, he sleeps only to awake again at the touch of the King himself.

We may call it a drama or anything we like. There is almost no characterisation, no movement, no conflict. It is nothing more than a simple dialogue of a simple child. There is not even a song to rouse the lyrical spirit within us. It has not followed any law except that of the joy of the poet himself. It is neither a necklace of pearls nor a bouquet of flowers, but only a drop of tear, like a dew-drop on the blade of grass.

The yearning which finds its expression here is the universal yearning of mankind, an aspiration for the Beyond. It is the same as that experienced by a Nachiketa or a Dante. No doubt it is much more simple and gentle and its sound is scarcely more audible than the beatings of the heart but is not on that account less true or constant. We can not agree with Mr. Yeats when he says that the child discovers his deliverance at death, for it is the sweet sleep wherein the child awaits the visit of the King. The yearning has not ceased, the deliverance has not been won, but with a sweet hope the yearning soothes us into sleep, and this is what is death. In Phalguni the poet has tried to see life through the opaque film of Death and has discovered for us its true meaning and place. But here there is only the pain, which pierces through us and at once unites us with the created nature around us.

Beyond and beyond shall we go, illimitable time! and illimitable space! Nothing shall obstruct us, no bondage, however thin; Oh, let us be free, let us be free; this is the simplest cry that whistles through every soul. This yearning runs through us like the spirit of the Holy Quest and brings us to the brink of Death. We await the King who will deliver us from all bondage and sleep with sweet hope, and the soft glimmering beam of our life shines in the firmament of eternity but even then it twinkles and twinkles, Oh Where? Oh When?

SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA.

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE, HIS LIFE, PERSONALITY AND GENIUS. by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri B. A., B. L., Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras. Cloth bound, Pages 536.

At an auspicious moment Rabindranath began the translation of his later poems which has introduced the spirit of modern Bengal into Europe and has bought for it a remarkable place before the

nations of the world. This is indeed a very felicitous thing but the more important achievement is the opportunity that it has afforded to the sister provinces of India to hear the notes of their own joys and sorrows from the strings of the Muse of Bengal, the echo of their hearts in her heart and to feel her as a sister and to claim her as one. It is with great pleasure, therefore, that we hail this devoted admirer of Sir Rabindra from Madras. He has collected with great care and assiduity all that have appeared of Rabindranath in English and this is sure to prove highly interesting to those sincere readers whose hearts leap with joy at the true appreciation of the greatest poet of the time, the glorious son of India from strange minds and strange lands. In a valuable introduction of about 164 pages he has tried to trace the genesis and development of Tagore's genius in connection with his social and other environments and has discussed the value of his literary art with ability. He then deals with the translations, Gitanjali, the Gardener, the Chitra, the Crescent Moon, the King of the Dark Chamber, the Post Office and the Poems of Kavir in separate chapters. The last three chapters are devoted to the description of Tagore's works of fiction, Sadhana and other miscellaneous writings. The writer's devotion to Rabindranath is so complete that he has done full justice to the poet, so far as it is possible to do without reading all his works in the original Benganee in a systematic manner. When he would do this we think he would not be pleased with his own work in which he has tried to trace the development of the poet's genius merely in an external manner in which the central spring of the poet's life (like the one which the poet has himself given us in a short article in Bangabhashar Lekhak) has been utterly lost sight of. With a strong and passionate love of Nature as the data and the dynamic of his poetic joy as the principle of movement the poet has discovered for himself his own life in gradual stages and like Padmapala, in every step that he has taken, a glorious lotus has bloomed forth. His writings may have similarities with many other writings of other poets and thinkers but they are after all his own; they are not the products of stray acts of imagination but they are necessary links of an unfolding genius. Like the flower of the valley it has indeed grown under various environments from which it has taken the very sap of its life but the superb beauty and fragrance into which it has bloomed are absolutely independent of them all. No biography of Rabindranath can be successful which does not take an account of this essential factor in the development of his mind and art.

S. N. DASGUPTA.

THE LICHEL—ITS CULTIVATION AND CULTURE—by Jnanendra Mohan Dutt, B. L., Member, Behar Provincial Agricultural Association.

This small pamphlet gives an account of the means by which the lichee is planted in Muzaffarpur and by which a desirable improvement may be brought about elsewhere. The Muzaffarpur lichee is the best of its kind and it is reputed for its exquisite flavour, small seed, abundance of sweet juice, and a nice outward shape and colour. There are four different varieties of lichee found in Muzaffarpur:—(1) Bedana (small seeded) (2) Rose scented (big fruit with exquisite flavour and sweetness) (3) China (late variety) and (4) Duthia (white variety). The culture of all these varieties depends upon the soil where they are planted and their after treatments.

Lichee grows well in a moist sandy soil, fairly retentive of moisture. Gardens planted in old river beds are found to produce best fruits. The lichee does not grow well from seeds. The only means of propagation is by *Guti* or *Anta* grafting, rainy season being the best time for making such graftings and the grafts should as well be planted in rains. Oil cakes and well-rotten cowdung are the best manures for the crop and frequent irrigations are absolutely necessary for the proper growth and fruiting of plants. After the harvest of the crop pruning will secure better fruits in the next year and all wounds caused by pruning should immediately be covered with clay. The pamphlet may be very useful as it is complete in all the informations about the crop from the cultivation to the method of transport of fruits. The present pamphlet bears a testimony to the fact that the author takes a keen interest in agriculture and he has a heart to introduce improved methods of cultivation amongst the ryats. Well-laid mango and lichee orchards are a rarity in Bengal and it is high time for us to pay our best possible attention to our land. Gardening is not only a pleasure but a great profit and the success of which depends mainly on the energy and personal labour of the owner.

This pamphlet of 15 pages only has been priced at annas six which seems to be rather high. Such small booklets written in vernacular and at a cheaper price will be more welcome and useful to the people.

DEBENDRA NATH MITRA, L. AG.
(Bengal Agricultural Dept.)

I. STEPS TO PROPHET ZOROASTER with a Book of Daily Zoroastrian Prayers by Maneckji Bejanji Pithawalla, B.A., B.Sc., Principal of the Sirdar Dastur Hoshang High School, Poona [with illustrations]. Published by M. B. Pitawalla, 3, Arsenal Road, Poona. Pp. vii + 236. Price Rs. 2.

It is said in the sacred writings of the followers of the Majdayasnian Religion that

"Yanim mano, yanim vacho, yanim skyasthneum ashaoum Zarathustrake" or in Neryosangh's Sanskrit—

शोभनमनाः शोभनवाचाः शोभनकर्म

वभूव पुण्यात्मा जरथुष्ट्रः ।

And it may be thus rendered into English : Good was the thought, good was the word, and good was the deed of the holy Zarathustra. Good thoughts (*humata*), good words (*huktha*) and good deeds (*hvarshata*) were the watch-words of the great Prophet of ancient Iran which he practically illustrated by his own life till he was slain by a Turanian when worshipping in the sanctuary. The author is a follower of the faith preached by such a great person, and, with a view to supplying the young students of his community with a useful book on their religion and literature he has written the present volume. It is divided into ten books and provides a great variety of matters in simple English for general reading. Almost all the things which the young students are required to learn have been concisely described or illustrated in it. But the life of the Prophet should have been described to a greater extent even omitting the last two books entirely. A few pages ought to have also been devoted completely to write on Ahura Mazda, the central point of the book, and his creation together with the counter-creation by Angra Mainyu. We see that Dr. Spooner's new theory regarding the Persian influence in ancient

India and the Persian style of Chandragupta's palace excavated in Pataliputra of which much has been discussed in this Review, too, has found its place in Mr. Pithawalla's book !

The Parsees are generally called *Fire-worshippers*, but what the expression really signifies has very clearly and rightly been stated in the following lines by Mr. Pithawalla as if joining with his Hindu brethren :—

"Ours is not Fire-worship or idolatry. Far from it. We emphatically repeat in song No. 13 thus : 'Through the agency of Thy Divine Fire, approach we Thee and Thee alone, O Ahura ?' Yet we need to add that as long as the soul is imprisoned by flesh, as long as man is absorbed in matters worldly, such a powerful medium as the Holy fire burning on the *sanctum sanctorum* in the Atash-Beheram, is not only helpful but essential to the people at large. It may be possible, at a higher stage of Man's development, to dispense with the aid of such visible natural forms as fire or the symbol of the sun, and meditate upon the abstract qualities of Ahura Mazda without stepping into Temple..... But such cases are rare and what is right and proper for one is not necessarily right for every one else." Pp. 69-70.

The book will serve the purpose of those for whom it is intended, and we have also no hesitation in saying that general readers will have a good deal of information regarding Zoroastrianism from this handy volume which has been dedicated to the Grand Old Man of India, Sir Dadabhai Naoroji and contains some illustrations, two of them being the different plans of the Dohkma or the Tower of Silence as it is often called.

II. THE COMING AND THE PASSING OF ZOROASTER by Ruby, published by the Board of Management of the Sirdar Dastur Hoshang High School, Poona. Pp. 24. Address : 3, Arsenal Road, Poona.

This nicely printed booklet with the words "With the Compliments of the Season" contains some stanzas on the advent and departure of Zoroaster.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

READINGS FROM INDIAN HISTORY, by E. R. Sykes, Pt. I, from Vedic Times to the death of Aurangzeb, viii + 248, with 79 illustrations. (Christian Literature Society of India) 2 s. net.

The special value of this little book lies in its wealth of illustrations distinctly reproduced, and its attention to art and architecture. But the title of "Readings" given to it is a misnomer. The author's intention to let her readers "read what Indians of bygone ages actually wrote about the events of their time," has been carried out to a fractional extent only, the major portion of the book being in her own words. It should, therefore, be judged as a History of India for students of the familiar type. From this point of view it is readable, but has nothing distinctive in style, arrangement or information.

BEGAMS OF BENGAL, translated from the Bengali of Brajendra Nath Banerji. 12 + 50. (Mitter & Co., Calcutta, 1915), 12 annas.

It is a carefully written and accurate account of seven ladies of the family of the Nawabs of Bengal from Murshid Quli Khan to Mir Jafar. These ladies, always fair and often frail as well, had great influence on the administration, and hence a correct and scholarly presentation of their lives, though of thin texture, has some value. This little book explains

the moral degradation of the ruling house which made the catastrophes of Plassey and Undhua Nala possible. In the middle 18th century the morals of the "masnad of Murshidabad" were the morals of the barn-door.

AN INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH HISTORY, Vol. I. Pre-Tudor Period, by A. M. Srinivasha-Raghavan, 11+282 (C. Subbiah Chetty, Madras, 1915).

We do not review school-books unless they have any distinctive feature.

LAILI AND MAJNUN, translated from the Persian of Nizami, by James Atkinson, vi+80. (Reprinted by the Panini Office, Allahabad.)

This little book is another example of the useful work the Panini Office has been doing in its own quiet way by reprinting out-of-print books dear to the heart of the orientalist. Nizami of Ganja, (born 1140, died 1202), is one of the few first-rate Persian poets and his *Laila and Majnun* is one of the most popular of all love-stories in the East. As Prof. Browne writes in his monumental *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II., "Nizami's high rank as a poet alike original, fruitful, and of rare and noble genius, is admitted by all critics.....If his genius, has few rivals among the poets of Persia, his character has even fewer. He was genuinely pious, yet singularly devoid of fanaticism and intolerance; self-respecting and independent, yet gentle and unostentatious; a loving father and husband" (pp. 402-403.) The poem under review is one of his five great romances and runs to nearly 4,000 verses in the original. Atkinson's translation, executed in 1835, is in rhymed verse, smooth-flowing, pleasant to read, and preserving the colouring and spirit of the original, though the elegance, tricks of style and sonorous music of the Persian necessarily vanish in a translation into the tongue of the cold and taciturn Teutons of the white island. Now and then Atkinson rises to true poetry (e.g., p. 13, 67, &c.)

J. SAEKAR.

MADRAS VILLAGE PANCHAYATS: by M. S. Sesha Aiyengar: published by the Tamil Sangam Press, Madura. (No price mentioned.)

Another little brochure of 17 pp. The writer discusses some of the changes introduced or proposed to be introduced in the constitution and working of Village Panchayets in the Madras Presidency, in consequence of the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission. The Madras Government have favoured the revival of the old Village Panchayat in the place of the artificial unions but the experiment has been confined within narrow limits. The writer regrets that Government have not conferred exclusive powers to the Panchayets to try petty civil and criminal cases whereby much trouble and expense would be saved to poor litigants.

The new developments in Bengal in connection with the President-Panchayet system with the introduction of the circle officer to oversee the work of unions should be keenly watched by students of village Government in India. The indigenous village Panchayet, however, does not exist in Bengal nor has the Government tried to revive it wherever it may be found to exist. The union is the creature of legislation but several important functions in connection with local taxation, sanitation and the administration of civil and criminal justice in petty cases have been delegated or were proposed to be delegated to them. Hence their importance.

NOTES ON HOLLAND'S JURISPRUDENCE: by Kailash Krishna Bhattacharya. Price Re. 1-4 as. Mohila Press. 27, 29 Pataldanga Street, Calcutta.

In the preface the author writes as follows: "These notes are an attempt to help the student to master Holland's Jurisprudence (11th edition) within an easy compass, though they are not meant to supersede the original book. For this purpose University questions from 1870 to 1915 have been incorporated in the book and copious tables have been given often bringing the matter of a whole chapter in one page. Austin has been quoted where necessary and the important footnotes of Hollandhave been given in proper places."

University questions have been printed at the end of each chapter as well as against each para. The book will be useful to students preparing for the degree Examination in Law.

INDIAN LAND REVENUE, TAX OR RENT: by M. S. Sesha Iyengar, Hony. Secy. Madura District People's Association, etc. (No price mentioned.)

This little brochure of 24 pages is a reprint from the "South Indian Mail" of an article on the above subject by the writer. It is an attempt, a very modest attempt, to summarise the opinions of the principal authorities on the subject of Indian Land Revenue with regard to this knotty problem. The writer concludes with a quotation from the writings of the late Mr. G. V. Joshi to the effect that the tax theory has the weight of authority on its side and should be persistently maintained. Wrote the late Mr. Joshi: "If we, however, strenuously continue to maintain the principle so authoritatively laid down in the court of Directors' despatch of 1856 and subsequently re-approved in the despatches of Sir Charles Wood in 1864 of Lytton's Government in 1880 that the state assessment on the land is revenue only, not economic rent, and that land throughout the country is private property subject to the payment of such revenue, there will be no disposition on the part of our Land Revenue Administration, as there appears to be in some quarters, to enhance its demands upon the land more and more to ominous levels out of all proportion to fiscal necessities and without a "proper regard" to an equitable distribution of public burdens as between the landholding and other classes."

It cannot be gainsaid that in ancient India the State always took a share out of the produce of the land. But it was a tax pure and simple and its justification was the protection which the state afforded. But in spite of the *Shastric* authority for this proposition and the immemorial custom in support of it—the British Government have found it advantageous to leave things hazy and indistinct. They dare not say that it is a tax and they do not want to rouse public opinion by calling it rent. In either case they will have to face uncongenial logical conclusions.

The Government of India have recently published a despatch which they addressed to Lord Morley in 1910 on the subject of legislative enactment for fixing the proportion of agricultural profits which Government should appropriate as Land Revenue. The arguments urged against this salubrious recommendation of the Decentralisation Commission in the Government Despatch will clearly show that the Government while recognising the necessity of such a limit are afraid of legislative enactment on the subject. The arguments used by the Govern

ment are specious to say the least of them. If land revenue is a tax on income why should there not be a statutory limit to it and if an Income Tax Act can work smoothly why cannot a Land Revenue Act on similar lines?

B. C.

GUJARATI.

PATAN NI PRABHUTA, by Ghanshyam, printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, pp. 240. Paper cover. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1916).

This is a historical novel, recalling the times when Gujarat gloried in its own kings. The period chosen is the one when owing to the invasion of the province by the Mahomedans, (Mahmud of Ghazni) Anhilwad Patan, the capital of Gujarat had lost much of its importance. The narrative portrays the struggle of the Jain with the Rajput for mastery, and incidentally depicts the intrigue of the Jain as well as his valor. The creed of 'Ahimsa' did not stand in his way, and he wielded his sword as effectively as his brain when the occasion demanded the use of the one or the other. The story is a "galloping" one, and the patriotism of the inhabitants of Patan, whether Jain or Rajput, when threatened by an alien enemy, is the most creditable episode of the whole story.

VIDYARTHI NI UCHH BHAVNAO, by Jatashanker Trikarnji Jani, B. A., L.L. B., Surat, printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar, Paper cover, pp. 57. Price Re. 0-3-0 (1916).

The title of the Book shews the purpose with which it is written.

PRAMADA PRAN ARPAN, by Maniklal Mahadevi Vera of Halvad, printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover, pp. 47. Price Re. 0-4-0 (1915).

The subject matter of these verses is the miserable life led by an ill-matched couple, and the longing of the wife for a cultured companion. The writer is an advocate of *आत्मव्रत* as opposed to *देहव्रत*. Some of the verses betray great feeling.

SHRI ANAND KAVYA MAHODADHI, PEARL IV, published by Naginbhai Ghelabhai Jhaveri, printed at the Surat Jain Printing Press, Cloth cover, pp. 680. Price Re. 0-12-0. (1915).

This fourth book in the series of old Jain Gujarati Literature contains the Shatrunjaya Mahatmya of Shriwan Jina Harsha, and is edited by a well known Jain Suri, Shri Buddhi Sagar Suri. It is a Rasu, and is written in the last century. The introduction is both entertaining and informing.

BHALAN'S KADAMBARI, by Keshavlal H Dhruva. B. A., printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover, pp. 360. Price Rs. 3-0-0 (1916).

Bhalan, a poet who flourished in the 15th century, has written many works. Out of that Mr. Keshavlal has selected his Kadambari for editing and annotating. This is but the first part of Mr. Keshavlal's work, it contains the bare text and its annotation. The more important part, containing the lives of Bhalan and Bana is still to follow. The editor is acknowledged on all hands to be the first and foremost authority on old Gujarati Language and Literature, and in the carefully edited text, and its scholarly notes, he has in no way detracted from the reputation he has established. In fact, the notes are a storehouse in themselves, not only of old lore, and learning, but also of the Alankar Shastra. Reading these notes, we were reminded of the thoroughness with which Rev. Kitchin has edited and annotated Spencer's Faery Queene. Indeed this part of the work sets a model to annotators, and shews how exacting the work of annotation is and what wide knowledge it requires. The three indexes at the end add to the worth of the Book.

ERRATA.

In the August (1916) number of the Modern Review at p. 202, column 2, in line 32, read 'later' instead of 'latter', and in the last line, 'considerate' instead of 'considerable.'

K. M. J.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Can Hindu Civilization be Synthetised ?

BY PRAMATHA NATH BOSE.

I am thankful to "Politicus" for his article reviewing my "Illusions of New India" in the July issue of the Modern Review. I do not know if I deserve all the compliments which he has so generously showered on me. But, there is one compliment he pays me indirectly, and, I think unconsciously, which I can conscientiously lay claim to. He has not unoften cited me in support of his views though they are diametrically opposed to mine. That shows that I have endeavoured to present both sides of the case dealt with by me fairly. I only wish his quotations

were fuller and a wee bit more impartial. I am afraid he has been too much under the influence of his apprehension that my humble work is likely to be taken as a "sort of Bible" by the "Orthodox reactionaries."

But the compliment which "Politicus" has paid me indirectly is to a great extent discounted by his insinuation, that I have but little first-hand knowledge of rural life in India. If that be really the case, I would certainly be lacking in a very important element of the equipment of an Indian Sociologist;

and the opinions which I have expressed in my work in regard to the condition of my countrymen would be more or less of an academic character. I am, therefore, at the risk of being unsidered egotistic, constrained to give some personal detail which "Politicus" does not appear to be aware of. My first-hand knowledge of rural life in Bengal, I must confess, is confined to a small part of it, and is chiefly of a reminiscent character being obtained in my younger days some four decades ago. But within the last thirty-five years I have had to travel in various parts of India and Burma, not as tourists do visiting only places of note, but I have had to "live, move and have my being" among village folk every year month after month, usually for six months together. So, I think, I may not unreasonably claim a wider range of Indian rural experience than "Politicus."

"Politicus" is a Neo-Indian of the best type, one who has rejected the outer trappings of Western civilization, and has assimilated, or is trying to assimilate what he considers to be the best in it. He has entered on what he calls the third or "Synthetic" stage of reconciliation of the two opposing movements into a higher synthesis in which "all that is great and good in occidental civilization will be added to and assimilated by oriental civilization," and has relegated my poor self to the lower stage of antithesis, the stage of reaction "fostered by the nationalist impulse" against "wholesale admiration of Western civilization." I am not ashamed to say that I belong to the stage he has assigned me. But I have come down to it (if descent it is)—from the higher stage of antithesis, not without giving such thought to the subject as I am capable of.

Synthesis is a word which sounds very well. But is it possible, except very superficially, in the case of Hindu civilization, which having gone through the stages which the Western civilization is going through now, has attained the maturity, the rigidity and the equilibrium of the third stage? It is all very well to talk of assimilating all that is "good and great" in Western civilization. But it is extremely difficult to determine what is good and great in that or any other civilization. The multitudinous and excessively complex character of sociological phenomena renders the task of analysing them an extremely arduous one. It is a trite observation, that there is hardly any institution or agency which is altogether good or bad and the good and the bad are so intimately intermingled, that it is usually very difficult to separate and weigh them in order to find which way the scale turns. The difficulty is considerably enhanced by the fact, that our ideas of what is good and what is evil are to a great extent influenced by our education and environment. Our education being almost entirely on Western lines, we have along with it imbibed Western ideas and views which, no doubt in many cases unconsciously, affect and colour our judgments. The article of "Politicus" is an excellent example of this Western bias. For instance, his eulogistic observations about the world-war now going on are only an echo of similar observations with which current Western literature has made us so familiar. "Is there no lesson for us," asks "Politicus," "in the marvellous heroism, self-sacrifice, national solidarity, and patriotic ardour, which the world-war has evoked in all the belligerent countries, if not the wonderful scientific skill, brain power, and organising genius which are being displayed by the Western nations on so vast a scale? To be unable to appreciate the moral qualities which lie behind

the nations now in the grip of war argues a blind conceit and self-sufficiency which is a sure sign of decay."

I am not at all ashamed to confess, that I am unable to appreciate the "moral" qualities which the war has "evoked in all the belligerent countries," though I thus lay myself open to the charge of "blind conceit and self-sufficiency." I cannot draw any very sharp line of demarcation between two at least of the belligerent nations and well-organised bands of brigands and even of some lower animals. They appear to me to differ only in the magnitude of the scale on which their operations are conducted. There have been and still are predatory associations who exhibit marvellous heroism, self-sacrifice and solidarity, and the leaders of whom exhibit "wonderful scientific skill, brainpower, intellectual and moral resources, and organising genius."

There is no doubt, that, as Politicus says, "from homogeneity to heterogeneity, from simplicity to complexity of structure and organisation is the order of evolution." This is a truth which is recognised by ancient as well as modern thinkers, whether of the East or of the West. But "Politicus" evidences his pro-Western bias when following the great majority of the Westerners he confounds evolution with progress and gives vent to thinly veiled contempt for the "vegetative" and "bucolic existence" of old India "not disturbed by high endeavour and deep thought" and for the "low standard of comfort and a simple scheme of life which characterised them." On the authority of Sir Henry Maine he takes me to task for forgetting that the village communities of India were only "primitive social organisms to which the Hindus owed some rudimentary administration of justice when no government existed outside the village capable of giving authority to court or judge."

The fact that evolution may be progressive as well as regressive is recognised even by some Western thinkers whose pronouncements are taken by Neo-Indians to be gospel truths. I have elsewhere* expatiated upon the evil effects of the amazing advance of Western industries from homogeneity to heterogeneity and shall not take up your valuable space by repeating what I have said there.

The machinery for the administration of justice in our country in pre-British times was certainly "rudimentary" compared to the machinery which has been set into motion now. But except during the short period of anarchy which was concomitant with the dissolution of the Mogul Empire, was it not much less costly and much more expeditious and effective? The present machinery, however scientific and advanced, no doubt invigorates a few limbs of the law, but at the enormous cost of the ruin, economic as well as moral, of a good portion of the rest of the community. The standard of living in old India is not quite so simple and primitive as the majority of Westerners and Westernised Indians consider it to be. Old India is not quite devoid of "high endeavour and deep thought" as they imagine, as is evidenced by the very large number of earnest reformers and profound thinkers which it has produced down to the present day. The social organisation of old India, however, is unquestionably primitive compared to that of the West, and its standard of living is much simpler than what obtains there. But, to put it on no higher ground, would it not be

* *Epochs of Civilization*—"The Root cause of the Great War."

suicidal for a community the average income of whose members does not exceed thirty rupees a year, to adopt the standard of living of a community the annual average income of whose members is more than twenty-two times as much? Does not the simple standard tend to promote indigenous industry, and, by the application of superfluous wealth to works of public utility instead of to personal gratification, foster such qualities of immense survival-value to a community as benevolence and charity? and is not the elevation to the Western standard which "Politicians" and other Neo-Indians plead for tending to deepen our industrial servitude and our impoverishment, and by inordinately intensifying the struggle for animal existence making us more and more selfish and greedy and driving such large numbers to dark and devious by-ways of making money? Whatever Maine, Vincent and other authorities cited by "Politicians" may say, and however they and their followers of New India may sneer at the "primitive," "vegetative" and "bucolic" life of Old India, I would not only not be ashamed to lead it, but would prefer it to the more or less parasitic urban life in New India. The truth is, advance from "simplicity to complexity," from "homogeneity to heterogeneity" is good upto a certain limit which has to be determined by physical,

economical and ethical considerations. The great thing is not perpetual advance in this direction, not continuous rushing forward, called progress, but the establishment of a moving equilibrium between the various forces which make for progress. I have dwelt at length upon this subject in my "Epochs of Civilization" and would refer the curious reader to it. If moving or dynamic equilibrium be established, I see no reason why a comparatively "lowly organism" like Hindu Society which secures the happiness of its members without causing misery to humanity as a whole should not be preferable to the much more complex and imposing but unequilibrated and, therefore, less stable Western Society which if it secures the happiness of its members at all, it does so at the sacrifice of that of humanity as a whole. The pro-Western bias of "Politicians" is also pronounced in his refutation of my position, that there is more degradation among the masses in the West than among the corresponding classes in India. What I have exactly said in my work is this: "There is more poverty here than in the West, and more ignorance judged by the standard of literacy, but there is much less of squalor and brutality, much less of degradation and misery." This conclusion is based upon experience the range of which, as I have tried to show above, is much wider than that of my critic.

A SUGGESTION FOR INDIAN INDUSTRIALISTS

IN England a textile manufacturer's factory was taken over by the Government for war purposes. He came to the United States, and bought a factory to continue filling his contracts for goods. Conditions here are so good all round that he means to stay, and he predicts that other manufacturers from England and the Continent will be attracted by the same advantages—larger output due to automatic machinery, and better paid workers, freedom from heavy war taxes, convenience of raw materials, and so on. Best of all, he says, is the feeling of exhilaration he finds in American business—he likes our "pep". His particular line of business is peculiar turbans for the Hindus. The Hindu brother's turban is now made in America at twenty percent less cost than in England, by mill hands who get three times the English wage."

The above extract taken from an article in an American Weekly, sets one wondering when India intends giving up dreaming dreams, on the one hand, and futile grumbling on the other, to do something for herself. There are plenty of politicians in India, but a wretched lack of business enterprise, which far more than any other factor, keeps India in leading strings. So far as one can judge from speeches her activities are limited to importuning the Government and waiting for something to turn up. Yet there are things she could do and do at once that would take her a long way towards her desire if she could shake off her apathy, her habit of relying on Government aid, and her conservatism of ways and means. For instance, how long is she going to contribute to the commercial wealth of other countries, and drain her own strength by receiving and buying goods which

she can manufacture as competently and cheaply herself, if she were really resolved to do it. Why does not India make her own turbans? Why does she not control her own industries, and run her own import and export trade? Why is she content to whine and beg? That is not how England and Germany and America grew rich. England did not win India by war. She won it by Trade—now, and to be, the greatest power in the world—and if India's Rajas, and landholders, merchants and rich men would give as generously for the expansion, protection and mighty future of her industries, as they have towards the war, they will find themselves standing on their own feet quicker than any political power can put them there, and be in a position to contribute more funds to Government to tide over the far more menacing crisis which will have to be faced by all the belligerent powers after the war is over. There are difficulties you say, in the way. There is not a difficulty which cannot be removed. Money and influence are the only things one wants to do anything one likes. India, has the one, she can make the other. Lacs of rupees have been poured out like water for aeroplane funds; ambulance funds, war funds, hospital funds, and many other minor "aids". That was right. India is part of the Empire, and should support it, but she owes a duty none the less to her own particular bit of it, and a little industrial enterprise started now, with the wonderful opportunities the war offers, could in no wise do ought but succeed.

Now what about this problem? Can India not handle it? Is she the victim of conflicting self-interests, of Government monopoly, and so on? Then go out of India. Do what England and Germany and

America have done to make them what they are. Is there no capital and no ambition here except for University degrees? You send your students abroad by the hundreds, and they come back for the most part useless, for to tread round and round the restricted circle of the political arena is atrophy, and they appear to have no inclination for more useful employment. Send your merchants and capitalists abroad. Let them do what that English manufacturer is doing. Send your ambitions, your energies, and your brains to America; buy and start your factories there, make your money and then bring it back. If foreign goods must come to India, then let there be Indian manufacturing firms in the West, to compete with Western manufacturing firms for a market here, and let India give them their support by placing their orders with them. Money is power. Let India make money, and leave politics alone, and trade will soon put her in a stronger position to resume politics, than she will have without the backing prosperity can give. But if India is not willing to use what wealth and means she has for the good and growth of her people, then let her cease her futile grumbling, her wordy discontent, her anarchy and lawlessness, her snarling at Government, and her contemptible cowardice when the latter shows any inclination to take notice of an offence. These are not the ways of men, and they will not bring India to her goal. If Government

will not give you what you want, get it for yourself. Do not ask for Government support. This means Government control, and Government already controls the channels through which wealth grows. Commerce and manufactures have been built up by British aid, and is therefore mainly in British hands; it is the same with your railways and steamships, and with your institutions. Change all this. Ask your Rajas and your own rich people to support the venture, and raise the loans and see if India cannot do business on her own feet. Will you need a readjustment of laws, or new ones to help you to do it? What are the members who represent you on the Council there for? If they cannot do anything for you, then they should not be there at all. Indians ought to be able to bring pressure enough to bear on the members who represent India in Council, to prevent the latter from lapsing into mere sleeping partners in the firm of Government and Co. If she cannot, she is not worth much. If she is worth anything at all she ought to make good. England has a right to what she has made by her manhood, her enterprise, her business capacity and her sacrifices; and her tenacity of purpose—big things to be up against—but India can have those same things by employing the same means. England began with an East India Company. Let India begin with a West India one, and begin now, before the war is over.

ALMA.

GLEANINGS

A Modern Primitive in Art.

It is an unusual thing for an artist to be claimed by opposing camps and hailed as one by each of them. Paul Manship, whose sculptures have been an artistic sensation of the winter in New York, has had this strange experience. The progressives "commented on his simplicity," the academicians, regarding him as one of their number, "point with pride to his superb technique." Ninety of his works were sold from his exhibition, private buyers and public galleries competing for possession. His *metier* being found among the primitives of Greek and Indian art, he stands outside the easy and formal classifications, and so is open to adoption anywhere. Having won a scholarship at the American Academy in Rome, Mr. Manship studied there and later in Greece. "Manship traveled extensively and learned a great lesson—the essential unity of all great primitive art, whether Greek, Assyrian, Gothic, Egyptian, or Indian. From each and all of them he took something, molded it to his own purposes or adjusted his personality to the older style." Mr. Manship is not to be admired because he has succeeded in any worldly sense, "but because in a materialistic age he has contrived to affirm an enchanting ideal."

"He has cared for what is right and fine, and the public has cared with him—a cheerful fact, which it is good to have to record. Here is a man who has let his mind rest on ideas of a beguiling interest and

charm, whose reliance upon the traditions of the past has unduly sophisticated his art, depriving it of the racy tang of creative originality, but whose very excess of culture has laid upon his work a certain persuasive bloom, like that of some exquisite hothouse growth. To be exquisite at all is a rare achievement, and, craze or no craze, it is a sound judgment that has brought the public to Mr. Manship's support. It drives unmistakably at the ratification of that principle which chiefly sustains him in his labors—the principle that in art beauty is all."

It is a complex order of beauty that Manship's art embodies. Grace of form he achieves, art in doing so "depends more upon purity of line than upon subtlety of surface." Then, too, "he has the ingenuity of a Renaissance goldsmith in the application of ornament"; his designs have "a bewitchingly decorative quality," and "the whole fabric of his work is animated by a positively realistic feeling for nature"—

"And yet it leaves the full tale untold. For the rounding out of that we have to turn to an element not plastic, specifically, but broadly personal—we turn to a state of mind. If Mr. Manship was not so clearly possess of an instinct for his craft we should be inclined to describe him as a kind of literary man in art, a master of all the cultures, an eclectic to whom the schools have given precisely the sort of inspiration commended by Stevenson to his 'sedulous



"THE SUN-DIAL."

This is a leaf taken by Manship from the art of the Orient.

ape.' Just as an Austin Dobson, say, can take the measure of Pope and do with it what he will, so can Mr. Manship seize the idiom of another age and fairly abash us by his use of it. Consider, for example, the 'Sun-Dial,' which is one of the most charming things in the show and, by the same token, of those which most frankly confess their exotic derivation. Its prototypes are easily discoverable in Indian art. Mr. Havell's book on that subject illustrates a Nepalese Bodhisattva, a copper-gilt statuette in the art-gallery at Calcutta, which will take us very close to the source of Mr. Manship's inspiration. In that the immobile god sits cross-legged on his pedestal, his head enhaloed and his whole figure surrounded by a wreath conventionalizing the sacred bo-tree. Mr. Manship's watcher of the passage of time is a seminude woman; her body is set in a quite different composition, she wears a different nimbus, and in place of the wreath aforesaid there is a wheel-like pattern of dancers, in low relief. In the base the beaded and foliated decoration of the Indian piece gives way to the signs of the zodiac, unrolled beneath the simplest moldings. Mr. Havell describes his Oriental god as holding in one hand the *amrita*, or nectar of immortality. The uplifted hand of the woman of Mr. Manship's 'Sun-Dial' is similarly provided with an emblem, in her case a flower. She, too, with downcast eyes, broods over her endless vigil. Now, we find it impossible to think of the one sculpture existing in the absence of the other; yet we delight in the later work—it is so lovely in itself, and it is executed with such superb skill.

"To Mr. Manship's skill and to his taste we are always coming back. Let us accept once for all his intense sophistication, his *flair* for things Greek, things Egyptian, things Roman, things Renaissance,



"THE BABY."

Like a child of the Renaissance, Mr. Manship's little daughter is here depicted within a frame wrought with the detailed skill of a Medicean goldsmith in the application of ornament.

and with it his way of making us feel that we are not in the workshop of a modern artist, but in some European museum of old bronzes. It is at all events an enchanting museum. What he does there he does, as a rule, superlatively well. It would be hard to beat the decorative felicity of his terra-cotta flower-boxes. How justly he places the animals that adorn the front of one of them! How perfectly are the rims and bases embellished! The wonderful little relief-portrait of the artist's daughter is almost too consummate. A sculptor of the golden age in Florence would have left it with a softer bloom, a finer simplicity. But both in the marble and in the frame Mr. Manship gets about as near to the art of that period as it would seem humanly possible for a modern man to get. One recalls Bastianini and his marvelous revival of the Renaissance spirit, which 'took in' the *cognoscenti*. Mr. Manship does not take us in. He does not try to. He simply turns Italian—and justifies himself. His work on a large scale is disappointing. The scale is large, but not the number. A group like the 'Dancer and Gazelles' misses the true monumental accent and feeling; it gives one momentarily an uncomfortable sense of a statuette magnified. 'The Infant Hercules' leaves an impression of being overdecorated, overwrought, and this view of the matter is



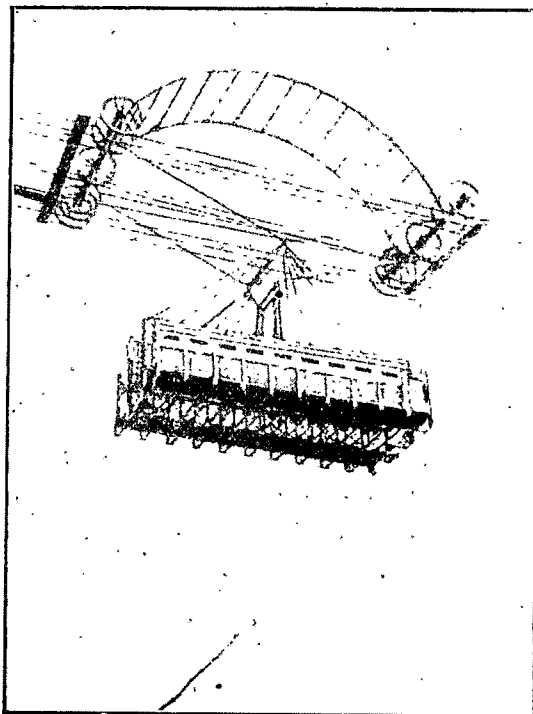
"PLAYFULNESS."

From a bronze by Paul Manship, who ransacks the whole world and all time for inspiration and is called "an eclectic among the masters of the past."

only confirmed on the present occasion. The 'God of Hunting,' an Indian figure casually attractive in its rich lapis-lazuli tone, ends by asserting itself through bigness without grandeur.

"Not yet has Mr. Manship mastered the secret of heroic sculpture, and as we wonder why, seeing that these very statues, so wanting in authority, are yet so accomplished, so interesting, we are thrown back upon the general tendency of his work and begin to discern a clue. Is it not possible that this gifted sculptor, paradoxically, does not see his subjects sculpturally, does not grasp the masses in form as a sculptor grasps them? The distinction, if on the surface somewhat arbitrary, is at bottom defensible. All the great modelers, Donatello, Michelangelo, to say nothing of the Greeks, have had a way of making you feel the depth and solidity of form: the contour has but followed the mass. Mr. Manship is too willing to stop at the contour, to seek the sharp, pictorially expressive outline."

"Manship in his work reveals himself as free from every form of morbidity, a frank genial nature overflowing with piquant humor, a man of taste who loves superb workmanship for its own sake. He is still too young and his temperament too joyous to create works breathing the poignant pathos of the magnificent fragments at Reim, or comparable with the creations of the ancient meditative geniuses, nor is he aiming to produce gaudiose figures whose souls are tormented. Already, however, his name awakens in our minds the idea of *finesse* and perfection as contrasted with artistic slovenliness, which is such a prevailing fashion in our day. Here is an artist who will never exploit his personality and whose works are so carefully thought out that no points are accentuated. Had Brancusi constructed an amazing



ACROSS THE WHIRLPOOL OF NIAGARA BY TROLLEY.

The car is suspended from six track-cables.

sculptural caricature on the lines of the 'Brisis' the modernists would not fail to call attention to the beautiful simplification, the delightful surface, the solid modeling, and the clever way in which the drapery cuts the line of the nude figure at the back, whereas before Manship's work you are simply lost in admiration."—*The Literary Digest*.

Cableway over Niagara's Whirlpool.

The great whirlpool in the Niagara gorge, some distance below the falls, has recently been spanned by a passenger-cableway at a cost of \$60,000. Six parallel cables whose length from one point of support to the other is longer than in any similar structure in the world are kept at constant tension, with the varying load, by automatically adjusted weights at one end, and the weight of the car, as it travels, is distributed among the six, three on each side. The design is of Spanish origin.

The passenger-car is suspended from a running gear which travels on six parallel track-cables of 1-inch crucible-steel rope. Each cable is anchored securely at Colt's Point by means of a 2-inch rod bent into an anchorage in a 740-ton concrete block. At the other terminus each track-cable passes over a sheave and is fastened to a counterweight or stretcher. Boxes of riveted steel contain cast-iron weights sufficient to make a total of 10 tons for each track-cable counterweight. The boxes move up and down freely in steel guides, maintaining the tension in each cable always at 10 tons, regardless of the load on the cables.

Each track-cable is entirely independent of the others. The breaking of any one of them would not

be serious, as the other cables would support all the weight of the car without any increase in their tension. The car would drop several feet suddenly, and, after a few vertical oscillations, would assume a new position of equilibrium. Thus the breaking of one cable would not imperil the passengers—and the breaking of two cables at the same time would be very improbable.

The car seats twenty-four passengers and provides standing-room in a raised aisle in the center of the car for twenty-two more, including the conductor.

The car is propelled by a seven-eighths-inch plow-steel traction-cable fastened to one end. The trip can be made in about four and one-half minutes, but it is planned to permit it to occupy six minutes by running at half-speed part of the time.

An automatic control-stop is provided in each terminal, which stops the car without jar.

The car will still be 148 feet above the surface of the water at the point of maximum sag.

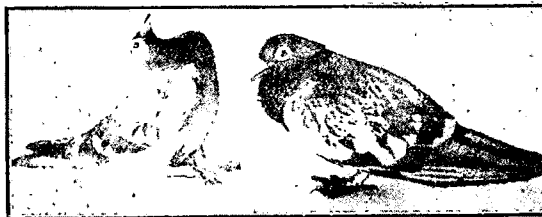
—*The Literary Digest.*

The Vitamine as a Key to the Mystery of "Deficiency Diseases."

When physiology was just beginning to be recognized as a distinct science, the articles of our food were regarded as made up of three classes of materials—fats, carbohydrates and proteins and it was thought that if these materials were present in the diet in sufficient quantity, the maintenance of health was assured. Much later it was seen that if the protein element be deficient in certain "amino-acids," no superabundance of the other materials will make good the deficiency and the food is unable to maintain the integrity of the living tissues. The essential factors of a complete diet are therefore more numerous than was suspected. Recognition of the synthetic or building powers of the living organism has suggested the possibility that other substances may be present in the food which are indispensable, whose withdrawal from the diet would be attended with fatal results.

There are certain mysterious substances in the body—the so-called internal secretions, hormones, enzymes and so forth—of which very small traces bring about changes of immense importance in the living organism. These substances are being constantly destroyed and renewed. The peculiarity of their structure suggests that their elaboration is dependent upon the presence in the food of materials essentially different from the common proteins, carbohydrates and fats. If these essential materials are persistently absent from the diet, the normal metabolic processes are likely to become disturbed and deranged culminating in changes of a pernicious character. The justification of this hypothesis is shown in the remarkable light it throws upon a number of diseases caused by a too rigid diet. Such diseases have been grouped as "deficiency diseases." They include rickets, beri-beri, scurvy, pellagra. In each case the condition is attributed to the absence from the diet of an essential material termed vitamine. The vitamine is more or less specific in its action in preventing the onset of the disease. Beri-beri affords a conspicuous example:

"Beri-beri is a disease which used to be common in Japan, the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines—countries where rice is the staple article of diet. That rice consumption was really the cause of beri-beri was suggested as early as 1878,



BIRD BEFORE INJECTION SAME BIRD AFTER INJECTION
OF VITAMINE. OF VITAMINE.

The minuteness of the quantities of these vitamines which are requisite to maintain normal processes of life suggest that they must have something to do with the production of some of the essential hormones, internal secretions, enzymes, etc., in the animal organism.

but Eykman was the first to bring forward, in 1897, evidence which seemed to establish a close connection between the use of 'polished' rice and the appearance of the disease.

"The rice grain.....consists of an inner part and an outer husk. The inhabitants of the regions just referred to live almost entirely on rice which has had its husk removed—polished rice—and Eykman showed that the addition of the missing husk, rice bran, or the substitution of unpolished for polished rice, was sufficient to effect the cure of the disease and prevent its subsequent recurrence.

"Eykman found weakness, and *post mortem*, the



VITAMINE TEST.

Two chickens each two months old. The smaller one has been fed on red rice, the other on ordinary food.

peripheral nerves, the vagus, spinal cord, and cranial nerves all show signs of degeneration whilst the muscles, including the heart muscle, are also degenerated and atrophied. In birds, the paralysis of wings and legs is most apparent, and the head is usually pressed back in a characteristic manner by contraction of the muscles in the neck. When these characteristic symptoms appear, the birds, if undisturbed, seldom live for more than twenty-four hours. Eykman found that if, when such a condition has become developed, the rice bran, or an extract of it, is given to the bird, it rapidly recovers, and, regains its normal condition."

The anti-beri-beri vitamin has also been detected in milk, oats, wheat, barley, maize and beans, in cabbage and other vegetables, in white bread and in ox bran. It is soluble in water and alcohol, and passes through a semiporous membrane. It is destroyed by heating to a very high temperature. As regards its chemical structure not much is known.

A theory suggested by Eykman was that the polished rice contained an injurious toxin and that the husk contained an anti-toxin. But the vitamin theory of Casimir Funk is regarded as the most simple and reasonable explanation of the known facts. "The vitamin being necessary for the maintenance of the metabolic processes, particularly of the nervous tissues, the store of it in the body becomes, on feeding with vitamin-free food, gradually exhausted. First the store in the muscles is called upon, then that in the liver, and finally the heart, brain, and nerves themselves become involved. In this way we can account for the onset of the marked nerve degeneration occurring towards the end of the disease."

Evidence indicates that pellagra is due to a deficiency of vitamins. Scurvy is due to a defect in the food, not in the quantity of it. Experiment establishes the relation of the malady itself to the presence or the absence of vitamins. The exact nature of the anti-scorbutic vitamin has not been shown. Vitamins are not necessarily potassium salts, as one investigator has suggested, nor are they effective because of their acid-neutralizing properties, as another thinks. It would appear at first that there must be several different anti-scorbutic vitamins because of the variability of the curative principle in different food stuffs. It is possible that the real agent is identical in each case:

"The fact that heating the milk destroys the anti-scorbutic vitamin accounts for the appearance of scurvy in infants fed on artificial substitutes for human milk. There is nothing in the whole range of medicine—not even excepting the effect of thyroid extract in myxoedema—more striking and remarkable than the immediate and rapid recovery which follows the administration of fresh vegetable material and other fresh elements of food in these cases of infantile scurvy."

The vitamin which prevents beri-beri is quite distinct from that which controls scurvy. It seems probable that rickets is caused by the absence of a vitamin which associates itself with the fatty portion of the diet. Recent work has shown traces of substances in food which regulate the growth of young animals. Altho an artificial diet may be constructed which will maintain rats in health for a few weeks, after this time they invariably begin to decline and slowly die. The addition of a trace of other substances like fresh milk is quite sufficient to transform the inadequate diet into a most nourishing one.

Maintenance is one thing, however, and growth is another. Altho the addition of protein-free milk to the artificial diet is sufficient to render it capable of maintaining health in fully grown rats, it is inadequate to bring about the normal growth of a young animal. For growth some other vitamin must be present which is believed to be contained in the fatty portion of the milk. All experiments go to show that for growth a mysterious "something"—the growth vitamin—is necessary.

"It may be asked in what way do these vitamins act. Do they affect the absorption of food from the intestine? Careful investigation by Hopkins showed

that, in his experiments involving the addition of small quantities of milk, not the slightest difference in the percentage extent of absorption could be discerned, whether the milk was added or not. The rats without the milk absorbed as much food as those with, but evidently the food in the former case was not being properly applied within the body.

"It is also not a question of appetite. The rats without the milk ate as voraciously as the others, and it was only when the rats began to lose weight that the amount of food consumed began to grow less. In many cases it was conclusively demonstrated that the animals on the milk-free diet continued to eat and absorb a quantity containing an ample supply both of protein and energy."

—*Current Opinion.*

Art of Unkei.

By K. SHIMADA.

Since the Meiji era bronze statues have become popular as memorials to the national heroes of Japan, but of old it was not so, statues of wood being then the usual fashion. The earlier attempts at immortalizing men were in the shape of statues to Buddha or Shotoku-Taishi; and these were of wood set up in temples, where they were preserved for centuries, a reverence equal to worship being paid to them. They, therefore, received an idolatrous respect never given to the bronze statues of modern times. Statues of heroes had more of a religious than a commemorative significance. Indeed the art of sculpture in Japan grew up simultaneously with the progress of Buddhism, which did so much to promote image worship. Japanese sculpture shared both the fortunes and misfortunes of the religion that supported it.

The earliest Buddhist images came from China about the year 522 A. D. Travelers returning from China, as well as the Buddhist missionaries, brought with them statues of the Indian saint and set them up in their houses to be worshipped. During the era of the Empress Suiko the art of statuary made immense progress, as then the statues of Buddhism were made more stable. Tatsuna, son of the man who brought the first Buddhist image from China, and his grandson, Tori, were known as Buddhist sculptors of repute, enjoying the patronage of the great.

Japanese sculpture was greatly influenced also by Korean art. Before the coming of Korean influence Japanese sculpture was unreal and crude, the faces of the statues resembling infancy rather than adolescence. The folds of the robes were shallow and the hair on the head always curled. They were on the whole too stiff and rigid looking to be natural. Engraving and carving were done with only one kind of chisel. After the more frequent intercourse with China, Japanese art students went to that country and returned with improved skill in conception and execution. There was also a large importation of Buddhist images from China. Naturally there came about a blending of Japanese and Chinese art with considerable benefit to Japanese sculpture. Bronze statues began to appear and many of these were cast in Japan. For this, of course, a wooden original had to be carved, over which was built a shell of clay for a mold, the middle being filled up sufficiently with more clay.

These improvements gradually led up to the marvellous artistic advancement of the Nara period. Statues belonging to the Nara period, shows Indian and even Greek influences. The straightness of the forehead running down to the nose shows European



ONE OF THE BRONZE STATUES, BY UNKEI.

influence, coming no doubt through India. In other respects the statue indicates a taste that is purely Japanese.

Thus in the Nara period when Buddhism was at its zenith of prosperity, the art of sculpture and statuary likewise attained its more important development. In that day statues began to be made of clay, molded over a wooden frame on which the shape had been



VAJRAMALLA, CARVED IN WOOD BY UNKEI.

made with straw, a finer plaster being used for finishing. Some of this work was done by putting on first a mixture of mica; then finer lacquer covered with coarser lacquer, over which again cloth was pasted, the finishing plaster being then put on. Another method was to plaster a wooden image, and then after it was dry to cover it with cloth and finish with a layer of lacquer. This method was too simple to admit of anything very fine in the way of art.

During the Heian era the boldness and sublimity of the older school were abandoned for greater elegance and delicacy. The taste of the time inclined to a rotundity of face and form that bespoke the high living of the period, and the clothes suggest a softness and effeminacy that were characteristic. The main motive appears to have been elegance and ease. In the Kamakura period, when knighthood was in flower, the art of statuary declined somewhat, but yet some fine statues of Buddha were produced. The delicacy of the Heian era began to give way to grandness again.

The most distinguished name of the Kamakura period was that of Unkei, after whose time great masterpieces in the way of statuary began to

disappear. The Kamakura era seems to represent the climax of development in this sort of achievement. Being the last of the great sculptors Unkei is remembered more than any of his predecessors. As to the man personally very little is known. He was the son of a man named Kokei, a Buddhist artist of the time. Unkei flourished from 1185 to 1189.

An outstanding feature of the art of Unkei is its realism, the body and muscles of his statues being true to the principles of anatomy. His chisel was always sharp and was driven deep, while his coloring of statuary is beautiful. The expression of motion and feeling imparted to the statues by Unkei are matchless in design and execution. Though it was Teicho who introduced the method of making colossal statues in pieces, the art was brought to its highest perfection by Unkei. By this means the numerous sections of the statue are carved and handed over to pupils for casting, and afterwards they are put together. It is indeed very remarkable how perfectly the various parts of a statue made by the several pupils of Unkei blended and harmonized when put together in the completed whole.

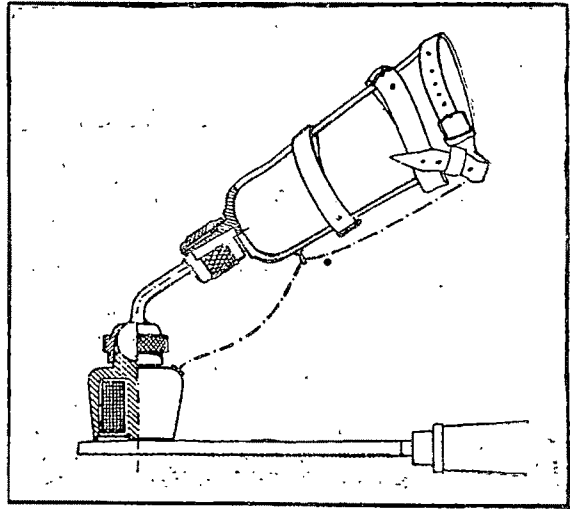
Another novelty introduced by Unkei was that of using crystals for eyes in statues, the suggestion having come from Unkei's father. In all Unkei's art there is a spirit of boldness and daring, though never a divergence from the natural features of human anatomy. Those who came after him were for the most part his imitators.

—*The Japan Magazine.*

A Magnetic Hand for Cripples.

The Germans have invented an iron hand that can be powerfully magnetized by switching an electric current into it. With this the crippled veteran can hold firmly all iron tools or utensils. Those made of other substances can be fitted with iron plates and used in the same way. The magnetic hand is the invention of Professor Klingenberg, one of the leading electrical engineers of Berlin.

The accompanying figure shows an armlet which can be strapped on the stump of the arm and is provided at the end with a pot magnet; the latter is mounted on a ball-and-socket joint, so that the magnet-poles can be brought into any desired position, and the magnet can then either be clamped firmly or left movable with a moderate degree of friction. The magnet is supplied with current by means of a flexible cord and a plug, the current being switched on and off by the movement of some other part of the body such as the foot, the chin, or the sound arm, or by a particular movement of the injured arm itself. With this device all articles made of iron can be held in a powerful grip for any length of time, and can be lifted and moved about or released at pleasure. Hence the magnetic hand is suitable for all jobs in which iron tools or iron articles are employed. As a rule, therefore, the tools need not be specially made to suit the requirements of the



An artificial magnetic hand holding a file.

maimed man. In the example illustrated the magnetic hand is holding the end of a file, and, being movable with regard to the armlet, offers no hindrance to the control of the file with the sound arm.

Stamping-machines working on sheet iron can be managed as well as with a sound hand, or even better, for the magnetic hand can grip the smooth surface of the sheet. Work can be put into lathe, etc. with the aid of the device while the sound hand makes the adjustments. Tools which are not made of iron can often be easily fitted with iron plates, and switchgear can be manipulated if the levers are so fitted. Magnets of different sizes and tractive forces can be fitted to the same holder.

"The plain magnet as above described, suffices for a variety of simple operations: improvements in the device will readily suggest themselves in particular cases. By means of a switch to fix and release the magnet alternately, the rotation of iron articles can be effected. Special tools can also be devised, such as those tweezers, pincers, and pliers, actuated by electromagnets. There is no special difficulty in providing for the movement of the forearm with respect to the upper arm, the gripping action of artificial fingers and of the thumb, etc. The use even of a portable battery to energize the magnet when away from an electrical installation is not overlooked. No stone should be left unturned to aid our crippled workers, and we trust that good results may be obtained from these interesting suggestions.

—*The Literary Digest.*

INDIAN PERIODICALS

↳ Bengal and the Bengalis

is the title of an appreciative article appearing in the *Indian Review* for July from the pen of "A Madrased."

The writer asks—what is the root of the surging and sincere life in Bengal that has come to be pre-eminently the stage for the drama of Indian renaissance in art as well as in science, in literature and politics? He goes on to answer the question himself. Says he:

That cannot be in the mere spread of English education which quickens the healthy mind into a thousand yearnings and pursuits, once it is nobly given and as nobly received. For the sister provinces with an equal share of educational advantages have shown none of that ardent and impetuous singleness in the pursuit of the national ideal. It cannot be in the ceaseless and changing course of its history under both Mahomedan and British supremacy. For elsewhere than Bengal the course of history was no smoother. It is in the integrity of its people with its prophets. It is in its united worship of the spirit which brings the learned, and the unlearned, the poor and the rich, in due accord.

In Bengal, the national movement has been pioneered from the very beginning for the service of the spirit. Its politicians were religious enthusiasts, and the secular and social movements they brought to birth were the unconscious offshoots of their comprehensive scheme of the new life for India. Reforms and propaganda can but serve one time and place, they have an immediacy and narrowness in their ends that cannot supplant any but the passing and mostly inconsequential ailment of the national spirit. But the awakening of the spirit for higher and far-off destinies has in it something vital and expansive. It quickens the national consciousness to a loftier and nobler life. For only the spirit that claims a kinship far and above the temporal can bring even to earthly endeavours that selfless and serious energy which is the first requisite for enduring social action.

After quoting the laudatory observations of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald on the Bengalis and the now-famous passage, in vindication of the Bengali character, from the council speech of the Great Servant of India, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the writer goes on to say:

This genius for sterling work in the arts and sciences is the legitimate expression of their intense emotionality. For action is always the necessary concomitant of ardent feeling. More than the songs and hymns and prayers, the whole of the Calcutta

School of Art and its exponents Abanindranath Tagore, Surendranath Ganguly and Nanda Lal Bose have enshrined their ascetic politics in their remarkable paintings. They have all striven, through the medium of symbolic idealism, to bring out the vision of a United India, whose subtle harmony neither castes nor commercial competition could draw asunder. The hymns and the songs have become the folklore of the Bengal people and are ever drawing them nearer every day to their national ideal. The pictures have put a higher meaning to the national aspirations of the educated. A united India of such artistic and philosophical idealism is more enduring than any political enfranchisement or geographical unity of race or language. }
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The Conservative Mind and Eastern Progress.

The arrival of a new radical idea in the minds of men is the sign of a great coming change in human life and society. The reaction of the old idea may triumph for a time but the change is irretrievable. The past can arrive at the most at a partial survival or an euthanasia, provided it knows how to compromise liberally with the future.

Thus opines Aurobindo Ghose in the *Arya*, for July, and we find no reason why any sane person should not agree with the learned writer.

But

The conservative mind is unwilling to recognise this law though it is observable throughout human history; and it is protected in its refusal to see by the comparative rarity of rapid revolutions and great cataclysmal changes; it is blinded by the disguise which Nature so often throws over her processes of mutation.

Because our view of European history is chiefly political, we do not see the constant mutation of society and of thought in the same relief; whereas in the East the great revolutions have been spiritual and cultural and so the political and social changes, although they have been real and striking, fall into the shade and are apt to be overlooked.

Our minds are apt to seize things in the rough and to appreciate only what stands out in bold external relief; we miss the law of Nature's subtleties and disguises. We can see and fathom to some extent the motives, necessities, process of great revolutions and

marked changes and we can consider and put in their right place the brief reactions which only modified without actually preventing the overt realisation of new ideas. For instance the Sullan restoration of Roman oligarchy, the Stuart restoration in England or the brief return of monarchy in France with the Bourbons were no real restorations, but a momentary damming of the tide attended with insufficient concessions and forced developments which determined, not a return to the past, but the form and pace of the inevitable revolution.

But Nature has still more subtle and disguised movements in her dealings with men by which she leads them to change without their knowing that they have changed. It is because she has employed chiefly this method in the vast masses of the East that the conservative habit of mind is so much stronger there than in the West. It is able to nourish the illusion that it has not changed, that it is immovably faithful to the ideas of remote forefathers, to their religion, their traditions, their institutions, their social ideals, that it has preserved either a divine or an animal immobility both in thought and in the routine of life and has been free from the human law of mutation by which man and his social organisations must either progress or degenerate but can in no case maintain themselves unchanged against the attack of Time. Buddhism has come and gone and the Hindu still professes to belong to the Vedic religion held and practised by his Aryan forefathers; he calls his creed the Aryan dharma, the eternal religion. It is only when we look close that we see the magnitude of the illusion. Buddha has gone out of India indeed, but, Buddhism remains; it has stamped its giant impress on the spirit of the national religion, leaving the forms to be determined by the Tantricism with which it itself had made alliance and some sort of fusion in its middle growth; what it destroyed no man has been able to restore, what it left no man has been able to destroy. As a matter of fact, the double cycle which India has described from the early Vedic times to India of Buddha and the philosophers and again from Buddha to the time of European irruption was in its own way vast in change religious, social, cultural, even political and administrative; but because it preserved old names for new things, old formulas for new methods and old coverings for new institutions and because the change was always marked in the internal but quiet and unobtrusive in the external, we have been able to create and preserve the fiction of the unchanging East. There has also been this result that while the European conservative has learned the law of change in human society, knows that he must move and quarrels with the progressist only over the right pace and the exact direction, the eastern or rather the Indian conservative still imagines that stability may be the true law of mortal being, practises a sort of Yogic 'asana' on the flood of Time and because he does not move himself, thinks—for he keeps his eyes shut and is not in the habit of watching the banks,—that he can prevent the stream also from moving on.

Therefore

the hope of the world lies in the re-arousing in the East of the old spiritual practicality and large and profound vision and power of organisation under the insistent contact of the West and in the flooding out of the light of Asia on the Occident, no longer in forms that are now static, effete, unadaptive, but in new forms stirred, dynamic and effective.

The new Orient must necessarily be the result.

either of some balance and fusion or of some ardent struggle between progressive and conservative ideal and tendencies. If therefore the conservative mind in this country opens itself sufficiently to the necessity of transformation, the resulting culture born of a resurgent India may well bring about a profound modification in the future civilisation of the world. But if it remains shut up in dead fictions or tries to meet the new needs with the mind of the schoolman and the sophist dealing with words and ideas in the air rather than actual fact and truth and potentiality, or struggles merely to avoid all but a scanty minimum of change, then, since the new ideas cannot fail to realise themselves, the future India will be formed in the crude mould of the Westernised social and political reformer whose mind, barren of original thought and unenlightened by vital experience, can do nothing but reproduce the forms and ideas of Europe and will turn us all into halting apes of the West.

Writing in the *Hindustan Review* for July about

Representative Institutions in Indian States

an "Indian Thinker" says that

The only kinds of representative institutions before the Indian States are those of the British Government in England and in India. In the former country they are of the colonial type, while in the latter they are made suitable to a benevolent despotism. The adoption of neither of these is for the highest interests of Indian States, which require institutions of indigenous types. They were formerly in existence, but with the advent and predominance of foreigner they disappeared.

There are three types of Indian Governments: (1) Conquerors (2) Colonial. (3) Indigenous.

(1) Conquerors are those in which the rulers are distinct in race and religion, have come from outside and maintain their individuality. The British Indian State, Nepal, Kashmir and such others fall in this category. (2) Colonial States are like the former in origin, but in them the feeling of individuality is no so keen. The Musalman States of Hyderabad, Bhopal, the Maratha States in Central India and most of the Rajput States in Rajputana are examples of this class. (3) Indigenous States are those in which the rulers belong to the same race and religion as the majority of their subjects; such as Travancore, Koliapur, and Cooch Behar. Generally there is overlapping among these classes; age tends to make all States approximate to the indigenous. Especially this is the case in India.

The ideal for indigenous States is a democratic government. The States of Mysore, Travancore and Sangli have introduced popular institutions of the indigenous types.

They began with popular assemblies and being aware of the fact that owing to the limitations of their exercise of the sovereign powers, the day of a government controlled by the people was not yet they introduced Legislative Councils, to give a training of the government to the subjects of the States.

There can be no doubt that as between the Indian State controlled by the British Government and the other Indian governments, it is in the growth of the representative institutions and popular control of the administration that their integrity and progress lies. The treaties between them and the paramount power are not dubbed as scraps of papers, but circumstances have been held to modify them. The theory on which the British Government bases its claim of interference in the internal administration of other Indian States is that by treaties it has guaranteed their internal peace and security from external aggression, which means that their subjects have lost the usual remedies against misgovernment. Formerly they could rise in rebellion or seek the protection of neighbouring States. Now the treaty with the British Government comes in their way. Hence the treaties themselves have been held to authorise the paramount power to interfere in cases of misgovernment or minority.

For the same reason there is nothing like a progressive administration in States controlled by Indians. It is open to a ruler to go back over the concessions granted to people by his predecessor. For instance the people will be powerless if a Maharaja of Travancore abolishes the popular assembly in his State, howsoever continuous its tradition might be. There can be no going from precedent to precedent. A suggestion was, therefore, recently made by a British Indian subject that the paramount power should be authorised to prevent an Indian ruler from taking a retrograde step.

The writer goes on to say that although the Indian States ruled by Indians have been shown to consist of three types, yet they are all alike, thanks to the levelling influence of the British Indian Government. Rights which the British Indian subjects possess, will, sooner or later, have to be given to their brethren under native rule. One part of the country cannot raise itself but must drag the other with it, political barriers notwithstanding.

On Ideals.

Under the above heading a thoughtful article has been published, in a recent number of the *Arya*. For the benefit of our readers we give a summary of the same.

Ideals are truths that have not yet effected themselves for man, the realities of a higher plane of existence which have yet to fulfil themselves on this lower plane of life and matter, our present field of operation. To the mind which is able to draw back from the flux of force in the material universe, to the consciousness which is not imprisoned in its own workings or carried along in their flood but is able to envelop, hold and comprehend them, to the soul that is not merely the subject and instrument of the world-force but can reflect something of that Master-Consciousness which controls and uses it, the ideal present to its inner vision is a greater reality than the changing fact obvious to its outer senses.

Idea which seems to us to rise out of the fact,

really precedes it and out of it the fact has arisen. Our vulgar contrast of the ideal and the real is therefore a sensuous error, for that which we call real is only a phenomenon of force working out something that stands behind the phenomenon and that is pre-existent and greater than it.

The idea is the realisation of a truth in Consciousness as the fact is its realisation in Power, both indispensable, both justified in themselves and, in each other, neither warranted in ignoring or despising its complement. For the idealist and visionary to despise the pragmatist or for the pragmatist to depreciate the idealist and visionary is a deplorable result of our intellectual limitations and the mutual misunderstandings by which the arrogance of our imperfect temperament and mentality shuts itself out from perfection.

Every man who does anything in the world, works by virtue of an idea and in the force given to him by ideals either his own or others' ideals which he may or may not recognise but in whose absence nevertheless he would be impotent to move a single step. The smaller the ideals, the fewer they are and the less recognised and insisted on, the less also is the work done and the progress realised; on the other hand, when ideals enlarge themselves, when they become forceful, widely recognised, when different ideals enter into the field, clash and communicate their thought and force to each other, then the race rises to its great periods of activity and creation. And it is when the Ideal arisen, vehement, energetic, refuses to be debarred from possession and throws itself with all the gigantic force of the higher planes of existence on this reluctant and rebellious stuff of life and matter to conquer it that we have the great eras which change the world by carrying out the potentialities of several centuries in the action of a few decades.

Wherever and whenever the mere practical man abounds and excludes or discourages by his domination the idealist, there is the least work and the least valuable work done in that age or country for humanity.

On the other hand, when the idealist is liberated, when the visionary abounds, the executive worker also is uplifted, finds at once an orientation and tenfold energy and accomplishes things which he would otherwise have rejected as a dream and chimera, which to his ordinary capacity would be impossible and which often leave the world wondering how work so great could have been done by men who were in themselves so little.

Not only is the upheaval and fertilising of the general consciousness by the thinker and the idealist essential to the practical realisation of great changes, but in the realisation itself the idealist who will not compromise is an indispensable element.

Man approaches nearer his perfection, when he combines in himself the idealist and the pragmatist, the originative soul and the executive power. Great executive personalities have usually been men of a considerable idealism.

Napoleon with his violent prejudice against ideologues and dreamers was himself a colossal dreamer, an incurable if unconscious ideologist; his teeming brain was the cause of his gigantic force and accomplishment. The immense if shapeless ideas of Alexander threw themselves into the form of conquests, cities, cultures; they broke down the barriers of Greek and Asiatic prejudice and narrow self-imprisonment and created an age of civilisation and soul-interchange.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

That eminent English critic, Edmund Gosse, writes thoughtfully about

The Unity of France

in the *Edinburgh Review*.

It is unjust and unseemly, says Mr. Gosse, to proclaim surprise at the heroism of the French, or at the calm of the population, its confidence and its unity.

The France which is now so gallantly fighting with us and with the rest of the Allies to prevent the triumph of Teutonic evil is simply the France which has long been in preparation for a life-struggle with the powers of darkness.

Those who detested France and had every spiritual and material reason for depreciating her values continued to repeat, with nauseous iteration, that she was in full decadence, and that her race was eaten out to the core by the white ants of social disorder. The disputes of radicals and moderates, of socialists and reactionaries, of antimilitarists and clericals, were pointed to with glee as the evidences of ethical chaos in a bewildered people, and events like the Caillaux trial and its result saddened the best friends of France as much as they were exulted over in Berlin. What has not been understood has been the superficial character of these symptoms. The pretended levity of Paris was all on the surface; and even there, if the exotic elements were eliminated and the action of the parasitic population removed, there was little for a formalist to condemn or even reprove.

The writer therefore protests against this talk of a New France, risen like a phoenix out of the funeral pyre of the old for the instant purpose of combating the arrogance of Prussia.

The France of to-day is splendid, but her effort is not miraculous; it has long been prepared for by the elements of her ancient and continuous civilization. Those who watched the nation closely before the outbreak of this war have no cause for surprise, though much for gratulation and thankfulness, in the evolution of national character; it is welcome but it is no more than we expected. For fifteen years past, it has been impossible for an unprejudiced and perspicacious observer to fail to see that France has been gathering her moral forces together simplifying her political attitude, preparing without haste for concerted action.

He sets forth in the following lines the causes which are accountable for the rise of France.

Renan urged the France of his day, the France of thirty-six years ago, not to be intimidated by the truculence of her eastern rival, not to endeavor to compete with her mechanical and material culture,

but to cling to all that was refused, sympathetic, and inspiring in the unbroken tradition of the ancient genius of France.

Those who have watched a little closely the movement of affairs in France cannot but have observed the increasing tendency towards energy of action among young men. There has been a steady development in this direction. The French, whose life had tended to run in very conventional channels of practical movement, have enlarged the borders in every direction that leads to individual activity. The cultivation of games, which took a strong upward line from the year 1900 onwards has proceeded so rapidly and so uniformly that when the war broke out last year there was scarcely a country village which did not possess its clubs of football and tennis. Cricket has continued to be a mystery not to be penetrated by the Gallic mind, but the other physical exercises—and with the addition of much more horse-riding and fencing than are customary at present in this country—have extended their influence over the mind as well as the body of young France to a degree which must not be underrated. Games played with energy and spirit extend the sentiment of responsibility, and it is obvious that in this sphere they have had a directly beneficial effect upon French character, the defect of young France at the close of the nineteenth century having evidently been its inability or lack of opportunity, to assert initiative in conduct.

It is not too much to say that the liberty of action which young Frenchmen have insisted upon since the opening of the present century has had an extraordinary effect on their ability to form a rapid and firm decision.

In our opinion it was the crisis of 1911 which enabled the French to take advantage of all the reviving energy of their race and tradition. The country had arrived at a point when all depended upon a shock to its nervous system. Agadir came and it pulled the whole youth of France together in a sudden splendid unity of purpose.

Shaikh M. H. Kidwai contributes to the *Islamic Review and Muslim India* for June an article on the condition of

Woman

under different social and religious laws. From times immemorial, down to the present day in certain countries, it has been the unhappy lot of the mothers of races to be always kept in subordination and treated as inferior to man in rights and privileges.

In Roman law a woman was completely dependent. As an unmarried girl she was under the perpetual tutelage of her father during his life, and after his death of her agnates by blood or adoption.

When married, she and her whole property passed into the power and possession of her husband. In fact, she herself was treated as a property by her husband, and had no more right than a purchased slave. At certain stages of the Roman law a husband was given a right to kill his wife if she was found to have poisoned somebody, or treated somebody with wine, or adopted as her own child somebody else's child.

The Romans did not allow women to exercise any civil or public office. In fact, a woman could not even be a witness or a curator; she could not adopt nor could she be adopted; she could not be a surety or a tutor. Like her sister in England only about thirty years ago, she had no personal property independent of her husband; she could not make a will nor a contract.

Polygamy was by no means unknown in Rome, though at first it was not a very popular institution. We know for a fact that Mark Antony had two wives, and from that time the institution did not remain unpopular. In the surrounding States generally, and especially among the Tuscans, plurality of wives was always allowed. The Roman marriage required the previous approbation of the father, even if he was insane. The causes of the dissolution of matrimony varied at different times. In the first ages the father of a family might sell his children, and a wife, being reckoned in the number of children, could be disposed of also. He might pronounce her death if she became offensive, or his mercy might expel her from his bed and house; but the slavery of the wretched female was hopeless and perpetual, unless he asserted for his own convenience the manly prerogatives of divorce.

In all Syro-Phœnician peoples bestiality prevailed, and woman was considered only a means for procreation of children.

In Sparta, female infants and such women who could not be expected to give birth to healthy sons were often destroyed, and the result of it was that the proportion of women in the population was reduced and one woman had several husbands. The loan of the wife of one man to another to get a good "breed" was also permitted.

By old Athenians woman was treated only as a property that was marketable and could be transferred from one to the other. She could also be willed away. Those civilized people considered woman a kind of peril or evil. Even at the highest stage of Grecian civilization no other class of women except the prostitute was the subject of any regard, and so if there was any education and culture it was only in the prostitutes. An Athenian was allowed to have any number of wives.

In Persia, men were notoriously voluptuous, and to them woman was nothing more than an object to gratify their base passions. Every wealthy man kept crowds of females in his house, and in the sixth century of the Christian era Mazdak laid down a law that woman should be treated exactly like any other property.

Among the Thracians, Lydians, and the Pelasgian races settled in various parts of Europe and Western Asia the custom of plurality of marriage prevailed to an inordinate extent, and dwarfs all comparison with the practice prevailing elsewhere.

Hindu laws and customs were extremely unfavourable to woman. She was treated as very inferior to man. Their great lawgiver Manu says, "Day and night must women be held by their protectors in a status of subjection," that the woman is under the

subjection of her father when a child, when married under that of her husband, after her husband under her sons, and if she has no sons then to her agnatic relations, because there is no woman whatsoever who is fit to be independent. He further says: "Women love their beds and ornaments, and have loose desires. They have a bad temper, are frail, irresolute, and never straight. They should always be kept under subjection and control." That of ill-luck, storm, death, hell, prison, snake, nothing is so dreadful as woman.

Woman was sometimes made the wife of several brothers at the same time. She was sometimes put on the gambling stake and lost.

Even up to the present day there is no limit to polygamous marriages in Hindu society. A Hindu widow cannot adopt a son unless her deceased husband has left her permission to do so. She cannot get any alienable right in property. She is married without her consent when only a child of four or five years of age, amongst certain classes of Hindus. No girl is adopted by Hindus. Remarriage is not allowed. Once married, she cannot get a divorce. Her status in society is negligible.

The wise men of China have offered free advice for the benefit of husbands in these words: "Listen to the counsel of your wife, but act against it."

The old men of Russia have said that "There is only one soul among ten women."

The Spaniards say, "We should save ourselves from wicked women, and should never be captivated by any that have good looks."

The Italians go a step farther and pronounce: "As a horse, whether good or bad, requires spurs, so a woman, whether good or bad, requires thrashing."

In Japan, in olden times, women were not allowed to pray or take any part in religious exercises. In China they were not suffered to go into the temples. In India they could not touch gods.

As far as the Arabs themselves were concerned, they treated woman, before the advent of the Great World-Reformer their country produced, worse than perhaps any other people did. They buried alive their daughters. It was considered to be an inauspicious omen if a girl was born to anybody. A woman, after the death of her husband, was treated just like another property, and her own son inherited her as a wife. Innocent girls were offered as a sacrifice to the idols. Orphan girls were forced to marry their guardians. There was no limit to polygamy. Ibn Khaldun says that in some clans even polyandry was permissible.

Sinn Fein.

Louis J. McQuilland contributes to the *New Witness* an informing article in which an attempt has been made to present an historical account of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, its inception, its constitution, its principles, and its practice.

It is claimed for Sinn Fein that it is a legitimate successor of former patriotic native movements for Irish freedom. Sinn Feiners assert that they are the legitimate heirs of all previous revolutionaries who fought for an Irish Ireland. Their leaders say they are the successors of Wolfe Tone, of Robert Emmet, of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and other eighteenth-century militant Irish patriots—the United Irishmen;

and of John Mitchel, Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher, and Charles Gavan Duffy—the Young Irelanders of the nineteenth century who, despairing of the Constitutional Repeal methods of O'Connell, took up arms against the English Government. Ostensibly, the Sinn Fein claim is a sound one but—and this is a great but—circumstances alter cases. The United Irishmen and the Young Irelanders and the men of 1848 and 1867, were fighting against great wrongs and cruel tyrannies; they were fighting for an Ireland which was being bled and starved to death by its English rulers; they were fighting for an Ireland which was being grossly misgoverned by a privileged and despotic caste bent on crushing every national tradition out of the country, and even of depriving her of the last solace of her religion.

At the time when Sinn Fein (meaning "Ourselves") was founded in 1905, practically all the old evil conditions had disappeared. England had ceased to rule Ireland as a conquered and alien colony. The Irish were allowed to worship God in their own way, the country was prospering and was well in the way of continued improvement. It was just on the eve of the return of the Liberals to a long reign of power that the Sinn Fein movement was started. The National Policy of Sinn Fein was outlined in November, 1905, and was based on the principle "that the Irish people are a free people, and that no law made without their authority or consent is, or ever can be, binding on their conscience."

The Sinn Fein program had for its main features the assertion of the existence of an Irish Constitution, the denial of the legality of the Union incorporating the Parliaments of Ireland and England, the denial of the right of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland, the withdrawal of voluntary Irish support from the armed forces of England, the advocacy of the establishment of a Voluntary Legislature comprising representatives of the existent Irish Councils and Boards, agricultural, commercial and industrial interests, and the Irish members elected to the English Parliament. The National Council laid down, in addition to these sweeping suggestions, further claims for "the establishment and maintenance of an Irish consular system, the re-establishment of an Irish mercantile marine, the development of Irish Sea Fisheries and Irish mineral resources, the control and management by an authority responsible to the Irish people of the transit systems in Ireland, and the creation of a National Civil Service comprising the employes of all bodies responsible to the Irish people."

If there was any failure in the drafting of the Sinn Fein proposals, that failure was not due to want of scope. Colonel Lynch, M. P., points out that while many of their schemes were excellent, including propositions for re-afforestation, arterial drainage and reclamation of waste lands, to carry them into effect would require the expenditure of many millions of pounds. In addition to this, the Congested Districts Board and other similar bodies are now devoting considerable energy to the promotion of such schemes in a sensible way. For the carrying out of their program of complete legislative independence, the National Council only asked for the pathetic sum of £800 a year; and so little confidence had their countrymen in them or their projects that they did not get it.

A salient feature of the Sinn Fein policy against the neighboring country of England was a boycott of all English imports and all English institutions. No Irish Member was to go to Westminster, but

Sinn Fein was to have a self-constituted National Council in Dublin, under the control of which a National Stock Exchange was to be established and National Arbitration Courts formed. The Irish Consul at Foreign Ports, who were, of course, to be quite independent of the resident British Consuls, were to attend to the interests and the development of Irish trade. The fact that Ireland had not a single boat for a merchant marine was a detail beneath the lofty and godlike notice of the National Council.

All these ambitious proposals came under the heading of the "Hungarian Policy." Hungary, in its famous struggle for independence, had established a boycott against Austria, which finally resulted in Hungarian freedom; but it has been pointed out that when the Hungarian delegates left the Imperial Parliament of Austria, they were the representatives of a people hardly less in numbers than the Austrians themselves, drilled and armed, and well inured to war.

Sinn Fein, therefore, began as a Passive Resistance movement, and, failing to effect anything, gradually developed into a physically militant movement. The Sinn Fein Council started by urging that Irishmen should pay no income-tax, but Sinn Feiners continued to pay it. The Sinn Fein Council urged that all British institutions should be banned, but the Sinn Feiners still inflexibly continued to draw their salaries as members of the Civil Service. Their idea was to establish native courts of law.

Morality in War.

Some idealistic persons believe that morality and war are incompatible. They hold that, in the presence of war, which is devilish, it is absurd to talk about morality.

We often forget, sometimes we do not even know, that morality is fundamentally custom. It is a body of conduct which is in constant motion, with an exalted advance guard, which few can keep up with, and a debased rear guard, once called the black-guard. In the substantial and central sense, morality means the conduct of the main body of the community. Thus understood it is clear that in our time war still comes into contact with morality.

This is what Havelock Ellis says in the course of an article contributed to the *Nation*.

The writer is no optimist. He does not exclaim like so many other writers wanting in insight who say that this great war is being waged by the allies to put a stop to aggressive militarism in future. But he looks into the heart of things and says correctly:

When we look back from the stand-point of knowledge which we have reached in the present war to the notions which prevailed in the past, they seem to us hollow and even childish. Seventy years

ago Buckle, in his "History of Civilization," stated complacently that only ignorant and unintellectual nations any longer cherished ideals of war. His statement was part of the truth. It is true, for instance, that France is now the most anti-military of nations, though once the most military of all. But we see, it is only part of the truth. The very fact, which Buckle himself pointed out, that efficiency has in modern times taken the place of morality in the conduct of affairs, offers a new foundation for war when war is waged on scientific principle for the purpose of rendering effective the claims of State policy. Today we see that it is not sufficient for a nation to cultivate knowledge and become intellectual, in the expectation that war will automatically go out of fashion. It is quite possible to become very scientific, most relentlessly intellectual, and on that foundation to build up ideals of warfare much more barbarous than those of Assyria.

The conclusion seems to be that we are today entering on an era in which war will not only flourish as vigorously as in the past, although not in so chronic a form, but with an altogether new ferocity and ruthlessness, with a vastly increased power of destruction, and on a scale of extent and intensity involving an injury to civilization and humanity which no wars of the past ever perpetrated. Moreover, this state of things imposes on the nations which have hitherto, by their temper, their position, or their small size, regarded themselves as nationally neutral, a new burden of armament in order to ensure that neutrality. It has been proclaimed on both sides that this war is a war to destroy militarism. But the disappearance of a militarism that is only destroyed by a greater militarism offers no guarantee at all for any triumph of civilisation or humanity.

What, then, are we to do? It seems clear that we have to recognise that our intellectual leaders of old, who declared that to ensure the disappearance of war, we have but to sit still and fold our hands while we watch the beneficent growth of science and intellect, were grievously mistaken. War is still one of the active factors of modern life, though by no means the only factor which it is in our power to grasp and direct. By our energetic effort the world can be moulded. It is the concern of all of us, and especially of those nations which are strong enough and enlightened enough to take a leading part in human affairs, to work towards the initiation and the organisation of this immense effort. In so far as the great war of today acts as a spur to such effort, it will not have been an unmixed calamity.

Poetry and Revolution in Ireland.

The Boston *Transcript* gives some account of the poetry written by three leaders of the Irish uprising. We are told that "they were highly educated dreamers, men of great imaginative power and exalted vision, passionately attached to the ideals they followed."

Thomas MacDonagh was the most prominent of all. He was born in 1878, and was consequently thirty-eight years of age when he was executed. He had published five volumes of poetry: "Through the

Ivory Gate," 1902; "April and May," 1903; "The Golden Joy," 1906; "Songs of Myself," 1910; and "Lyrical Poems," 1913. He was for some time editor of *The Irish Review*, the chief literary organ of young imaginative Ireland; and he had published a volume on "Thomas Campion and the Art of English Poetry".

It was MacDonagh's passionate spirit of adoration which made him a poet. Perhaps he found beauty at last in stranger ways and more dear than any of which he had dreamed when he wrote his mysteriously lovely "Litanies of Beauty," from which the following is a single fragment:

O Beauty of wisdom unsought
That in trance to poet is taught,
Uttered in secret lay,
Singing the heart from earth away,
Cunning the soul from care to lure—
O mystic lily from stain and death secure,
Till the end of all to stay!
O shapely flower that must forever endure!
O voice of God that every heart must hear!
O hymn of purest souls that dost unsphere
The ravished soul that hears! O white, white gem!
O rose that dost the senses drown in bliss!
No thought shall stay the wing, or stem
The song, or win the heart to miss
Thy love, thy joy, thy rapture divine!
O Beauty, Beauty ever thine
The soul, the heart, the brain,
To own thee in a loud perpetual strain,
Shriller and sweeter than song of wine,
Than song of sorrow or love or war!

Austere Beauty of Truth
Lighting the way of the just!

Splendid Beauty of Youth,
Staying when Youth is sped,
Living when Life is dead,
Burning in funeral dust!

The glory of form doth pale and pall,
Beauty endures to the end of all.

He also wrote the lines;

I followed a morning star
And I stand by the gate of Light,
And a child sings my farewell to-night
To the atom things that are.

Shakespeare's Ideal of Heroic Manhood.

T. Alexander Seed writing in the *London Quarterly Review* says that King Henry as portrayed in *King Henry the Fifth* is Shakespeare's ideal of heroic manhood.

The play has justly been described as "a national anthem in five acts" and the choruses in it as "patriotic poems," though critics are not wanting who pronounce it "out of date" and "obsolete." Such critics, to say the least of them, are mere dabblers in literature, and they are in evidence everywhere, in Bengal as well as

in England. They always try to attain a cheap notoriety by pooh-poohing some of the masterly creations in literature.

But to come back to Henry V.

Henry embodies Shakespeare's ideal of heroic manhood. He has none of Hamlet's brooding melancholy, none of Romeo's tragic passion. He is first and foremost and almost exclusively a man of action and affairs. As statesman, warrior, ruler, he exhibits the utmost greatness that the active nature can attain. As Macaulay says of Cromwell, "He was emphatically a man"—robust, enthusiastic, brave; a model of heroic virtue, of kingly strength and grace. "Conscientious, brave, just, capable, and tenacious," says Mr. Evans, "Henry stands before us as the embodiment of worldly success; and as such he is entitled to our unreserved admiration."

The youthful king is set before us as a serious and enlightened man of affairs, fearing God and fearing naught beside. His conversion had not been so sudden as the archbishop, like a true theologian, imagined. "Consideration like an angel came" to him at the outset of his career, and remained with him in the midst of his novitiate for the throne; and when the crown at length was placed upon his brow he cast his frivolous companions off without a pang. The change was gradual and complete. With the call of duty, his wild days ended. As king, he now appears before the world as the impersonation of England's greatness. Under his rule, the country is transformed. Profligates and adventurers like Falstaff, Bardolph, Nym, and Pistol, "the cankers of a calm world and a long peace," meet with their deserts. The conspiracy of Cambridge, Scroop, and Grey is destroyed in the bud, and the whole nation is united in one great patriotic movement.

What magnanimity he shows to friend and foe—to his timid brothers, sorrowing for their father's death and fearful as to their position; to the Chief Justice who had committed him for his mad pranks; as previously he had shown to Douglass and to Hotspur, his beaten foes at Shrewsbury!

King Henry's judgment is tempered by mercy. Yet, when occasion arises, he can be hard as flint, as the Christ Himself. Sternness and severity, if not the most attractive are amongst the most effective of the qualities in Henry's character.

He knows, exactly what he wants to do, and does it. And when he has achieved his purpose he does not boast, but clothes himself in genuine humility. His modesty is beautiful; it gives a charm to the robust and virile personality. Strong men are often proud, successful men vainglorious; but King Henry, at the height of his achievement, is so far master of himself as easily, and as it were instinctively, to give the glory unto God.

His piety is the very marrow of his virtue. It nerves him in the hour of battle; it saves him from the vaunting pride of victory.

Treason.

The following is taken from the *New Statesman*:

"Treason" is a term which covers different

offenses in different periods. It may even be treason in one year to do a thing which it is treason not to do in another. As we are reminded in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" article on the subject, "By one Act of 1534 it was treason not to believe Mary illegitimate and Elizabeth legitimate; by another Act of 1536 it was treason to believe either legitimate; by an Act of 1543 it was treason not to believe both legitimate." Again, Henry V. made it treason for a queen to conceal the fact that she had been incontinent before marriage. Obviously, treason of this sort will be in the eyes of most people a "venial sin." On the other hand, history does not condone, as venial, treason like that of Alcibiades. Here was a great Athenian general who, having been condemned to death for sacrilege, took service with Sparta, and, having been condemned to death by the Spartans, allied himself to the Persians. In spite of his double treachery, and his readiness to destroy Athens merely in order to avenge his personal wrongs, the Athenians welcomed him back and restored him to his generalship. But though the Athenians forgave him, the moralists of history do not forgive him. They regard him as one of the sublime scamps of the human race—a fascinating blackguard, but none the less a blackguard.

And yet Socrates made him his friend. His fascination is in a measure the fascination of Absalom; he attracts us aesthetically, but repels us morally. And Absalom is but one in a long list of kings' sons who have risen treasonably against their fathers. One remembers how Richard Cœur de Lion began his active life as a rebel against his father, Henry II, and how he fought against him at the head of the army of Aquitaine. The truth is, in the ancient and medieval world, treason of this kind was not regarded with nearly the same severity as it has come to be regarded in modern days. Nowadays, that a monarch's son should take arms against him is almost unthinkable.

The following observations on present-day Irish politics are pertinent:

Sir Edward Carson's followers, in taking custom-house officers and police officers prisoners at the time of the Larne gun-running, were surely guilty of an act of war against the Crown. The logic of their action was that, if they were resisted, they would use force of arms. It would be absurd to accuse Sir Edward Carson himself of instigating the Kaiser to invade this realm, but many of his followers were quite frank in expressing the hope that Ulster might be saved for Protestantism by a "Continental deliverer." In any case, Sir Edward Carson and all, they made it quite clear that their loyalty to the British Empire was conditional loyalty. They would be loyal in action only provided Ulster had the sort of government she desired. It is unquestionable that at the time many indignant Liberals called Sir Edward Carson a traitor, demanded his trial on a charge of high treason, and regarded him and his followers as, in a moral no less than in a legal sense, wicked beyond measure.

No one can doubt, however, that in the common affairs of life the average follower of Sir Edward Carson is an excellent example of a moral human being. He may be the victim of foolish superstitious and foolish fears, but, in so far as he is disinterested, his treason does not shock us as a thing morally base, but chiefly as an offence against the State to which he claims to be loyal.

R. F. writing in the *Athenæum* about

The Question of Sex in Fiction

opines that in judging a book the intention and general scheme of the writer must be considered: his book must be judged, not by its contents alone, but also by the meaning of those contents and their relation to life in general and himself in particular.

Wherever the writer has a definite plan of which the book criticised is only one part, or, again, wherever the one book is in itself a study extending beyond the phases criticised, there is justification for reasonable freedom of speech.

Realism in fiction, verse, or drama is not, and cannot be, an end in itself; it is only a means towards another end, which other end, in actual practice, is usually quite outside the poem, play, or novel.

The New Realism.

Arthur Waugh in the *Fortnightly Review* pays a glowing and just tribute to the youth of to-day in an ably written article.

"We are living, beyond question," says he, "in the heyday of the young men; all the kingdoms of the world are in their hand."

Thirty or forty years ago there still lingered in the social and literary atmosphere the faint mist of a tradition that experience was the one authority in life, and that youth must expect to serve its apprenticeship before it could claim the privilege of the final word. That tradition has long since dissolved and vanished. Nowadays experience, is held in very modest repute; energy and initiative are the universal passports to recognition. And nowhere is this truer than in the field of literature, where, it is scarcely necessary to add, youth and rebellion have always been in a state of conflict with tradition. Until recently, however, innovation has had to fight its way; the serried ranks of criticism and convention have hindered its progress; and no doubt the opposition has done it good, by forcing each new change to justify itself before it could pass the outposts. Today there are no outposts to pass, and experience gives way at once to the challenge of youth. It almost seems as though criticism were perpetually afraid of being accused of senility and decay, so ready is it to accept everything new, and to fall into line behind the advancing banners of youthful revolu-

tion. Like Stensgard in Ibsen's drama, the young men of the hour may cry with confident justification: "We are young. The time belongs to us, but we also belong to the time. Our right is our duty."

But of all the regions of activity in which youth is asserting its mastery—social, political, scientific, and the rest—there is no field which it has so thoroughly made its own as that of the novel. And here the audacity of its advance is the more impressive, since the art of fiction is the one art above all others in which experience would naturally be expected to be an almost indispensable quality of the artist. For the novel seeks not only to tell a story, but to portray and moralize life; and the neophyte, standing on the threshold of the temple, can hardly help being dazzled by the wealth and variety of the sights that stretch before his gaze. How can he possibly interpret in his first glance the virtues of the architecture or the intricate symbolism of the decoration? Of course he cannot do so; and the most penetrating and representative fiction of any generation will continue to be written by men whose judgment is tempered by the mellow maturity of experience. But there are qualities vouchsafed to youth which have faded away by the coming of middle age; and the last few years have seen a new movement in English fiction so full of vigor, sincerity, and spiritual beauty as to promise for the future, if only its edge is not dulled by the traffic of time, an entire revolution in the conventions of the British novel, clearing away a vast burden of traditional cant, and establishing a fresh and decent relation between the essential facts of life and their artistic revelation. This movement we venture, for want of a more comprehensive title, to define as the New Realism; since the object of the realist is to draw life as it stands, and there is nothing with which these young men are so eagerly concerned as the fidelity of their art to life; while at the same time the method upon which they set to work is altogether new being absorbed in emotional and spiritual analysis of a deeply intimate and personal kind—a kind, indeed, which has rarely, if ever, been associated with the practice of realism in the past. It is in effect, a New Realism of the emotions, as contrasted with the conventional realism of conditions and environment; its interest is not the material convenience or inconvenience of life, but the spiritual achievement of man, and his ultimate realization of his soul's possibilities. For the artist of the new realism the Kingdom of Heaven lies within the soul of man: for the realist of the last generation, it was almost invariably sought from without, in the individual's relation, with the rest of the world, and in the general improvement of social and human conditions. And the advance from external consolations to the consolations of the soul is an evident advance of the highest significance, and of the most hopeful promise for the future.

NOTES

"Hate thine Enemies."

Knowing that it is not quite possible for imperialistic nations to strictly follow what Jesus is said to have taught—so long, of course, as they remain wedded to imperialism, we have never thought it necessary to pay serious attention to what preachers of their established churches say. But a sermon recently preached by the Bishop of Calcutta having created some stir in Anglo-Indian circles, it may not be considered impertinent on the part of a non-Christian to offer a few remarks. The Bishop is said to have asked his congregation to forgive the enemy, meaning the Germans. He did not, we presume, ask his hearers to abruptly bring the war to a close. He did not want any change in their outward conduct; he wanted only to bring about a change in their inner sentiments. This was in perfect keeping with the Christian exhortation "Love thine enemies." "Forgive thine enemies" is not so great a demand on one's charity as "Love thine enemies." Still Anglo-India is said to be not in a mood to listen.

Inward feeling, no doubt, governs outward conduct. It may, therefore, seem impossible for men of a loving and forgiving disposition, answering to the "Christian" ideal, to wage war. But it is not unthinkable and unimaginable that a man should fight in a dispassionate and detached spirit, as the *Gita* teaches. A teacher can chastise an offending pupil without getting angry or ceasing to love him. It may not be impossible for men to look upon war as a painful necessity and to fight without ceasing to cherish the feeling of brotherhood even towards a most brutal and barbarous enemy. But this is sure to be looked upon as a counsel of perfection, particularly when it comes from people who do not belong to the warlike races. But whatever martial races may think, charity is among the greatest, if not the greatest, of virtues.

Why Home Rule is not wanted.

The manner in which the Government of India Consolidation Amendment Bill was

introduced in the House of Lords, shows that it is the intention of the authorities to save us not only the trouble of making laws for ourselves but also the trouble of expressing any opinion on any new piece of legislation. This considerateness on their part ought to be highly appreciated. We, the people of the East, have as our highest ideal spirituality, calm meditation. All causes of distraction should, therefore, be avoided. The work of legislation or criticism of legislation is sure to distract our minds. The Home Rule cry should, for this reason, be discouraged.

Government of India Bill.

Reuter has cabled that "in the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith announced that the Lords had agreed to the Commons' amendment to the Government of India Amendment Bill." How very considerate it is of Reuter not to say what the Commons' amendments are! Every one is anxious that the people of India should not lose their spiritual characteristic. Therefore they are told just enough to enable them to include the Commons in their daily prayers. If the Commons' amendments had been cabled out, some unmeditative fellows would have commented upon them, thus disturbing the condition of perfect calmness which ought to characterise the oriental mind.

Anglo-India clamoured against the clause of the Bill which wanted to take away the right to sue the Secretary of State in certain cases, and against the clause which would have enabled traders to have seats in the executive councils, without giving up their interest in commercial concerns. These clauses have, therefore, been dropped. Some Indians are flattering themselves that Indian opposition to these clauses had also something to do with their deletion. The result of the Indian opposition to the Civil Service ("Temporary") Act does not encourage us to live in this fools' paradise.

The London correspondent of the *Tribune* writes:—

The opening of civil and military appointments in British India to subjects of Native States was

represented as a step in the direction of Indian unification. With regard to military appointments the view put forward was that this provision would make it easier later on to give commissions to qualified Indians generally. There is little in the terms of the Bill to support this anticipation, but the statement appears to have satisfied those who were doubtful upon the point. One further alteration the Committee have made in the Bill as drafted. They have struck out the provision which would have enabled the subjects of adjacent territories or the members of independent races or tribes in those territories to be appointed to civil offices under the Crown.

The London correspondent of the *Indian Mirror* writes :—

No further alteration of any substance was made in the Bill except that the power to appoint to civil offices under the Crown will not extend beyond those who are rulers or subjects of any State in India. That is to say, the subjects of any State in territory adjacent to India, or the members of any independent race or tribe in such territories will not be eligible for appointment.

Supposing these two correspondents are correctly informed, one is curious to know whether "the subjects of any State in territory adjacent to India, or the members of any independent race or tribe in such territories" will be eligible for *military* appointments. That is really the most important point. As we have pointed out in previous issues, civil appointments in India, particularly high ones, require a knowledge of English, in which qualification Indians in British India are generally superior to other Indians and other Asiatics, and therefore our anticipation, expressed previously, was that the clause in the Bill relating to the widening of the area of recruitment for civil and military appointments was meant chiefly to obtain soldiers and military officers from outside British India. This view is now confirmed by what the *Tribune* correspondent says, viz., "with regard to military appointments, the view put forward was that this provision would make it easier later on to give commissions to qualified Indians generally." Whether "this provision would make it easier later on to give commissions to qualified Indians generally", is a matter of opinion. Our opinion was expressed in the August number as follows :—

"Should the Bill become law, one of its probable or possible effects might be the garrisoning of India by Asiatic mercenaries who are not British Indian subjects or even Indians. This might not happen, but it also might happen. ... Indians have been for a long time past demanding commissions in the army. *Indian ruling chiefs and their relatives might, accord-*

ing to this clause, be given such commissions, and the demand of British Indian subjects shelved in this way."

Disbanding of the Bengal Ambulance Corps.

In a recent speech of Lord Carmichael's there was a reference to the Bengal Ambulance Corps and the cause which led to its disbanding. The only thing that could be gathered from the speech was that a mistake was responsible for its disbanding; but one would seek in vain to find whose mistake it was, what was the nature of the mistake, why the mistake could not be rectified, &c. Truly His Excellency has a most luminous and delightful way of speaking.

U. S. A. "Preparedness."

The present war has roused the United States people to prepare themselves for any coming fray in which they may be engaged. It is advocated that their programme should include sixteen battle-cruisers, a type of war-vessel whose superiority has been proved in recent naval engagements. England has ten of these ships in commission, Germany nine and Japan four. The American ships are to be much faster, and to have greater horsepower, heavier guns and a greater volume of gun-fire than either their German or British rivals.

This has roused the ire of Japan. The *Japan Magazine* writes :—

Not satisfied with having a navy twice the fighting strength of the Japanese navy, Washington is busy with preparations for a still more gigantic programme. The battle cruiser is a type of ship invented by the Japanese after the war with Russia and was quickly taken up by Great Britain, Russia, and Germany; and now it is being adopted by the United States.

Germans in Japan.

We read in the *Japan Magazine* :—

The undue freedom accorded enemy aliens in Japan while they are subject to internment in the other Allied countries, is a constant source of wonder to Britishers, Frenchmen, Belgians and Russians residing in Japan. Ever since the war broke out Germans and Austrians in Japan have proceeded with their affairs unmolested, carrying on trade just the same as before the war; and subjects of the Allies have not been without suspicions of intrigue against Allied interests being hatched among these aliens. Remembering that it was at the German Club in Singapore that the mutiny among soldiers there was planned, some cannot fail to surmise that similar conspiracies may be germinated at the German club in Kobe and Yokohama. The German bank in those ports has

also been open for business as usual and with no lack of funds; while there is every facility for communication between Germans in Japan and those in China through their Japanese agents.

The Czar's Assurances to the Poles.

Current Opinion gives welcome news. It says :—

Russian dailies of importance, including the "Slovo" (Moscow), understand that Emperor William is perturbed by the solemn renewal of the Czar's pledge to Poland. Poland will be a nation using her own tongue, teaching her own culture in her own schools of all grades up to the university itself, declared Mr. Sazonoff to the Duma. Germany, he said, in effect, will grant Poland nothing like that. The episode became dramatic when the Polish deputy in the Duma, Dr. Harusiewicz affirmed that his country is irrevocably with the allies because they have sworn fealty to the principle of nationality. The Poles, he added, believe in the Russian pledge of a unification of dismembered Poland. They see in the words of Premier Sturmer the promise of a Polish nation governing itself with the Czar as a constitutional sovereign. The form of the words was bold but the French press is a unit in deeming the Polish deputy correct. If the details supplied by the *Figaro* are correct, Poles throughout the world are for the most part assured of the good faith of the Russian pledges. Even the somewhat suspicious *Homme enchainé* (Paris) edited by Clemenceau, is convinced that the Poles are justified in their acceptance of the Czar's pledges to their country.

It is said that Germany and Austria, too, have resolved to constitute an autonomous Poland. Whatever the motives of the powers concerned and whoever succeeds first in giving Poland freedom, the addition of one more free country to the list of those which are self-ruling would be a gain to the cause of liberty.

Russo-Japanese Relations.

Since the outbreak of the European War, Japan has been supplying war materials and has shown extreme good will to Russia. In return the Russian Government has determined to transfer a part of the Eastern China Railway at a reasonable price in token of its gratitude.

Terms of the Japan-Russian Alliance.

The terms of the recent treaty of alliance concluded between Japan and Russia, as reported by the *Nichi-nichi* of Japan, are as follows :—

"1. Russia shall cede to Japan that section of the Manchurian railway between Changchun and a certain point near Harbin. This will afford Japan's South Manchuria Railway an easier access to the Russian metropolis in Manchuria.

"2. Japan shall supply Russia with arms and ammunition as long as the war in Europe lasts.

"2. Russia shall accord liberal treatment to the

Japanese residing and engaged in business in Eastern Siberia and north Saghalien, as well as in the railway zone of north Manchuria.

"4. Russia shall throw open to international commerce the harbor of Vladivostok, and shall not increase the armament of the port to such an extent as would cause apprehension on the part of Japan.

"5. Russia and Japan shall respect each other's interests in Manchuria and Mongolia. Should disturbance arise in the Russian sphere of influence in these territories while Russia is engaged in the war against Germany and Austria, Japan shall, upon Russia's request, undertake to pacify the country.

"6. In case Japan is obliged to take necessary measures to preserve the peace and order in China, Russia shall not hinder the execution of such measures. Should a third Power or Powers obstruct such measures, Russia shall, upon Japan's request, take common action with Japan for the removal of such obstruction."

Indian Emigration to America.

The Review of Reviews writes :—

The vexed problem of the Indian immigrant is again to the fore. It is a strange anomaly that the men who have so valiantly fought in our ranks would not be admitted into Canada if they presented themselves there with their wives and children. And the consequence is that the United States House of Representatives has passed a Bill aiming at the exclusion of Indians and justifying the measure because they are not admitted into Canada. The Burnett Bill was designed to exclude Japanese as well, but Viscount Chinda has successfully intervened. Perhaps Sir Cecil Spring-Rice could even now come forward to the aid of Indians. He might at least induce Washington to agree to Indian immigration being limited to "a gentleman's agreement," as is the case with the Japanese.

The American Review of Reviews writes that the United States Immigration Bill contained a Japanese exclusion clause.

This was highly offensive, because the Japanese Government had agreed with President Roosevelt and Secretary Root to regulate Japanese migratory labor in such a way as to meet American wishes. That agreement has always been faithfully observed. It is regrettable that Ambassador Chinda should have had to work so hard at Washington to prevent the enactment of an exclusion law. The Senate Committee last month agreed to change the bill in such a way as to make the exclusion apply to other Oriental regions but not to the latitude and longitude of Japan. The Senate will doubtless adopt the view of its Committee on Immigration, and it is to be hoped that the House will accept the amendment.

Leading Indians in America have done their best to safeguard the interests of their people, but in vain. Our readers are aware what Dr. Sudhindra Bose and others did. Recently Mr. Lajpat Rai has written an open letter to Senator Smith of South Carolina and other members of the Senate of the United States, in which occurs the following passage :

"It is a gross injustice and, if I may be permitted to say, an outrageous reflection on the Hindus to be selected as the only people on God's earth who are to be excluded from entry into the United States as a race. It has been acknowledged by the highest scholastic authority in the world that the Hindus are from the Aryan stock; that their ancient language Sanskrit and many of their present spoken languages belong to the Indo-European branch of languages, and that they are the inheritors of a great and noble literature and civilisation. In fact, of all the peoples inhabiting the Continent of Asia, they are with the Persians and Caucasians the nearest of kin to the majority of the inhabitants of the United States. Their exclusion as a race is not only an undeserved and unjustifiable reflection on their national honour, but is equally unworthy of the high-mindedness of the great nation which stands for equal opportunity and open door for the meanest of God's creatures on earth.

Other persons may be excluded because they are ineligible for citizenship or for other reasons, but the Hindus (that is to say, the natives of India) are to be excluded because they are Hindus! The reason is quite obvious. The Japanese have to be shown at least some respect, because they are a self-ruling people and able to retaliate in some way or other. We are not self-ruling, and, as such, cannot bring any pressure to bear upon the Americans through our government. It has, in fact, been said that the representative of the British Government in the U. S. A. has been utterly apathetic to the appeals for help in this matter made to him by the Hindus in America. It has even been hinted, with what truth we are not in a position to ascertain, that he has been hostile to Hindu interests. Hindus who have not been in America for more than five years may under the new law be deported. Mr. Lajpat Rai urges that those who may be thus deported should be allowed to go to any country they choose; they should not be necessarily deported to India. For here they may be proceeded against for any political opinions they may have given expression to. It is a noble tradition of England and other politically free countries that they give refuge to men who may not be able for their political opinions to live in safety in their own country. But it seems, in the case of a "subject race," this tradition is not to have any meaning.

There are not sufficient facilities for education in India. When Indian students go to England they are far from welcome. It is difficult for them to enter educational institutions. More often than not they

are treated as suspects. Passports are getting increasingly difficult to obtain. A new Law of Manu of British origin would seem to be on the anvil, standing in the way of Indians crossing the *Kala Pani*. Under the new American Immigration Law students are to be required to execute bonds. At present some Hindu students are self-supporting. The new law might be able to make a clean sweep of them. We hope some of our friends in America will tell us how matters exactly stand, and under what conditions skilled workers, unskilled laborers, traders, travellers and students from India can go to America and live there as long as may be necessary.

As in things which rot, so among people who rot in their home countries and cannot go abroad, there is sure to be fermentation. This does not make for the health of an empire or a nation, or of humanity at large. A remedy must be found. We must not and do not give way to pessimism.

The U. P. Hindu Conference.

Though convened at short notice, the Hindu Conference at Benares has been a great success. The gathering was representative of the intellectual and material wealth of the province, and the sober and reasoned pronouncements made, supported as they were with incontestable facts and figures, ought, therefore, to carry weight. The position of the Hindus of Agra and Oudh in the Legislative Council, the District Boards, and the Municipalities, is indeed precarious; and no self-respecting community which understands its welfare can or ought to put up with it. A united nation, no doubt, requires that all communities should share in the power of self-rule; but it cannot mean that the community which is numerically preponderant and not deficient in other respects is to be humiliated and reduced to a position of impotence. We admire the energy, the spirit, and the persistence with which the U. P. Hindus are carrying on their struggle for civic rights.

The following table taken from Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's speech will give our readers some idea of the respective position of the Musalmans and the Hindus in some U. P. Municipalities:—

Municipality.	Percentage of Mahomedan to non-Mahomedan voters.	Percentage of Mahomedan to non-Mahomedan members.
Hathras	2.03	20
Bareilly	54.35	90
Meerut	59.03	87.5
Bijnor	70.57	125
Sitapur	47.46	50
Muzaffarnagar	38.22	66.6
Gorakhpur	57.55	66.6
Sahaswan	85.68	150
Sandila	70.52	125
Kalpi	19.10	50
Allahabad	24.13	61.54
Bairampur	33.76	66.6
Etah	38	60
Bela (Partabgarh)	35.16	50
Jhansi	20.03	40
Bahraich	73.77	120
Jalesar	44.11	50
Ghazipur	54.69	62.5
Hapur	47.53	66.6
Kunch	16.46	40
Koili (Aligarh)	38.27	71.43
Cawnpore	29.03	52.6
Rurki	38.49	50
Fatehpur	67.13	80
Chandausi	8.46	50
Sambhal	118.33	175
Orai	39.46	50
Mainpuri	10.46	33.3
Shahjahanpur	99.37	140
Fyzabad	23.05	55.5
Khairabad	73.33	150
Ujhani	26.88	50
Farrukhabad-cum-Fatehgarh	14.13	62.5
Nagina	108.91	200
Tilhar	50.98	125
Kashipur	12.22	66
Shahabad	73.6	80
Tanda	98.42	150
Chandpur	134.55	200
Sultanpur	41.04	57.1

There are 84 municipalities in the province. The speaker was able to get figures for 64. Out of these, "it is only in 9 that the representation which the Mahomedans have got is somewhat less than what they would be entitled to according to their voting strength."

Communal Representation.

The evil effects of communal representation on local bodies have been officially admitted in the Panjab. A similar opinion has been expressed by the Bombay Government. That government appointed in August of last year a committee for the purpose of reporting what changes it was desirable to effect in the constitution of the District and Taluk Boards in the Presidency and their system of administration. In the official resolution on the report of this committee occurs a para-

graph in which it has been declared that the Government of Bombay are not in favour of communal representation on local boards, and will not sanction it except for strong reasons. On this *India* observes, quite justly,—

This decision is in conformity with the attitude which the Bombay Government has always taken up, and in striking contrast to the manner in which the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces has dealt with this vexed question. Sir James Meston, while professing to be opposed personally to communal representation, pleaded that the Local Governments were bound by the decision of higher authority. The public naturally wish to know how it is that the Government of Bombay can declare publicly that they adhere to their determination not to grant communal representation, while the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces should put himself forward as a victim of *force majeure*. As a matter of fact, no "higher authority" has ever committed itself on the matter of communal representation on local bodies.

Advocates of separate and more than numerically proportionate representation for particular communities do not understand, or, if they do, forget, that no Indian community, however favoured by the bureaucracy, can attain the height of power and prosperity, unless the country be self-ruling; and the country cannot be self-ruling unless there is national solidarity. National solidarity, again, is impossible unless one gives up the endeavour to aggrandise one's own group in favour of the strengthening of the whole nation. As soon as a community thinks that it is more important than the others, or that it has political interests different from those of others, it creates a barrier between itself and others. Now, not only must such fresh barriers be not created, but strenuous efforts must be made to knock down the already existing barriers created by caste, creed, &c. No community ought to do or say anything which wounds the self-respect of other communities. If any such thing is said or done, love is lost between the different communities, and national solidarity becomes hard to attain. Representatives of the people ought to be judged by their work for public good, not by the creeds they profess. One could name Musalman members of council who have done more for the good of the public (including Hindus) than some Hindu members, and one could name Hindu members who have done more for the welfare of the public at large and of

Musalman in particular than some Musalman members.

Mahomedans have already got communal representation, and the Indian Christians have made a demand for it; and the present Viceroy has made a "sympathetic" response. Mahomedans base their claim to separate and excessive representation on, among other things, their superior political importance. We do not know on what considerations the Indian Christian demand is based. As the vast majority of the present-day Musalmans of India are not the descendants but only the correlative of the former Musalman conquerors of the greater part of India, so the Indian Christians also are the correlative of the "conquerors" of parts of India and the present rulers of British India. The political importance of Mahomedans is said to arise also out of the existence of a few independent Mahomedan States. But there is a larger number of independent Christian States. So, in this respect too, Indian Christians are a "politically superior" group. The Sikhs, the Mahrattas, and the Rajputs can also to some extent claim political importance, as they were in former days the independent rulers of parts of the country, and even now are rulers of states under British paramountcy; but the Mahrattas and Rajputs have not made any such claim. The European merchants have already got the franchise, to an extent out of all proportion to their number and even to their contribution to the revenues of the State. Apart from their mercantile or manufacturing character and interests, they are clamouring for more and separate representation on general grounds. So Government have to meet the excessive demands of Europeans, Musalmans, Indian Christians, and Sikhs; and there may be others who may come forward to make a similar claim based on some fact or fiction. The Hindus, who, in spite of the manipulation of census figures and classifications, still form the majority of the population of India, have yet to claim separate representation, and they may be driven to do it. But what would remain for these *inferior* specimens of Indian humanity after meeting the "just" and excessive demands of those who do or may claim to be the supermen of India? This is a question that sorrow

bids us ask, not anger. Alas, even if all the legislative council members, municipal commissioners, district and local board members, deputy magistrates and deputy superintendents of police and certain other classes of officials were drawn from the Musalman, or Christian or Sikh communities, and if they were all made Nawab Bahadurs, Sardar Bahadurs, or Rajas, Indians (*including* these communities) would still remain the most powerless and most despised among the "civilized" peoples of the earth. Of all races on earth, the American Immigration Law excludes the people of India alone by name, *because they are Indians*. No exception has been made in favour of Indian Musalmans, Indian Christians, or Sikhs. It is a copy-book maxim, but it is absolutely true, and ought to bear repetition, that, *united we stand, divided we fall*.

No community in India, large or small, standing alone, can be said to be morally, materially and physically capable of making and keeping India self-ruling, powerful, prosperous and enlightened. Is there any single community which has produced the most original thinkers, the best poets, the greatest scientists, the boldest and most resourceful captains of industry, the most enterprising merchants, the most democratic, courageous, unselfish and pure-hearted social reformers, the most catholic-minded and spiritual religious teachers and leaders, the most sagacious, well-informed and far-seeing statesmen and the most valiant warriors? We have developed along different lines, and supplement one another's deficiencies. Mere self-interest, if not anything higher, ought to lead us to keep together and seek the common good; nothing can be good for a part which is not good for the whole.

As a matter of compromise, patriots can go as far as separate and strictly proportionate representation for all communities, though this, too, is mischievous; and one does not know where to stop. If separate representation be given to sects, why not to sub-sects, or to castes, or to sub-castes, or to linguistic groups? That way chaos lies.

Bengali Soldiers.

It is not necessary to make any prophecy regarding the success or failure of the attempt that is being made to recruit and enlist a double company of Bengali

soldiers. But this can be said with some degree of certainty that if, when two years ago hundreds of Bengali young men offered to go to the front as fighters, cold water had not been poured on their ardour and their offer rejected on the absurd ground that they were untrained men and training would take time, and if, again, the second batch of the Bengal Ambulance Corps had not been disbanded after months of waiting without any reasons being publicly and plainly stated, men could have been by this time found to form several double companies. Let us, however, hope the attempt will succeed.

It is not generally admitted by Europeans that Bengalis were ever given to fighting. But the Nairs of the Malabar coast are admitted to have been good soldiers not very long ago. And yet, it is said, only 300 Nairs have offered to enlist as soldiers. It has been decided that Eurasian soldiers are to be placed on a footing of equality with those of British birth as regards pay, prospects and privileges. And yet what is the result? An Associated Press telegram says:—

BOMBAY, August 23rd.

The figures of Anglo-Indian recruiting in the Bombay Presidency so far are not quite encouraging. Bombay city could not muster more than 110 offers from young Anglo-Indians. Of these 32 withdrew and 30 were declared medically unfit. The remainder of the presidency, including Karachi and Baluchistan, has produced only 55 enlistments. Some sixty-five more are required to complete the presidency's quota.

These facts should be borne in mind by those British journalists in India who are commenting on the lack of enthusiasm for recruiting observable in Bengal and are already indulging in some cheap ridicule in anticipation of the failure of the effort to enlist Bengalis as soldiers.

The Pay of Indian soldiers.

The question of the pay of the Indian soldier has been raised in connection with the Bengali recruiting movement. We think the question should be dealt with as it affects all sepoys, not as it affects or may affect the actual or prospective soldiers of any particular province or race. In Bengal, it is quite usual for menials to get Rs. 10 as monthly wages, and they earn another equal amount. Therefore, the Sepoy's pay of Rs. 11 per mensem and extra allowance of Rs. 3 or 4 cannot be much of an inducement in Bengal to follow soldiering as a profession. The literate

Bengali young man who will become a soldier will do so from love of adventure or similar motives.

The Bengali recruits to the French army have been given equal pay and privileges with French soldiers. Eurasians, who have got no martial fame or traditions to equal those of the Sikhs, Pathars, Gukhas, &c., have got the same terms as British soldiers. So justice, consistency and sound statesmanlike policy require that the question of the Sepoy's pay and prospects should receive earnest consideration.

This is necessary on economic grounds, too. Mule-cart drivers and coolies are required for Mesopotamia. An appeal has been published in the *Pioneer* for their recruitment. These men are to be stationed at Basra, several hundred miles from the actual scene of fighting. So there is no risk of their losing their lives or limbs in battle; they will be engaged in making roads, lines, houses and go-downs. Let us now compare what they are to get and what Indian soldiers get. Their monthly wages will be Rs. 15 *with everything else found*. This shows that the eleven rupees, *plus* an extra allowance of Rs. 3 or 4, paid monthly to the sepoy for very risky work is less than what is offered to the laborer for doing work which is not risky. So on economic grounds we urge that the sepoy's pay be increased and made equal to that of the Eurasian soldier.

Brahman and Non-Brahman.

Some men in Southern India have raised the cry that, because there is not a good understanding there between Brahman and non-Brahman, because the Sudras and the Pariahs are despised and often insulted, persecuted and treated as not-human or sub-human, therefore there can be no self-government in India. We consider the insolent caste-spirit utterly abominable. We think it is partly because we had and still have pariahs among us that we have become pariahs among the races of mankind;—those who cannot respect the manhood of others must in course of time lose their own manhood and be treated as less than men. But however much we may hate caste, we must not theorize and dogmatise in opposition to the evidence of past and contemporary history. Were there not helots in Greece, and were there

not republics in that country at the same time; and is not republicanism a most advanced form of self-rule? Were there not slaves in the ancient republic of Rome? Were not the plebians of Rome at first a despised and powerless class, who gradually struggled upwards to civic recognition and power? The United States of America is at present the greatest democracy in the world. And yet in the past and present history of the treatment of the Negroes of that republic by its white citizens one can find a parallel and often worse than a parallel to the wrongs inflicted on the so-called "untouchables" of India by the so-called "touchables." More than once caste in America has been discussed in these pages. And Mr. Lajpat Rai, who is as sincere a Home Ruler as he is a sincere social reformer, has devoted many pages of his latest work to this subject. What strengthens the case of the Indian Home Ruler is that the Negro is gradually making headway in all directions and that because he lives in a democracy and is able to make use of democratic methods.

There are and may be sincere Indian opponents of Indian Home Rule. But, not often, in bringing forward arguments against self-rule, snobbish and servile men have the temptation of being patted on the back by Anglo-Indian journalists and other Anglo-Indians. All self-respecting and sensible Indians ought to scorn such patting on the back. First the approbation of one's own conscience and then, if any other support were needed, the approbation of the self-sacrificing servants of the Mother, ought to be quite sufficient for us.

There are immense difficulties in the way of winning Home Rule. All those social and other drawbacks which are urged as reasons why we ought not to have self-rule, existed and still exist, in a greater or less pronounced form, in self-ruling countries, and it is by the power of self-rule that these have been and are being removed. No self-ruling country is peopled entirely by perfectly wise, perfectly just, and perfectly angelic persons.

It is easy for the non-Brahman to speak of the Brahman's touch-me-not-ism. But is there no Western touch-me-not-ism towards Indians, whether they be Hindus or Musalmans, Brahmans or non-Brahmans? Why cannot Europeans travel

with Indians in the same railway carriage? Why are there reserved compartments for them? Why are not Indians allowed to build and own houses in certain favoured spots in some health and pleasure resorts in India? Why are not Indians allowed to walk or drive along certain roads or enter or sit in certain spots in some public places in India? Why are the doors of Anglo-Indian clubs generally shut against the best and highest Indians? Why are all the highest appointments and most of the higher ones in India forbidden fruit to Indians, however able they may be? Why do the British colonies exclude Indians? Why are footpaths and the best market-places reserved for whites in many a south African town? Why does the U. S. A. exclude the people of India by name? Why is it difficult for Indians to obtain passports for going to foreign countries? Why do educational institutions in Great Britain look askance at Indian students and only some of them very reluctantly and partially open their doors to them?

And, for many of these disadvantages, insults and wrongs, is there any effective remedy but self-rule?

It is only shortsighted and foolish men who think that, because the bureaucrat ordinarily dispenses equal justice between Indian and Indian, and distributes petty appointments, and also very astutely a very few high ones, to Brahmans and non-Brahmans alike, therefore there cannot be a better system of administration than the bureaucratic one. The saying about the beam and the mote needs to be remembered. It was no doubt selfish and inhuman for the old social legislators to consign a class of men to the position of "untouchables"; but is it angelic to practically treat whole countries and continents as if they were the abodes of "untouchables," as Europe and America seem bent on doing? If the submerged countries and continents still produce a few towering personalities, have not the pariahs, in spite of the crushing weight of Brahman sanctimoniousness, produced their saints whose images are kept and honoured in Hindu temples in southern India?

The bureaucratic form of administration may help to ameliorate the condition of the backward classes to a little extent and up to a certain point, but it is only

self-rule which can enable the entire Indian nation to make boundless progress and be equal to the most progressive nations in the world.

"Nānyah panthā vidyatē ayanāya."

The Cause makes the Fighter.

A great cause makes heroes of common men. The cause makes the fighter. By this we do not mean to say that a great cause can make even stocks and stones fight. What is meant is that there is enough heroism latent in common humanity in all countries, and a great cause calls it into play. A century ago Belgian valour was a term of reproach used sarcastically. But the enjoyment of liberty has made them so freedom-loving that they have fought most valiantly in the cause of independence. That they have not succeeded is another matter. The cause makes the hero; but success depends on resources and many other things. And it should not be forgotten that failure may often be marked by greater heroism than success.

Alike in civic and in military struggles, great causes inspire courage and faith and hope. If you despair of a people, give them a lawful and great cause to fight for, to struggle for, to live for; and see the miracle it can work. The cause of the freedom of small nationalities is a noble, a glorious cause; but it would be practically unmeaning to men who were not themselves free if they were not allowed to expect or claim freemen's rights for themselves without let or hindrance.

Antinarcotic Law in America.

In the course of a leading article, the *Lancet* comments on the working of what is known as the Harrison Antinarcotic Law in the United States of America. The writer remarks that the restrictions imposed by this Act are more severe than the regulations designed for the same purpose in any other country, and it was consequently feared that the new law would be followed by a large growth in the clandestine traffic in narcotic drugs. But a year's experience has dissipated this fear and the results have surpassed the most sanguine expectations. The writer proceeds:—

"A year's experience, however, has demonstrated not only that the Act was capable of smooth administration but that during the period in which it has been in force, there has been no sensible increase in

the smuggling of the class of drugs which the Act was designed to control. Some of the large wholesale dealers in drugs are quoted as saying that their sales of drugs of this kind have been reduced by 70 to 80 per cent. and retail traders seem to be agreed that the amounts supplied to the public have been materially restricted."

The distribution of opium, morphine and cocaine has been strictly limited to the quantities required for legitimate medicinal purposes.

The principal feature of the new legislation is the registration of doctors and druggists to enable them to prescribe or sell narcotic drugs. Pharmacists can obtain supplies only by ordering them on official forms and they can supply the drugs only to medical practitioners who write their orders on similar forms. Prescriptions, which must bear the patient's name and address, can be only for a definite quantity and have to be signed with the full name of the prescriber, whose address and registered number will also appear on the prescription. The prescription cannot be repeated, as it can be in India, and druggists will only supply on a fresh prescription. The authorities in America are at present considering the desirability of cancelling exemptions in favour of medicinal preparations containing even two grains of opium or half a grain of morphine.

Any one conversant with the state of affairs with regard to the almost unrestricted sale of narcotics in India will have felt that the evil has undoubtedly assumed alarming proportions. It is common knowledge that cocaine and opium are at the present time doing havoc among a certain section of the Indian people. Opium in pretty large quantity can be purchased by any one and cocaine can be prescribed by any doctor irrespective of his qualifications. In India we have the further difficulty with regard to *bhang* and *ganja*, and those conversant with the criminal history of the country will testify how the most heinous crimes are committed under the influence of the latter drug. The uncontrolled use of these drugs is not only undermining the health of the Indian people but is sadly undermining their morals. It was therefore high time that somebody raised the question of remodeling legislation on the subject in India. It is too much to expect the Government to take the initiative in matters in which a large sacrifice of revenue has to be made.

State versus Company Management of the Indian Railways.

It will be interesting to note in connection with the article on the subject which appears in another place in the current number of this *Review* that speaking on the Indian Railway policy at a recent meeting of the East India Association in Caxton Hall, London, Sir Guilford Molesworth, formerly Consulting Engineer of Railways, Government of India, said that he had always been an advocate of the Indian Railways being retained and worked by the State as instruments of development instead of simply creating revenue. He said he held that view as strongly as ever. Sir Muncharjee Bhownaggee, who was present at the meeting, gave a correct version of the views of his educated countrymen in stating with due emphasis that the Railways here should not be worked for the benefit of the companies, but for that of the people of India generally. We are, however, sorry to note in this connection that Sir Stephen Finney, C. E., for many years a Manager of State Railways in India and subsequently President of the Railway Board, as Chairman of the meeting expressed the opinion that, with the conditions now prevailing in India, the advancement of direct management by the State would not materially benefit the people while it would add to the burdens of the Government;—the same oft-repeated, old argument, which has been as repeatedly and effectively disposed of. But Sir Stephen Finney, who, we understand, on his retirement from the service of the Government of India, has joined the directorate of certain company-managed railways cannot now be expected to view things in their proper perspective and from the right angle of vision.

Railway Management.

In order to be able to solve the problem of railway management in India, one should bear in mind that it is not exactly identical with the problem of nationalization of railways *versus* management by private companies which people have to discuss in independent countries; for in India the nation and the State do not stand to each other in exactly the same relation as they do in independent countries. Here management by private companies practically means management by directors who are foreigners and by absentee capita-

lists. The profits go out of the country. The rates of railway freight have been fixed in such a way that they favour the import of foreign manufactured goods, to the disadvantage and detriment of indigenous industries. They also facilitate the export of raw materials for foreign manufacturers. The grievances of third-class railway passengers do not receive proper consideration, as their cries cannot influence the directors living in comfort at a distance of thousands of miles from India. In all these matters there is a greater chance of our being able to influence the Government of India than the foreign directorates of companies. Even if company management were more economical, what would it matter to us? It would only mean greater profits for foreign capitalists: whereas state management would bring at least some revenue to the public treasury, besides securing a few more posts with decent salaries to the children of the soil. If the personnel of the Government of India be in sympathy with indigenous industrial enterprise, much more can be done for the industrial development of the country under state management of railways than under foreign company management.

Nationalization of Railways in Japan.

It is interesting to note in this connection that before the year 1906 in Japan "anything like efficient co-operation was impossible" between private railway companies, "and constant complaints were heard about delays in transit and undue expense. The defects of divided ownership had long suggested the expediency of nationalization, but not until 1906 could the Diet be induced to give its consent: On March 31 of that year, a railway nationalization law was promulgated."

A Japanese appreciation of Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

The Herald of Asia, an English weekly paper conducted by Japanese, speaks of one of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's addresses in Japan as one "which will leave a deep and lasting impression upon the minds of the Japanese people. He touched upon subjects connected with the very essence and meaning of human life and history, and for a space of nearly an hour he held his audience spell-bound."

As may have been expected, the great Indian prophet is fearless and unreserved in exposing the materialistic and political aspect of European civilization in all its ugliness. Nothing, for instance, could be more plain speaking than the following:—

The political civilization which has sprung up from the soul of Europe and is overrunning the whole world, like some prolific weed, is based upon exclusiveness. It is always watchful to keep at bay the aliens or to exterminate them. It is carnivorous and cannibalistic in its tendencies, it feeds upon the resources of other peoples and tries to swallow their whole future. It is always afraid of other races achieving their eminence, naming it as a peril, and tries to thwart all symptoms of greatness outside its own boundaries, forcing down races of men who are weaker, to be eternally fixed in their weakness. . . . This political civilization is scientific, not human.

The Herald of Asia hastens to add that "Tagore of course is not unconscious of Europe's greatness; far from it, he pays her no unstinted tribute."

He does not hesitate to express his hearty love and deep admiration for "the Europe who, in her literature and art, is pouring an inexhaustible cascade of beauty and truth fertilizing all countries and all time; the Europe who, with a mind which is titanic in its untiring power, is sweeping the height and the depth of the universe, winning her homage of knowledge from the infinitely great and the infinitely small. . . Such true greatness must have its motive power in spiritual strength. . . There, in the hidden heart of Europe, runs the purest stream of human love, of love of justice, of spirit of self-sacrifice for higher ideals. The Christian culture of centuries has sunk deep in her life's core." Nor is the Indian poet oblivious of the fact that there have from time to time risen in Europe "noble hearts who have ever stood up for the rights of man irrespective of colour and creed; who have braved calumny and insult from their own people in fighting for humanity's cause and raising their voices against the mad orgies of militarism. . . . These are there to prove that the fountainhead of the water of everlasting life has not run dry in Europe, and from thence she will have her rebirth time after time."

So, in the poet's opinion, the greedy, aggressive and overbearing tendencies of European civilization are things of only the present, and he has no doubt but that a time will come when Europe will wake up and feel need of fresh confidence and strength that only come from spiritual purification.

In the opinion of the poet, meanwhile the apparently stationary East has not been dead but "has achieved something which is a positive truth—a truth that can give man's heart its shelter and sustenance. It has evolved an inner sense—a sense of vision, the vision of the infinite reality in all finite things." Summing up, *The Herald of Asia* says: "The East has, therefore, something to offer when Europe halts in her mad career of materialistic aggrandizement and yearns for spiritual sustenance." As the poet said in his address,—

The East with her ideals, in whose bosoms are stored the ages of sunlight and silence of stars, can patiently wait till the West, hurrying after the expedient, loses breath and stops. The East knows that she is immortal, and she will appear again and again in Man's history with her draught of life.

The Herald is right in inferring that "the great Indian seer" is not satisfied with "the existing state of affairs in the East, or more exactly in India. Reading between the lines, it is obvious that he inwardly yearns for the time when, like Japan, 'not hampered from the outside,' India may be allowed to work out her destiny under the invigorating influence of a free and unfettered existence."

The Japanese paper then quotes the following concluding passage of the address,

"In this task of breaking the barrier and facing the world, Japan has come out the first in the East. She has infused hope in the heart of all Asia. This hope provides the hidden fire which is needed for all works of creation. Asia now feels that she must prove her life by producing living work, she must not lie passively dormant, or feebly imitate the West, in the infatuation of fear or flattery. For this we offer thanks to this land of the rising sun and solemnly ask her to remember that she has the mission of the East to fulfil. She must infuse the sap of a fuller humanity into the heart of the modern civilization. She must never allow it to get choked with the noxious undergrowth, but lead it up towards light and freedom, towards the pure air and broad space, where it can receive, in the dawn of its day and the darkness of its night, heaven's inspiration. Let the greatness of her ideals become visible to all men like her snow-crowned Fuji rising from the heart of the country into the region of the infinite, supremely distinct from its surroundings, beautiful like a maiden in its magnificent sweep of curve, yet firm and strong and serenely majestic."

and observes:

In the above quoted passage there is set before us Japanese a mission of transcendent significance. We cannot but feel misgivings as to our qualifications for a task of such supreme responsibilities, although there will never be any lack of determination and ambition on the part of this people to direct its endeavours along the line so eloquently indicated. In any case we could not, even if we wished, prove false to the ideals of Asiatic civilization—ideals which we are proud to share with the peoples of India and China and other countries of the continent. In this respect all peoples of Asia are bound together by ties that lie deep in the sub-conscious domain of their life and aspirations—ties, therefore, that they cannot break without doing violence to their very nature. The spiritual solidarity of Asia is a reality full of promise for the future course of history and civilization. That solidarity is a force that makes for peace and progress not only among the different peoples of Asia but between them and the peoples of the West, for it rests upon ideas essentially peaceful and humane.

The Japanese press and leaders are not, as was to be expected, unanimous in their estimate of the Poet's teachings, warnings and admonition. There has been criticism as well as appreciation.

Sir Rabindranath Interviewed.

A special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writes to that paper from Tokio :

Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who is now in Tokio, has had an extremely cordial reception in Japan, which has a significance more than literary and more than personal, for it is one of the many indications of the growing intimacy between Japan and India and of the evolution of a new Asia awakening to a consciousness of unity.

The correspondent says :—

In a brief address at Osaka he had touched, in a fashion perhaps not wholly gratifying to the New Japan, upon Eastern and Western civilisation. I reminded him of that, and asked him to elaborate his ideas.

Japan and Western Civilisation,

"Japan," he said, "is rapidly acquiring the mechanical apparatus of Western civilisation, but I think it would be a grave misfortune if she cut loose from her own ideas and her own past. We have been through the same phase in India. When Western civilisation and Western education came to us they exercised a great fascination upon our youth, and for a time our own thought and our own traditions seemed to them worthless and fit only to be cast aside. Then came a reaction perhaps as extreme in the one direction as that in the other, and action and reaction are at work to produce an adjustment, for an adjustment is necessary. I have not been in Japan sufficiently long to say whether this is happening here also, but I feel it must be so. The Western apparatus which Japan has borrowed is like a garment rather than part of the individual himself. It is universal and external. True, the West has taken a long time to evolve it, but it has no peculiar character of its own, and the East can borrow it and transplant it rapidly. Precisely for that reason it cannot of itself satisfy the soul of a nation. Thoughtful men in Japan with whom I have talked tell me that they are conscious of this, that they feel the need of harmonising Japan's present with her past, and it is this feeling, I believe, which explains the extreme cordiality with which I have been received."

Difference between the Eastern and the Western outlook.

"You ask me to characterise the difference between the Eastern and the Western outlook. That is very difficult, although the difference is very real. In the East we are conscious through all individual things of the infinity which embraces them. When I was in England I felt there was an incessant rush of just individual things upon me; it was not a question of noise and bustle and haste only, but the whole atmosphere lacked the sense of infinity. Upon me it had the effect of hampering reflection and meditation. No, I should not describe the difference as one between spirituality and materialism, though that is the way it is often put. I have known too many noble and devoted men in England who practise renunciation and self-sacrifice and strive for humanity, to deny your Western civilisation spirituality. No country could stand the shock of this war if it lacked spirituality. But it is a different kind from ours. It is not penetrated, as is ours, with the abiding sense of the infinite."

The Eastern outlook and the Mechanism of Western civilisation.

"Do I think that Eastern thought, the Eastern outlook can be reconciled with the mechanism of Western civilisation? I think it can and must be. In the East we have striven to disregard matter, to ignore hunger and thirst, and so escape from their tyranny and emancipate ourselves. But that is no longer possible, at least for the whole nation. You in the West have chosen to conquer matter, and the fine task of science is to enable all men to have enough to satisfy their material wants, and by subduing matter to achieve freedom for the soul. The East will have to follow the same road, and call in science to its aid."

The poet has no fear that the whole world will become uniform in thought and outlook. Of course he would not say offhand whether the characteristic outlook of nations was a matter of race.

"I know that in England my thoughts were not free, and I had to return to India for them to acquire their freedom. The colour of the sky, the air, the soil, all colour and shape thought, and help to make the philosophy of one nation different from that of another. Though I look forward to science and the mechanical arts of civilisation becoming a common possession of the whole world, I have no fear that the mind and soul of the whole world will become uniform, for these things are external like a garment, and do not touch the inner core of a people. I conceive a kind of federation of nations, in which each contributes its own characteristic philosophy."

On the question of Japan's "mission," or rather ambition, to unite and lead Asia, the Poet observed :—

"It does not surprise one to hear that Japanese think it their country's mission to unite and lead Asia. The European nations, for all their differences, are one in their fundamental ideas and outlook. They are like a single country rather than a continent in their attitude towards the non-European. If, for instance, the Mongolians threatened to take a piece of European territory, all the European countries would make common cause to resist them. Japan cannot stand alone. She would be bankrupt in competition with a united Europe, and she could not expect support in Europe. It is natural that she should seek it in Asia, in association with a free China, Siam, and, perhaps, in the ultimate course of things, a free India. An associated Asia, even though it did not include the Semitic West, would be a powerful combination. Of course that is to look a long way ahead, and there are many obstacles in the way, notably the absence of a common language and the difficulty of communication. But from Siam to Japan there are, I believe, kindred stocks, and from India to Japan there is much of religion and art and philosophy which is a common possession."

Not having a first-hand knowledge of Japan's mission or ambition,—having to look at Japan through British and American eyes, we cannot exactly say how and with what object she wishes to unite and lead Asia. Has she in view a federated or an imperialized Asia? In military and naval power, and in commerce and indus-

try, she is already the foremost country in the East. In things purely of the intellect and the spirit she is not.

In comparing Japan's progress with that achieved by India the poet could not but criticise both England's action and inaction. The Poet is not a biased critic; as he has said, "the problem of history in India is not to throw off England, but to make England's relation to ourselves living and natural."

"The Japanese have made remarkable progress, but, given equal opportunity, India would do as well. We are not inferior intellectually to the Japanese. Probably in the crafts we are so, but we are superior in pure thought. They have been free to educate themselves and to send their young men to all the universities of the world to acquire knowledge. But every Indian feels, and every candid student of India must admit, that you have conceived it to be to your interest to keep us weak and have discouraged education. In the laboratories you dislike us to acquire science and to pursue research.

"The Tata Foundation is an illustration. Here at last, we thought, India's opportunity had come. But the Government has taken control of it and killed it, and that splendid gift is now barren and worthless. The war comes, and you say to us: 'Industrialise yourself; make the things we need.' There is something ludicrous about this, for you have consistently and persistently striven to repress and cramp our economic development. It is hopeless for us to try to educate ourselves or develop ourselves. Your Government in India is so perfectly organised that you can render all such striving futile. But it is bad for you as well as for us. When one nation keeps another in subjection, when its authority is so perfect and complete that it can execute its arbitrary will with effortless ease, it saps its own love of liberty, its own vigour, its own moral strength. It discovers that when it comes into conflict with a virile nation."

It is not clear whether in the last sentence there is any reference to any fact of contemporary history, or it is a mere foreboding originating in a knowledge of the philosophy of history, and of human nature.

Congress Presidentship.

The Lucknow Congress Reception Committee has rejected by a majority of votes the recommendation of the majority of the Provincial Congress Committees that Babu Ambikacharan Majumdar should be chosen president of the next session of the Indian National Congress. The matter has, therefore, been referred to the All-India Congress Committee. It would have been well if this contretemps could have been avoided. As the recommendation of the majority of the Provincial Congress Committees has not been considered wise or morally binding, that of the All-India Congress Committee may share

the same fate. We do not know whether according to the Congress constitution the decision of the latter is binding or not.

Whoever may be chosen president should note that the country is no longer in a mood to tolerate safe pronouncements in favour of home rule or self-rule 500 years hence. Zeros being nonentities should be omitted.

New India security Forfeited.

The Madras Government has forfeited the security on *New India*. Such an event was foreseen by many. The order of forfeiture may be legal according to the law as it stands, but "legal," "equitable" and "just" are not synonymous terms. Nor is that which is "legal" necessarily wise or statesmanlike. This step was not necessary for the safety of India or the British Empire. *New India* has never been hostile to the British Empire idea; it has always insisted that it was absolutely necessary for the good of both India and Great Britain that they should remain together. The paper has, no doubt, been opposed to bureaucratic rule and has exposed its seamy side unsparingly. But that is neither high treason nor sedition.

It may be that Mrs. Besant will have ultimately to transfer her political activity from India to England, where there is plenty of work to do. In that country there is amazing ignorance of the character and condition of the people of India and of her government. This ought to be removed. Should Mrs. Besant or anybody else be prevented from carrying on the Indian Home Rule propaganda in the United Kingdom, it would not be a thing for Englishmen to felicitate themselves upon. For it would mean that the forces of absolutism which had restricted liberties abroad had begun to work havoc at "home."

Mr. Tilak gets a Passport.

The Bombay Government has given the necessary passport to Mr. Tilak to proceed to England in connection with the suit filed by him against Sir Valentine Chirol. We are glad.

We hope the Bombay Government has no power to bind Mr. Tilak to be of "good behaviour" in Great Britain. We hope it will be permissible for him to be a naughty boy there, and, as Britishers have a common saying, "Boys will be boys," has

naughtiness will not be considered as anything worse than mere boyish pranks, sixty years old though he be. For, there are among British statesmen many older boys than he, who, if their political opponents are to be believed, are very naughty, nay, wicked.

Mr. Tilak's voyage to England is expected to further the cause of social reform, and that would be a distinct gain. We are grieved that he cannot now be accompanied by his lawyer and life-long friend Mr. Daji Abaji Khare.

Daji Abaji Khare.

By the death of Mr. Daji Abaji Khare India loses a distinguished and patriotic public worker. *The Indian Social Reformer* says that he helped forward the Widow Remarriage movement and the movement for the passing of the Age of Consent Act. In the field of politics he belonged to the Moderate school. That, however, did not stand in the way of a life-long friendship with Mr. B. G. Tilak. What a blessing it would be if such friendships were commoner than they are.

For whatever names may be given to them, the servants of the Motherland are all one. It speaks much for the genuineness, breadth and intensity of Mr. Khare's patriotism that it could overleap party barriers and enable him to hug to his bosom a man of the so-called opposite camp of so strong and challenging a personality as that which Mr. Tilak possesses.

"Rally the Moderates."

In a contribution to the press by a respected British friend of India occurs the old mischievous cry, "Rally the Moderates." We call it "mischievous" deliberately, though we are sure the writer has not used it with any such intention.

The reason why we use this epithet is that it is a variation of the Machiavelian maxim of *divide et impera*. Indian politicians should never be induced to divide themselves into opposite camps by any sop thrown to them in the shape of a few high offices, or some petty changes in administrative machinery. The result of the "rally-the-moderates" policy adopted during the Morley-Minto regime is seen in the series of repressive measures passed during and since that period. The expansion of the legislative councils has been more than counterbalanced by that apple of discord yeapt communal representation.

Our united cry should be, "No more sops, please; we want the staple solid food of all progressive peoples, self-rule."

Bombay Protests.

Calcutta and Bombay have each claimed to be the first city in India. It is not our intention to decide between the rival claims. But so far as public activity goes, Bombay no doubt is now far more wide-awake than Calcutta, though Calcutta's recent record of domestic bickerings would be hard to beat. Bombay has, in public meeting assembled, protested against the Press Act, and has also protested against certain well-known clauses of the Government of India Consolidation Amendment Bill. The Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau of Bombay has addressed to the Government of India a protest against the non-representation of India at the Paris Conference, which concludes as follows:—

Under the circumstances stated above the committee of this Chamber fail to notice that there has been any change in the angle of vision, having regard to the fact of the studied exclusion of India from the Paris Economic Conference, whose decision is expected to lead to far-reaching consequences at the close of the war. While India, which along with the Colonies, has rendered and is still rendering yeoman's service to the Empire, is absolutely left unrepresented at the Conference, the Colonies are not only represented, but over-represented. If India has been so studiously excluded at this hour from the deliberations of the Paris Conference, what hope can the people of this great country have that their most vital interests on matters fiscal will be considered with anything like justice at the close of the war? The situation is indeed one which all India is justified on the facts here related to view with the greatest apprehension, if not alarm, and the committee respectfully appeal to the Government that they will take an early occasion to make a pronouncement.

Madras, Allahabad and Lucknow have also been recently more active than Calcutta.

Health of India.

The latest available birth-and-death rate figures per thousand for the different provinces are given in the table printed below. They are for the year 1915.

Province	Birth-rate	Death-rate	Infantile Mortality.
United Provinces	43.48	30.04	205.74
Bombay	37.10	26.12	172.00
Madras	31.19	21.97	186.53
Bengal	31.80	32.83	218.93
Bihar and Orissa	40.49	32.23	185.93
Assam	33.60	30.86	201.89
Central Provinces	47.95	35.91	259.72
Punjab	43.60	36.33	188.57
Burma	35.13	27.99	219.35
N.-W.F. Province	31.73	23.61	166.25
Delhi	48.35	29.22	220.89

Delhi has the highest birth-rate, and Punjab the highest death-rate. Madras has both the lowest birth-rate and the lowest death-rate. Judging by the excess of births over deaths, Delhi was the most healthy area during the year under report. But as it is comparatively easy to show a good record for a small and practically urban area, we should consider the United Provinces the healthiest region according to the standard adopted above. Bengal has been the unhealthiest province in 1915, as her death-rate has exceeded the birth-rate, which is the case nowhere else.

The comparative vital statistics of European countries for the latest available year, 1912, are given below.

Country.	Birth-rate per 1,000.	Death-rate per 1,000.
United Kingdom	23.9	13.8
England and Wales	23.8	13.3
Scotland	25.9	15.2
Ireland	23.0	16.5
Austria	31.3	20.5
Belgium	22.6	14.8
Denmark	26.7	13.0
Finland	29.1	16.3
France	19.0	17.5
German Empire	28.3	15.6
Holland	28.1	12.3
Hungary	36.3	23.3
Italy	32.4	18.2
Norway	25.4	13.4
Prussia	28.9	15.5
Rumania	43.4	22.9
Serbia	38.0	21.1
Spain	32.6	21.8
Sweden	23.7	14.2

In India the highest infantile mortality was in the Central Provinces and the lowest in the North-West Frontier Province. But the lowest figure in India is much higher than the rate of infant mortality in many civilized countries.

Regarding the unhealthy condition of Bengal the Government resolution says:—

The outstanding feature of the returns of vital occurrences for the year 1915, is that, for the first time since 1892, the number of deaths in Bengal exceeded the recorded number of births. The excess amounted to 46,939 and was the result largely of widespread epidemics of cholera and small-pox, which caused altogether 163,464 deaths, and partly also of reduced vitality consequent on the adverse economic conditions and bad agricultural seasons of this and previous years. The decrease of population was not uniform and was in fact confined to the Presidency, Burdwan and Rajshahi Divisions, a continued increase being recorded in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions with their prolific and prosperous population.

The three greatest foes of India are poverty, disease and ignorance, and there

is a very good understanding among these three powers. They help one another, and if you weaken any one of them, you may be able to weaken the other two.

Socially-enforced Widowhood.

The anniversary of the death of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar has been recently celebrated in many places. But the cause for which his name stands does not seem to make much headway, particularly in the province of his birth. The tables in the Census Report giving the figures for widows make painful reading. There are not a few infants among them. Taking the whole of India the following tables gives the numbers of widows of the ages mentioned below:—

Age	Number of widow
0-1	866
1-2	755
2-3	1564
3-4	3987
4-5	7603
5-10	77585
10-15	181507

And among the nearly 20 millions of Hindu widows of higher ages, there must be a very large number who lost their husbands in infancy or childhood.

The re-marriage of child-widows has been advocated on moral, humanitarian and sociological grounds. In the following note we give some little-known facts to show that the lot of the widows requires amelioration.

Widows among the Jail Population.

The Musalman population of Bengal exceeds the Hindu by 32½ lakhs, Musalmans forming 52.3 and Hindus 45.2 per cent. of the total population. But of the convicts admitted into Bengal jails in 1915, 56.42 per cent were Musalmans and 40.22 per cent. Hindus. This shows that Hindus were not in 1915 more criminally inclined than Muhammadans. But when we consider the number and religion of the female convicts admitted during the year, we find that out of a total number of 702, so many as 322 were Hindus and 195 Musalmans. These figures become very significant when we remember that the total number of Hindu females in Bengal is 10,097,162 and that of Muhammadan females much larger, namely, 12,377,215. So though Musalman women outnumber Hindu women in the province, Hindu female convicts outnumbered Musalman female

convicts. Why? It cannot be because Hindus were more criminally inclined than Musalmans in 1915; in fact, as we have seen above, the truth lies the other way. Perhaps the following figures may throw some light on the state of things dwelt on above.

Among the 702 female convicts, 235 were married, 7 unmarried, 273 widows, and 187 prostitutes (among whom many must have been originally widows). Here widows outnumber any other class of women; but what is their proportion among the total female population of Bengal? Among women in Bengal 75,60,825 are unmarried, 1,04,24,322 married, and, 45,16,902 widowed. So the smallest number is that of widows; but among female convicts, the largest is that of widows. This leaves no doubt that widowhood brings many temptations, trials and difficulties which lead to crime. And the reason why Hindu female convicts outnumber Musalman female convicts may be that in Bengal in spite of a larger Muhammadan population, there are among them 700,000 widows less than among Hindus.

Let us now turn to the Bihar and Orissa figures for 1915. Here the number of females admitted into jails during 1915 was 750. Out of these 336 were married, 22 unmarried, 361 widows and 31 prostitutes. In these provinces, too, the widows outnumber each of the other descriptions of female convicts, though the proportion of widows among the general female population of Bihar and Orissa will be seen to be the smallest from the following figures:—unmarried 5,386,311; married 9,028,628; widowed 3,215,216.

In the United Provinces, of the total female population, 6,887,907 are unmarried, 11,777,845 married, and 3,874,461 are widowed. Among female convicts admitted in 1915, the married numbered 863, the unmarried 17, and widows 420. Here though the widows do not preponderate, their proportion is much larger in jails than among the general population. Among the general female population their number is one-third of that of the married; but in jails it is one-half.

In the Central Provinces, unmarried females number 2,186,710; married 3,692,210, and widows 1,106,996. So the number of widows is less than one-third that of the married. But among female

convicts in 1915, there were 175 married, 7 unmarried, and 91 widows; that is to say, they numbered more than half of the married.

Thus in the four provinces of which alone we have the jail reports before us, widowhood is clearly seen to lead to crime.

Do pity the widows. Do help them to lead honest, useful, happy lives.

Illiteracy and Crime.

The figures given are for 1915.

In Bengal—

The number of convicts able to read and write was 10·92 per cent., able to read only 1·81 per cent., and illiterate 87·27 per cent.

In Bihar and Orissa—

The number of convicts able to read and write was 6·12 per cent., able to read only 1·80 per cent., and illiterate 92·08 per cent.

In the United Provinces—

5·47 per cent. were found able to read and write, 0·69 per cent. able to read only and 93·84 illiterate.

In the Central Provinces and Berar—

Out of a total of 4,895 convicts, 595 were able to read and write, 44 were able to read only, and 4,256 were illiterate.

On teaching Indian children.

The following extract from the *Pioneer Mail* contains much that is very wise and sane:—

The teacher, therefore, who proposes to instruct the small boys and girls of India should come to the task with the firm conviction that methods will have to be adapted to the peculiar surroundings and minds of his pupils, as distinct from those of the English child. They are, to a far larger extent than English children, men and women in miniature, with the dignity, reserve, and knowledge of life we associate with adults, and to my mind the first thing is to instil a more playful, childish, and fanciful view of life, to encourage games and jollity and a happy outlook, to allow a good deal of freedom of expression, for it is in this way that we can perhaps, to some extent, counteract the effect of listening to conversation quite unsuited, in English opinion, to childish ears, and replace the serious outlook of the grown-up by the candid thoughtless gaiety which is the charm of happy childhood."

"Behula Dancing at the Court of Indra."

The story of Behula, the subject of our frontispiece, was told in the first (January, 1907) number of this Review by Babu Dineshchandra Sen, B.A., Rai Saheb.

Behula is the heroine of the story of Manasa Devi, the goddess of snakes, and her great opponent Chand Saudagar, the merchant-king of Champak-nagar. Chand was a worshipper of the god Siva, who had ordained that until and unless Chand worshipped Manasa, her claims to obtain *puja* amongst mortals would not be recognised. But neither by gentle persuasion nor by revengeful methods could she prevail upon the merchant to worship her. She reduced him to poverty, killed all his sons, so that the heart-rending lamentations of his six young widowed daughters-in-law filled his house. As the result of the ire of the goddess various other calamities befell him. But he remained firm in his resolve as before. It was predicted by the astrologers that his son Lakshmindra, born after the death of his first six sons, would die of snake-bite on the night of his marriage-day. He, however, had a steel-house made, taking precaution that there was no crevice left in it for even a pin to pass through. The house was, besides, guarded in every possible way from the approach of snakes. But Manasa worked on the fears of the engineer and compelled him to secretly make a small opening in a wall, which he kept stopped with powdered coal. On the night Lakshmindra was married to Behula, the young couple retired to that steel-house, and there the bridegroom died of snake-bite.

"The body of Lakshmindra was taken to the burning-ghat. But Behula insisted that her husband's body should not be burnt. The custom in the country in cases of snake-bite was to place the corpse on a raft made of plaintain trees called a *bhela* and leave it on the river, that perchance the skill of a snake-charmer or a physician might bring it back to life." Behula's arguments were appreciated and a raft was prepared and the corpse of the prince placed thereupon. When it was floated on the river, to the wonder of all assembled there, Behula got on the raft and there sat by the corpse expressing her determination to accompany her husband's body over the waters and not leave it until and unless it was restored to life. People thought she had lost her senses. But neither reproaches, nor taunts, nor entreaties could dissuade her. The raft passed swiftly down the stream. In course of time the corpse began to decompose. But still she sat there.

She washed and cleaned the corpse, she ate nothing, and when her grief was great she wept in her forlorn condition. 'In dark nights the winds rose and crocodiles gathered round her raft eager to devour the decomposed body. Jackals came to carry it off when the raft came near the bank, but she was preserved by Providence from their attacks.' "Six months passed in this way, the boat touched the ghat of Neta, the heavenly washer-woman, and Behula saw in the fine morning when he came up there, Neta washing clothes on the bank of the river Gangoor." She was prevailed upon to take Behula with her to heaven. "There in the high heaven Behula was ordered to dance before the assembled gods, and Behula did her part so well that the gods were mightily pleased with her, and Manasa was requested by them to restore Lakshmindra to life," which she consented to do.

Industrial Commission not meant specially for the benefit of Indians

At an informal conference with the Madras Chamber of Commerce, Sir Thomas Holland made a speech, in the course of which, as reported by the Associated Press,

Sir Thomas Holland took it for granted the Commission was in no sense a movement for the benefit of Indians as opposed to Europeans or "vice versa." It was intended to find out exactly in what direction there was scope for industrial development, regardless as to whether a European or an Indian undertook the work. He then referred to the part Europeans played in assisting the industrial development of the country in the past and the necessity of their continuing so for many years to come for the initiation of further industries, as Indians were less willing to devote their money to industrial development.

We have never been under any delusion as to the scope or object of the Commission. Sir Thomas Holland's statement serves to dispel any misconception which any one may have had. Indians should take note now, if they have not done so already, that unless Indian capitalists, industrialists and technological experts be up and doing and can take time by the forelock, the net result of the industrial commission will be the further and thorough exploitation of our resources of all kinds by foreign capital.

"A scheme for a large body of Chemists."

Sir Thomas Holland went on to say:

One problem of the Commission was the creation of central technical departments which would

enable the Government to carry on where the Commission would leave off. A scheme might well provide the Government of India with a large body of chemists of all kinds. Such a central reservoir of chemists would be able to maintain a well-equipped laboratory and create a chemical atmosphere.

He is also reported to have observed that "Increase of research work led to industries being created even under unfavourable conditions in Europe. For instance, sugar, though a tropical industry, was imported by India from Germany and Austria." Should there be a scheme to provide the Government of India with a large body of chemists of all kinds, it is to be hoped that the services of qualified Indian chemists will be entertained. We have several such. For instance, there is Dr. Hemendra Kumar Sen, D. Sc. (London), who stood first in the first division in Chemistry (Calcutta University, 1911), and subsequently obtained the Premchand Roychand Studentship. He has obtained the Doctorate in Organic Chemistry of the University of London (1915). He has contributed many original papers based on his researches to many British and German Journals of Chemistry. Dr. Jocelyn Thorpe, D. Sc., F.R.S., Professor of Organic Chemistry, Imperial College of Science and Technology, writes of him:—"What I wish most particularly to emphasize is that he most certainly possesses the true research spirit combined with very considerable originality of thought. It is certain that this combination in conjunction with the sound knowledge of his subject which I know him to possess, will enable him to attain a high place among Organic Chemists in the near future." From what Dr. Thorpe says further, it is clear Dr. Sen is acquainted with some manufacturing processes and *has discovered one which has been of use to the Admiralty*. Dr. Thorpe writes:—

"After the commencement of the war Dr. Sen devoted his time to the elaboration of a process by which the valuable drug ß Eucaine could be prepared in quantity and, at the request of the Admiralty, a considerable quantity of this material was made for them by his process."

Since returning home he has been engaged in elaborating a process for the production of dry, fat-free casein, the principal constituent of Sanatogen, and has obtained good results. It is a pity that the country does not possess

advanced colleges of science with research laboratories, or research laboratories connected with large manufacturing concerns, in sufficient numbers, to utilise and benefit by the expert knowledge of men like Dr. Sen.

A Mysore Deputation to Japan.

When Prof. C. J. Hamilton was sent to Japan by the Government of India to study economic developments there, we suggested that some competent person or persons should be sent by the people of India to Japan for the same purpose; for the official and the European points of view cannot, for obvious reasons, be the same as ours. We are glad to find an idea similar to ours has struck the Government of Mysore. That progressive state has decided to send a deputation of commercial men to Japan "to study the business habits of the Japanese people." The deputation consists of a few merchants and a few officials. We are sure the Mysore Government will instruct the deputation to study also all the methods and means of Japanese industrial development, including the kind and amount of Government encouragement to Japanese commercial and industrial enterprises. We have already some information on the subject in the Encyclopaedia Britannica and other standard works, and in Mr. Lajpat Rai's articles in this Review. Prof. Hamilton has not so far made any helpful addition to our knowledge. He has spoken of the "energy and careful organisation" of the Japanese and "of the way in which the cottage industries of Japan are utilising every kind of raw material at their disposal for some kind of definite purpose." Should he add that the Japanese are an energetic people dwelling in a cold country and the Indians a lethargic people inhabiting a tropical country, we ought to be convinced that he had given us our money's worth.

The New Tagore Professor of Law.

It is a matter for satisfaction that Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, M. A. (Oxon), Barrister at law, has been appointed Tagore Professor of Law for the year 1917. The subject of his lectures will be "Manu and Yajnavalkya—a comparison and a contrast." Mr. Jayaswal is a competent Hindu jurist and scholar,

and will, we doubt not, be able to do justice to his subject. He possesses the power to think and interpret for himself, and to shape and give expression to bold and original views, thus striking out a path for himself out of the beaten track.

At the Calcutta University Senate meeting at which the appointment was made,

Mr. Archbold said that he understood that Government had some objection against Mr. Jayaswal. Was that objection still in existence? Before they voted on the subject they were entitled to know whether the Government of India had expressed any opinion on the subject. Had that objection against him been withdrawn or not?

The Hon. the Vice-Chancellor said that they had no information on the subject before them.

Mr. Archbold: Then we cannot vote.

The Hon. the Vice-Chancellor: No one is called upon to vote if he has any objection.

Mr. Archbold: Then I oppose the motion.

The motion was then put to the vote and carried.

Mr. Archbold's opposition was not pertinent, as appointments to this particular professorship have never been subject to the previous approval of Government. The snubbing administered to him by the Vice-Chancellor was rather neat.

Famine in Bankura.

The poor people of Bankura seem now to be able to look forward to better days. The recent rainfall has improved the agricultural outlook, and if there be not an untimely cessation of rain there will be a bumper crop in parts of the district and a normal yield in the remaining portions. Help will have to be continued for a few weeks longer, which the Bankura Sammilani may be able to do in its relief-centres with the money left in its hands. As treasurer of the Sammilani, the Editor of this review warmly and sincerely thanks all the kind donors whose contributions have been the means of saving so many lives and relieving so much misery.

Bose Research Institute Studentship Fund.

The suggestion was made in these pages some months ago that the nation's admiration and appreciation of and pride in Dr. Bose's scientific discoveries should take the form of an Institute where further researches could be carried on by him, and a number of selected advanced students could receive guidance and training in research under him. We also suggested that these advanced students should be given Fellowships out of the proceeds of a fund raised for the purpose.

It is a pleasure to find that others have been thinking in the same way with us. The Institute itself, with laboratory, workshop, lecture-hall and an experimental nursery of plants, Dr. Bose is himself providing. The buildings are making rapid progress, and will soon be fit for use. We will not describe them and their adjuncts now.

Dr. Bose has done and is doing his part. The duty of the nation is to provide funds for the Fellowships. An appeal has been issued, influentially signed, to which we invite the serious attention of the princes and people of India, trusting that it will meet with adequate response.

AN APPEAL.

Prof. J. C. Bose has, by his researches added greatly to the world's store of scientific knowledge. By his discoveries in many fields of science he has practically shown that, though knowledge is manifold, Science is One. In these days of excessive and restricted specialisation, this synthetic view of science is a great service rendered to its cause. Through their great philosophical insight, the sages of ancient India realised the one in the many of the universe. Prof. Bose, by rigorous scientific methods of strictly experimental demonstration, has demonstrated the underlying unity running through what is called the inanimate creation, and the vegetal and animal kingdoms; he has, in fact, largely demolished the walls that were supposed to divide the Living from the Non-Living. "In these remarkable investigations," says a leading scientific journal, "the synthetic intellectual methods of the East, co-operate with the analytic methods of the West in a single mind."

Just as in the realm of pure science his researches have opened out new avenues of knowledge,—in Physics, in Physiology, and in Psychology,—so in the sphere of applied science, his discoveries have been considered by competent persons to be fraught with immense possibilities in the fields of Radiotelegraphy, in Medicine, and in Agriculture, some of which have already found practical application.

In modern times, the West leads the world in mechanical and scientific inventions. But even the West now acknowledges that, for the advance of many recondite branches of knowledge, the epoch-making instruments of unprecedented delicacy invented by Dr. Bose are essential

And these have been made in India by Indian mechanicians trained by him under his special direction. This has proved that even in inventive genius and high mechanical skill India can win a pre-eminent place in the world.

The great service rendered by Dr. Bose to science has demonstrated that Indians are capable not merely of learning but also of teaching experimental science; it has also secured for our country the recognition from leading thinkers of the fact that the store of the world's knowledge will be incomplete without India's special contribution. It is not necessary to describe how this fact has raised India in the estimation of the intellectual world, and how it has stimulated the hope, the courage and the confidence of young India to render by their labours a world-service and thus revive the great traditions of the past.

In the modern realm of science Prof. Bose has boldly essayed to renew that spirit which from time immemorial animated our great ancestors in their never-ending quest to seek an underlying unity amidst bewildering diversity. Thus has been demonstrated the ever-inspiring fact that India has been able, all appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, to maintain a continuity of her line of seekers and sages.

This has naturally awakened a keen desire in the minds of many Indians that the pride we take in the achievements of our illustrious countryman and the gratitude we feel for his devoted services in raising our country in the estimation of the world should find an adequate national expression. The best form of this is, the establishment and perpetuation of a school of science to hold the meed of recognition which has been so hardly won by the great Indian scientist, and thus keep up a continuous tradition of India's special gift to the world in the realm of science.

For the accomplishment of this great object it is essential that there should be a properly equipped laboratory with its attached workshop, a lecture hall, and a band of advanced students devoted to science to be specially trained under Dr. Bose in his new methods of investigation. The life-long earnings of Dr. Bose have been offered by him for the building of an Insti-

tute where his researches will be continued by himself and his disciples, where his new inventions will be perfected and his new discoveries announced to the scientific world. The Government, in recognition of his contributions in advancing the world's science, has sanctioned a special allowance for five years for the continuation of his work. His old and recent students and other lovers of science have decided that the nation's contributions should take the form of giving opportunities to a dozen advanced students for obtaining a special training under Prof. Bose so that they may devote their whole life to the furtherance of research in the Institute. With this object in view it is proposed to institute twelve studentships of the minimum value of Rs. 100 a month each.

For this purpose it is necessary to collect such an amount as would yield sufficient interest for the payment of these monthly studentships. A Trust Deed* has been prepared, a copy of which is attached herewith. (* Omitted for want of space.)

To all who earnestly desire that science should advance and that India should occupy and maintain an honoured place in the realm of science by her special contributions, we appeal in the hope that there will be a large and adequate response.

ASHUTOSH CHAUDHURI,
KUMUD CHANDRA SINGHA,
(Maharaja of Susang),
S. P. SINHA,
ALI IMAM,
KAILASH CHANDRA BOSE,
NILRATAN SIRCAR.

All contributions to be sent to the
Treasurer { PRAFULLA NATH TAGORE, Esq.,
1, Darpanarayan Tagore Street,
Calcutta.

All communications and enquiries to be
addressed to the
Sj. RAMENDRA SUNDAR TRIVEDI, M.A.,
and
Secretaries { DR. B. L. CHAUDHURI, D.Sc.,
120, Lower Circular Road,
Calcutta.

"New India" to continue publication.

We are glad to learn that Mrs. Besant has decided to continue the publication of *New India* by depositing the security of Rs. 10,000 demanded from her. Her paper has been fearlessly rendering unique service to the national cause.



RADHA AWAKE FROM HER SWOON.

From an old painting, by the courtesy of its owner Babu Samarendranath Gupta.

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WHOLE
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THE SONG OF THE DEFEATED

My Master has asked of me to stand at the roadside of retreat
and sing the song of the Defeated,
for she is the bride whom He woos in secret.
She has put on the dark veil, hiding her face from the crowd,
the jewel glowing in her breast in the dark.
She is forsaken of the day, and God's night is waiting for her
with its lamps lighted and flowers wet with dew.
She is silent with her eyes downcast;
she has left her home behind her, from where comes the wailing
in the wind.
But the stars are singing the lovesong of the eternal
to her whose face is sweet with shame and suffering.
The door has been opened in the lonely chamber,
the call has come,
and the heart of the darkness throbs with the awe of the
expectant trust.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

MY REMINISCENCES

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(30) *Evening Songs.*

IN the state of being confined within myself, of which I have been telling, I wrote a number of poems which have been grouped together, under the description of the *Heart-Wilderness*, in Mohita Babu's edition of my works. In one of the poems

subsequently published in a volume called *Morning Songs*, the following lines occur:

There is a vast wilderness whose name is *Heart*;
Whose interlacing forest branches dandle and rock
darkness like an infant.

I lost my way in its depths.
from which came the idea of the title of
this group of poems.

Much of what I wrote, when thus my life had no commerce with the outside, when I was engrossed in the contemplation of my own heart, when my imaginings wandered in many a disguise amidst causeless emotions and aimless longings, has been left out of that edition; only a few of the poems originally published in the volume entitled *Evening Songs* finding a place there, under the *Heart-Wilderness* group.

My brother Jyotirindra and his wife had left home travelling on a long journey, and their rooms on the third storey, facing the terraced-roof, were empty. I took possession of these and the terrace, and spent my days in solitude. While thus left in communion with my self alone, I know not how I slipped out of the poetical groove into which I had fallen. Perhaps being cut off from those whom I sought to please, and whose taste in poetry moulded the form I tried to put my thoughts into, I naturally gained freedom from the style they had imposed on me.

I began to use a slate for my writing. That also helped in my emancipation. The manuscript books in which I had indulged before seemed to demand a certain height of poetic flight, to work upto which I had to find my way by a comparison with others. But the slate was clearly fitted for my mood of the moment. "Fear not," it seemed to say. "Write just what you please, one rub will wipe all away!"

As I wrote a poem or two, thus unfettered, I felt a great joy well up within me. "At last," said my heart, "What I write is my own!" Let no one mistake this for an accession of pride. Rather did I feel a pride in my former productions, as being all the tribute I had to pay them. But I refuse to call the realisation of self, self-sufficiency. The joy of parents in their first-born is not due to any pride in its appearance, but because it is their very own. If it happens to be an extraordinary child they may also glory in that—but that is different.

In the first flood-tide of that joy I paid no heed to the bounds of metrical form, and as the stream does not flow straight on but winds about as it lists, so did my verse. Before, I would have held this to be a crime, but now I felt no compunction. Freedom first breaks the law and then

makes laws which brings it under true Self-rule.

The only listener I had for these erratic poems of mine was Akshay Babu. When he heard them for the first time he was as surprised as he was pleased, and with his approbation my road to freedom was widened.

The poems of Vihari Chakravarti were in a 3-beat metre. This triple time produces a rounded-off globular effect, unlike the square-cut multiple of 2. It rolls on with ease, it glides as it dances to the tinkling of its anklets. I was once very fond of this metre. It felt more like riding a bicycle than walking. And to this stride I had got accustomed. In the *Evening Songs*, without thinking of it, I somehow broke off this habit. Nor did I come under any other particular bondage. I felt entirely free and unconcerned. I had no thought or fear of being taken to task.

The strength I gained by working freed from the trammels of tradition led me to discover that I had been searching in impossible places for that which I had within myself. Nothing but want of self-confidence had stood in the way of my coming into my own. I felt like rising from a dream of bondage to find myself unshackled. I cut extraordinary capers just to make sure I was free to move.

To me this is the most memorable period of my poetic career. As poems my *Evening Songs* may not have been worth much, in fact as such they are crude enough. Neither their metre, nor language, nor thought has taken definite shape. Their only merit is that for the first time I had come to write what I really meant, just according to my pleasure. What if those compositions have no value, that pleasure certainly had.

(31) *An Essay on Music.*

I was proposing to study for the bar when my father recalled me home from England. Some friends concerned at this cutting short of my career pressed him to send me off once again. This led to my starting on a second voyage towards England, this time with a relative as my companion. My fate, however, had so strongly vetoed my being called to the bar that I was not even to reach England this time. For a certain reason we had to disembark at Madras and return home to Calcutta. The reason was by no means

as grave as its outcome, but as the laugh was not against me, I refrain from setting it down here. From both my attempted pilgrimages to *Lakshmi's** shrine I had thus to come back repulsed. I hope, however, that the Law-god, at least, will look on me with a favorable eye for that I have not added to the encumbrances on the Bar-library premises.

My father was then in the Mussoorie hills. I went to him in fear and trembling. But he showed no sign of irritation, he rather seemed pleased. He must have seen in this return of mine the blessing of Divine Providence.

The evening before I started on this voyage I read a paper at the Medical College Hall on the invitation of the Bethune Society. This was my first public reading. The Reverend K. M. Banerji was the president. The subject was Music. Leaving aside instrumental music, I tried to make out that to better bring out what the words sought to express was the chief end and aim of vocal music. The text of my paper was but meagre. I throughout sang and acted songs illustrating my theme. The only reason for the flattering eulogy which the President bestowed on me at the end must have been the moving effect of my young voice together with the earnestness and variety of its efforts. But I must make the confession to-day that the opinion I voiced with such enthusiasm that day was wrong.

The art of vocal music has its own special functions and features. And when it happens to be set to words the latter must not presume too much on their opportunity and seek to supersede the melody of which they are but the vehicle. The song is great in its own wealth, why should it wait upon the words? Rather does it begin where mere words fail. Its power lies in the region of the inexpressible; it tells us what the words cannot.

So the less a song is burdened with words the better. In the classic style of Hindustan† the words are of no account and leave the melody to prefer its plaint in its own way. Vocal music reaches its perfection when the melodic form is allowed to develop freely, and carry our conscious-

ness with it to its own wonderful plane. In Bengal, however, the words have always asserted themselves so, that our provincial song has failed to develop her full musical capabilities, and has remained content as the handmaiden of her sister art of poetry. From the old *Vaishnava* song down to those of Nidhu Babu she has displayed her charms from the background. But as in our country the wife rules her husband through acknowledging her dependence, so our music, though professedly in attendance only, ends by dominating the song.

I have often felt this while composing my songs. As I hummed to myself and wrote the lines:

Do not keep your secret to yourself, my love,
But whisper it gently to me, only to me.

I found that the words had no means of reaching by themselves the region into which they were borne away by the tune. The melody told me that the secret, which I was so importunate to hear, had mingled with the green mystery of the forest glades was steeped in the silent whiteness of moonlight nights, peeped out of the veil of the illimitable blue behind the horizon—and is the one intimate secret of Earth, Sky and Waters.

In my early boyhood I heard a snatch of a song:

Who crossed you, love, as a foreigner?

This one line painted such wonderful pictures in my mind that it haunts me still. One day I sat down to set to words a composition of my own while full of this bit of song. Humming my tune I wrote to it an accompaniment:

I know you, O Woman from the strange land!
Your dwelling is across the Sea.

Had the tune not been there I know not what shape the rest of the poem might have taken; but the magic of the melody revealed to me the stranger in all her loneliness. It is she, said my soul, who comes and goes, a messenger to this world from the other shore of the ocean of mystery. It is she, of whom we now and again catch glimpses in the dewy Autumn mornings, in the scented nights of Spring, in the mossy recesses of our hearts—and sometimes we strain skywards to hear her song. To the door of this world-charming stranger the melody, as I say, wafted me, and so to her were the rest of the words addressed.

Long after this, in a street in Bolpur, a

* The Goddess of Wealth.

† As distinguished generally from different provincial styles, but chiefly from the Dravidian style prevalent in the South. Tr.

mendicant *Baul* was singing as he walked along :

How doth the unknown bird flit in and out of the cage !

Ah ! could I but catch it, I'd ring its feet with my love !

I found this *Baul* to be saying the very same thing. The unknown bird sometimes surrenders itself within the bars of the cage to whisper tidings of the bondless unknown beyond. The heart would fain hold it near to itself for ever, but cannot. What but the melody of song can tell us of the goings and comings of the unknown bird ?

That is why I am always reluctant to publish books of the words of songs, for therein the soul needs must be lacking.

(32) *The River-side.*

When I returned home from the outset of my second voyage to England, my brother Jyotirindra and sister-in-law were living in a river-side villa at Chandernagore, and there I went to stay with them.

The Ganges again ! Again those ineffable days and nights, languid with joy, sad with longing, attuned to the plaintive babbling of the river along the cool shade of its wooded banks. This Bengal sky-full of light, this south breeze, this flow of the river, this right royal laziness, this broad leisure stretching from horizon to horizon and from green earth to blue sky, all these were to me as food and drink to the hungry and thirsty. Here it felt indeed like home, and in these I recognised the ministrations of a Mother.

That was not so very long ago, and yet time has wrought many changes. Our little river-side nests, clustering under their surrounding greenery, have been replaced by mills which now, dragon-like, everywhere rear their hissing heads, belching forth black smoke. In the midday glare of modern life even our hours of mental siesta have been narrowed down to the lowest limit, and hydra-headed unrest has invaded every department of life. May be, this is for the better, but I, for one, cannot account it wholly to the good.

These lovely days of mine at the river-side passed by like so many dedicated lotus blossoms floating down the sacred stream. Some rainy afternoons I spent in a veritable frenzy, singing away old *Vaishnava* songs to my own tunes, accompanying myself on a harmonium. On other afternoons we would drift along in a boat, my

brother Jyotirindra accompanying my singing with his violin. And as, beginning with the *Puravi*,* we went on varying the mode of our music with the declining day we saw, on reaching the *Behaga*,* the western sky close the doors of its golden toy-shop, and the moon on the east rise over the fringe of trees.

Then we would row back to the landing steps of the villa and seat ourselves on a quilt spread on the terrace facing the river. By then a silvery peace rested on both land and water, hardly any boats were about, the fringe of trees on the bank was reduced to a deep shadow, and the moonlight glimmered over the smooth flowing stream.

The villa we were living in was known as Moran's garden. A flight of stone-flagged steps led up from the water to a long, broad, verandah which formed part of the house. The rooms were not regularly arranged, nor all on the same level, and some had to be reached by short flights of stairs. The big sitting room overlooking the landing steps had stained glass windows with coloured pictures.

One of the pictures was of a swing hanging from a branch half-hidden in dense foliage, and in the checkered light and shade of this bower, two persons were swinging; and there was another of a broad flight of steps leading into some castle-like palace, up and down which men and women in festive garb were going and coming. When the light fell on the windows, these pictures shone wonderfully, seeming to fill the river-side atmosphere with holiday music. Some far-away long-forgotten revelry 'seemed' to be expressing itself in silent words of light; the love thrills of the swinging couple making alive with their eternal story the woodlands of the river bank.

The topmost room of the house was in a round tower with windows opening to every side. This I used as my room for writing poetry. Nothing could be seen from there save the tops of the surrounding trees, and the open sky. I was then busy with the *Evening Songs* and of this room I wrote :

There, where, in the breast of limitless space,
clouds are laid to sleep,
I have built my house for thee, O Poesy !

* Many of the Hindusthani classic modes are supposed to be best in keeping with particular seasons of the year, or times of the day. Tr.



THE GANGES AGAIN!

By Babu Gaganendranath Tagore.

By the courtesy of
Babu Rathindranath Tagore

(33) *More about the Evening Songs.*

At this time my reputation amongst literary critics was that of being a poet of broken cadence and lisping utterance. Everything about my work was dubbed misty, shadowy. However little I might have relished this at the time, the charge was not wholly baseless. My poetry did in fact lack the backbone of wordly reality. How, amidst the ringed-in seclusion of my early years, was I to get the necessary material?

But one thing I refuse to admit. Behind this charge of vagueness was the sting of the insinuation of its being a deliberate affectation—for the sake of effect. The fortunate possessor of good eye-sight is apt to sneer at the youth with glasses, as if he wears them for ornament. While a reflection on the poor fellow's infirmity may be permissible, it is too bad to charge him with pretending not to see.

The nebula is not outside creation—it merely represents a phase; and to leave out all poetry which has not attained definiteness would not bring us to the truth of literature. If any true phase of man's nature has found true expression, it is worth preserving—it may only be cast aside if not expressed truly. There is a period in man's life when his feelings are the pathos of the inexpressible, the anguish of vagueness. The poetry which attempts its expression cannot be called baseless—at worst it may be worthless; but it is not necessarily even that. The sin is not in the thing expressed, but in the failure to express it.

There is a duality in man. Of the inner person, behind the outward current of thoughts, feelings and events, but little is known or recked; but for all that he cannot be got rid of as a factor in life's progress. When the outward life fails to harmonise with the inner, the dweller within is hurt, and his pain manifests itself in the outer consciousness in a manner to which it is difficult to give a name, or even to describe, and of which the cry is more akin to an inarticulate wail than words with more precise meaning.

The sadness and pain which sought expression in the *Evening Songs* had their roots in the depths of my being. As one's sleep-smothered consciousness wrestles with a nightmare in its efforts to awake, so the submerged inner self struggles to free

itself from its complexities and come out into the open. These *Songs* are the history of that struggle. As in all creation, so in poetry, there is the opposition of forces. If the divergence is too wide, or the unison too close, there is, it seems to me, no room for poetry. Where the pain of discord strives to attain and express its resolution into harmony, there does poetry break forth into music, as breath through a flute.

When the *Evening Songs* first saw the light they were not hailed with any flourish of trumpets, but none the less they did not lack admirers. I have elsewhere told the story of how at the wedding of Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dutt's eldest daughter, Bankim Babu was at the door, and the host was welcoming him with the customary garland of flowers. As I came up Bankim Babu eagerly took the garland and placing it round my neck said: "The wreath to him, Ramesh, have you not read his *Evening Songs*?" And when Mr. Dutt avowed he had not yet done so, the manner in which Bankim Babu expressed his opinion of some of them amply rewarded me.

The *Evening Songs* gained for me a friend whose approval, like the rays of the sun, stimulated and guided the shocks of my newly sprung efforts. This was Babu Priyanath Sen. Just before this the *Broken Heart* had led him to give up all hopes of me. I won him back with these *Evening Songs*. Those who are acquainted with him know him as an expert navigator of all the seven seas* of literature, whose highways and byeways, in almost all languages, Indian and foreign, he is constantly traversing. To converse with him is to gain glimpses of even the most out of the way scenery in this world of ideas. This proved of the greatest value to me.

He was able to give his literary opinions with the fullest confidence, for he had not to rely on his unaided taste to guide his likes and dislikes. This authoritative criticism of his also assisted me more than I can tell. I used to read to him everything I wrote at the time, and but for the timely showers of his discriminate appreciation it is hard to say whether these early ploughings of mine would have yielded as they have done.

* The world, as the Indian boy knows it from fairy tale and folklore, has seven seas and thirteen rivers. *Tr.*

◦ (34) *Morning Songs.*

At the river-side I also did a bit of prose writing, not on any definite subject or plan, but in the spirit that boys catch butterflies. When spring comes within, many-coloured short-lived fancies are born and flit about in the mind, ordinarily unnoticed. In these days of my leisure, it was perhaps the mere whim to collect them which had come upon me. Or it may have been only another phase of my emancipated self which had thrown out its chest and decided to write just as it pleased; *what* I wrote not being the object, it being sufficient unto itself that it was *I* who wrote. These prose pieces were published later under the name of *Vividha Prabandha*, Various Topics, but they expired with the first edition and did not get a fresh lease of life in a second.

At this time, I think, I also began my first novel, *Baithakuranir Hat*.

After we had stayed for a time by the river, my brother Jyotirindra took a house in Calcutta, on Sudder Street near the Museum. I remained with him. While I went on here with the novel and the *Evening Songs*, a momentous revolution of some kind came about within me.

One day, late in the afternoon, I was pacing the terrace of our Jorasanko house. The glow of the sunset combined with the wan twilight in a way which seemed to give the approaching evening a specially wonderful attractiveness for me. Even the walls of the adjoining house seemed to grow beautiful. Is this uplifting of the cover of triviality from the everyday world, I wondered, due to some magic in the evening light? Never!

I could see at once that it was the effect of the evening which had come within me; its shades had obliterated my *self*. While the self was rampant during the glare of day, everything I perceived was mingled with and hidden by it. Now, that the self was put into the background, I could see the world in its own true aspect. And that aspect has nothing of triviality in it, it is full of beauty and joy.

Since this experience I tried the effect of deliberately suppressing my *self* and viewing the world as a mere spectator, and was invariably rewarded with a sense of special pleasure. I remember I tried also to explain to a relative how to see the world in its true light, and the incidental lighten-

ing of one's own sense of burden which follows such vision; but, as I believe, with no success.

Then I gained a further insight which has lasted all my life.

The end of Sudder Street, and the trees on the Free School grounds opposite, were visible from our Sudder Street house. One morning I happened to be standing on the verandah looking that way. The sun was just rising through the leafy tops of those trees. As I continued to gaze, all of a sudden a covering seemed to fall away from my eyes, and I found the world bathed in a wonderful radiance, with waves of beauty and joy swelling on every side. This radiance pierced in a moment through the several strata of sadness and despondency which had accumulated over my heart, and flooded it with this universal light.

That very day the poem, *The Awakening of the Waterfall*, gushed forth and coursed on like a veritable cascade. The poem came to an end, but the curtain did not fall upon the joy-aspect of the Universe. And it came to be so that no person or thing in the world seemed to me trivial or unpleasing. A thing that happened the next day or the day following seemed specially astonishing.

There was a curious sort of person, who came to me now and then, with a habit of asking all manner of silly questions. One day he had asked: "Have you, sir, seen God with your own eyes?" And on my having to admit that I had *not*, he averred that he *had*. "What was it you saw?" I asked. "He seethed and throbbled before my eyes!" was the reply.

It can well be imagined that one would not ordinarily relish being drawn into abstruse discussions with such a person. Moreover, I was at the time entirely absorbed in my own writing. Nevertheless as he was a harmless sort of fellow I did not like the idea of hurting his susceptibilities and so tolerated him as best I could.

This time, when he came one afternoon, I actually felt glad to see him, and welcomed him cordially. The mantle of his oddity and foolishness seemed to have slipped off, and the person I so joyfully hailed was the real man whom I felt to be in nowise inferior to myself, and moreover closely related. Finding no trace of annoyance within me at sight

of him, nor any sense of my time being wasted with him, I was filled with an immense gladness, and felt rid of some enveloping tissue of untruth which had been causing me so much needless and uncalled for discomfort and pain.

As I would stand against the verandah railing, the gait, the figure, the features of each one of the passers-by, whoever they might be, seemed to me all so extraordinarily wonderful, as they flowed past, waves on the sea of the universe. From infancy I had seen only with my eyes, I now began to see with the whole of my consciousness. I could not look upon the sight of two smiling youths, nonchalantly going their way, the arm of one on the other's shoulder, as a matter of small moment; for, through it I could see the fathomless depths of the eternal spring of Joy from which numberless sprays of laughter leap up throughout the world.

I had never before marked the play of limbs and lineaments which always accompanies even the least of man's actions; now I was spell-bound by their variety, which I came across on all sides, at every moment. Yet I saw them not as apart by themselves, but as parts of that amazingly beautiful greater dance which goes on at this very moment throughout the world of men, in each of their homes, in their multifarious wants and activities.

Friend laughs with friend, the mother dandles her child, one cow sidles up to another and licks its body, and the immeasurability behind these comes direct to my mind with a shock which almost savours of pain.

When of this period I wrote:

I know not how of a sudden my heart flung open
its doors,
And let the crowd of worlds rush in, greeting each
other,—

It was no poetic exaggeration. Rather I had not the power to express all I felt.

For some time together I remained in this self-forgetful state of bliss. Then my brother thought of going to the Darjeeling hills. So much the better, thought I. On the vast Himalayan tops I shall be able to see better and more deeply into what has been revealed to me in Sudder Street; at any rate I shall see how the Himalayas display themselves to my new gift of vision.

But the victory was with that little house in Sudder Street. When, after

ascending the mountains, I looked around, I was at once aware I had lost my new vision. My sin must have been in imagining that I could get still more of truth from the outside. However say-piercing the king of mountains may be, he can have nothing in his gift for me; while He who is the Giver can vouchsafe a vision of the eternal universe in the dingiest of lanes, and in a moment of time.

I wandered about amongst the firs, I sat near the falls and bathed in their waters, I gazed at the grandeur of Kinchinjinga through a cloudless sky, but in what had seemed to me these likeliest of places, I found it not. I had come to know it but could see it no longer. While I was admiring the gem the lid had suddenly closed, leaving me staring at the enclosing casket. But, for all the attractiveness of its workmanship, there was no longer any danger of my mistaking it for merely an empty box.

My *Morning Songs* came to an end, their last echo dying out with *The Echo* which I wrote at Darjeeling. This apparently proved such an abstruse affair that two friends laid a wager as to its real meaning. My only consolation was that, as I was equally unable to explain the enigma to them when they came to me for a solution, neither of them had to lose any money over it. Alas! The days when I wrote excessively plain poems about *The Lotus* and *A Lake* had gone for ever.

But does one write poetry to explain any matter? What is felt within the heart tries to find outside shape as a poem. So when after listening to a poem any one says he has not understood, I feel nonplussed. If some one smells a flower and says he does not understand, the reply to him is: there is nothing to understand, it is only a scent. If he persists, saying: *that* I know, but what does it all *mean*? Then one has either to change the subject, or make it more abstruse by saying that the scent is the shape which the universal joy takes in the flower.

The difficulty is that words have meanings. That is why the poet has to turn and twist them in metre and verse, so that the meaning may be held somewhat in check, and the feeling allowed a chance to express itself.

This utterance of feeling is not the statement of a fundamental truth, or a scientific fact, or a useful moral-precept.

Like a tear or a smile it is but a picture of what is taking place within. If Science or Philosophy may gain anything from it they are welcome, but that is not the reason of its being. If while crossing a ferry you can catch a fish you are a lucky man, but that does not make the ferry boat a fishing boat, nor should you abuse the ferryman if he does not make fishing his business.

The Echo was written so long ago that it has escaped attention and I am now no longer called upon to render an account of its meaning. Nevertheless, whatever its other merits or defects may be, I can assure my readers that it was not my intention to propound a riddle, or insidiously convey any erudite teaching. The fact of the matter was that a longing had been born within my heart, and, unable to find any other name, I had called the thing I desired an Echo.

When from the original fount at its core, streams of melody are sent forth over the universe, their echo is reflected into our heart off the faces of our beloved and the other beautiful things around us. It must be, as I suggested, this Echo which we love, and not the things themselves from which it happens to be reflected; for, that, which one day we scarce deign glance at, may be, on another, the very thing which claims our whole devotion.

I had so long viewed the world with external vision only, and so had been unable to see its universal aspect of joy. When of a sudden, from some innermost core of my being, a ray of light found its way out, it spread over and illuminated for me the whole universe, which then no longer appeared like heaps of things and happenings, but was disclosed to my sight as one whole. This experience seemed to tell me of the stream of melody issuing from the very depths of the universe and spreading over space and time, re-echoing thence as waves of joy which flow right back to the source.

When the artist sends his song forth from the depths of a full heart that is joy indeed. And the joy is redoubled when this same song is wafted back to him as hearer. If, when the creation of the Arch-Poet is thus returning back to him in a flood of joy, we allow it to flow over our consciousness, we at once, immediately, become aware, in an inexpressible manner, of the end to which this flood is streaming. And as we become

aware our love goes forth; and our *selves* are moved from their moorings and would fain float down the stream of joy to its infinite goal. This is the meaning of the longing which stirs within us at the sight of Beauty.

The stream which comes from the Infinite and flows toward the finite—that is the True, the Good; it is subject to laws, definite in form. Its echo which returns towards the Infinite is Beauty and Joy; which are difficult of being touched or grasped, and so do they make us beside ourselves. This is what I tried to say by way of a parable or a song in *The Echo*. That the result was not clear is not to be wondered at, for neither was the attempt then clear unto itself.

Let me set down here part of what I wrote in a letter, at a more advanced age, about the *Morning Songs*.

'There is none in the World, all are in my heart'—is a state of mind belonging to a particular age. When the heart is first awakened it puts forth its arms and would grasp the whole world, like the teething infant which thinks everything meant for its mouth. Gradually it comes to understand what it really wants and what it does not. Then do its nebulous emanations shrink upon themselves, begin to get heated, and heat in their turn.

To begin by wanting the whole world is to get nothing. When desire is concentrated, with the whole strength of one's being upon any one object whatsoever it might be, then does the gateway to the Infinite become visible. The morning songs were the first throwing forth of my inner self outwards, and consequently they lack any signs of such concentration.

This all-pervading joy of a first outflow, however, has the effect of leading us to an acquaintance with the particular. The lake in its fulness seeks an outlet as a river. Then, instead of trying to engulf, it proceeds to taste in bits. In this sense the permanent later love is narrower than first love. It is more definite in the direction of its activities, desires to realise the whole in each of its parts, and is thus impelled on towards the infinite. What it finally reaches is no longer the former indefinite extension of the heart's own inner joy, but a merging in the infinite reality which was outside itself, and thereby the attainment of the complete truth of its own longings.

In Mohita Babu's edition these *Morning Songs* have been placed in the group of poems entitled *Nishkraman*, The Emergence. For in these was to be found the first news of my coming out of the *Heart Wilderness* into the open world. Thereafter did this pilgrim heart make its acquaintance with that world, bit by bit, part by part, in many a mood and

manner. And at the end, after gliding past all the numerous landing steps of ever-changing impermanence, it will reach the infinite,—not the vagueness of indeterminate possibility, but the consummation of perfect fulness of Truth.

From my earliest years I enjoyed a simple and intimate communion with Nature. Each one of the coconut trees in our garden had for me a distinct personality. When, on coming home from the Normal School, I saw behind the skyline of our roof-terrace blue-grey water-laden clouds thickly banked up, the immense depth of gladness which filled me, all in a moment, I can recall clearly even now. On opening my eyes every morning, the blithely awakening world used to call me to join it like a playmate; the perfervid noonday sky, during the long silent watches of the siesta hours, would spirit me away from the work-a-day world into the recesses of its hermit cell; and the darkness of night would open the door to its phantom paths, and take me over all the seven seas and thirteen rivers, past all possibilities and impossibilities, right into its wonderland.

Then one day, when, with the dawn of youth, my hungry heart began to cry out for its sustenance, a barrier was set up between this play of inside and outside. And my whole being eddied round and round my stricken heart, creating a vortex within itself, in the whirls of which its consciousness was confined.

This loss of the harmony between inside and outside, due to the over-riding claims

of the heart in its trouble, and the consequent restriction of the privilege of communion which had been mine, was mourned by me in the *Evening Songs*. In the *Morning Songs* I celebrated the sudden opening of a gate in the barrier, by what shock I know not, through which I regained the lost one, not only as I knew it before, but more deeply, more fully, by force of the intervening separation.

Thus did the First Book of my life come to an end with these chapters of union, separation and reunion. Or, rather, it is not true to say it has come to an end. The same subject has still to be continued through more elaborate solutions of worse complexities, to a greater finale. Each one comes here to finish but one book of life, which, during the progress of its various parts, grows spiral-wise on an ever-increasing radius. So, while each segment may appear different from the others on a cursory glance, they all really lead back to the self-same starting centre.

The prose writings of the *Evening Song* period were published, as I have said, under the name of *Vividha Prabandha*. Those others which correspond to the time of my writing the *Morning Songs* came out under the title of *Alochana*, Discussions. The difference between the characteristics of these two would be a good index to the nature of the change that had in the meantime taken place within me.

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE

CHIPS FROM A HINDU WORKSHOP IN CHINA

BY PROFESSOR BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

I. Imperialism and *Laissez faire* in Ancient India.

SAKYASIMHA died in B.C. 483. The political history of India for the next century and a half may be supposed to repeat the story of the old struggle for overlordship, though documentary evidences are wanting. But by B.C. 322, the hegemony of Magadha state is established

and Chandragupta is found to be at its helm. He reigns from B.C. 322 to 298 and his grandson Asoka from 270 to 230.

The period is an epoch of nationalism of a strong unified rule, and of a vast Imperialistic organisation. "For the first time in the history of India there is one authority from Afghanistan across the continent eastward to Bengal, and from the Himalayas down to the Central Pro-

vinces." The boundaries of this Indian Empire are further extended by Asoka so as to include the whole of Southern India excepting the extreme south which remains feudatory.

The Indian-Napoleon commences his life-work by vanquishing the vanity of the barbarian Seleukos, the ruler of the Hellenistic Syria, who had invaded India.

The Year No. I of Chandragupta's Imperialism is his brilliant victory over this *melechchha* (foreigner). It is with this fact that Indian political history, of which records have been preserved, really begins.

Referring to Greek invasion, however, Matthew Arnold started the superstition, now common to every westerner:

"The East bowed low before the blast
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again,"

Even Mr. Vincent Smith, who is generally very sober, devotes a disproportionately large space to Alexander's campaign in his *Early History of India*. Strictly speaking, these researches should be incorporated with the investigations of Professors Mahaffy and Bury and have no place in a textbook of Indian history. The account of Alexander's expedition may loom large to students of Greece as a World-Power but is an incubus on the students of Indian civilisation. Besides, Mr. Smith himself admits that Alexander's enterprise did not leave any impression on India.

India did not "plunge in thought again.." Says Rhys Davids:

"At the end of the fourth century B. C., Seleukos Nicator, then at the height of his power, attempted to rival Alexander by invading India. But he met with a very different foe. Seleukos found the consolidated and organised empire of Magadha against which all his efforts were in vain. After an unsuccessful campaign he was glad to escape by ceding all his provinces west of the Indus, including Gedrosia and Arachosia (about equal to the Afghanistan of to-day), and by giving his daughter in marriage to the victorious Emperor of India in exchange for five hundred elephants of war."

Nirvanism of the Sakyasimhas did not militate against the establishment of the Indian Empire and the triumph over a foreign foe. About B.C. 300 India was not only a first-class power but the first power of the world, and Pataliputra, the capital, was the centre of gravity of the international system. The Hindus maintained this position unrivalled for a full century. It was only towards its close that Chinese Imperialism began to share with the In-

dian the same importance as a World-Power. Roman Imperialism was not yet conceived. Neither Sianfu, nor any of the Alexandrias, nor Rome, could thus vie with Pataliputra in its political prestige and diplomatic importance.

A natural concomitant of Imperialism both in China and India was the spirit of eclecticism and *laissez faire* in matters religious. A nation-maker cannot afford to be a dogmatist, a strict follower of the letter, for it is the "letter that killeth."

The great monarchs Chandragupta and Asoka were no hidebound pedants. Whatever their personal faiths, they knew that their function was not to advocate one or other of the prevailing *isms*, but to elaborate a new Imperialistic creed which should be quite independent of all. Their mission was not to be fulfilled by making the State subordinate to one or other of the speculative systems of the age. The *Zeitgeist* was therefore represented not by *Nirvanism*, or *Yogaism* or *Upanishadism*, or *Jainism*, but by the policy of let-alone and non-intervention so far as the people's views were concerned. The State cared solely for the systematic carrying out of a propaganda according to the financial, economic, political and militaristic teachings recorded in the *Arthashastra** of Kautilya.

II. *Hindu Bushido and Indono Damashii.*

We do not know exactly what was the personal faith of Chandragupta. The followers of Mahavira claim him for a Jaina. According to Hackmann in *Buddhism as a Religion*, "Chandragupta himself was not a Buddhist; he was on far more friendly terms with the Brahmins, and it was the same with his son Bindusara." And those modern scholars, who take their cue from a Schopenhauer, a Matthew Arnold and a Kipling in trying to understand India, need note that Megasthenes, the Head of the Hellenistic Embassy at Pataliputra, observed nothing of the so-called Nirvanism, quietism and pessimism. Says Hackmann:

"From the fragments of them ... we learn as to matters of importance very little about Buddhism. Megasthenes names the Buddhists as 'Sramanai,'

* This difficult Sanskrit work has been translated into English by Mr. R. Shamashastri for the Mysore Government and its materials utilised by Mr. Naren Law in his *Hindu Polity*.

and says that they were opposed to the 'Brahmanai.' But his description of their mode of life is vague, and he seems to mix the Buddhists up with other Indian sects."

This was perfectly natural, because Megasthenes came with his eyes open. He was not obsessed by any preconceived theory. He had not also the hypothesis of his own race as being superior. Rather he knew that he was living as a guest of the first power of the world. By the test of war Megasthenes the Greek belonged to an inferior race—he was the ambassador from a humiliated second-class power.

So in Pataliputra, the city of the East, this representative of the West noticed not the predominance of any non-secular and transcendental speculation but the apotheosis of Imperialism and all-round Eclecticism. The morality of the age can be expressed in the terms of *Sukraniti*, which, though a later compilation, does really represent the *Niti* or rules of life that have been prevalent since the age of Kautilya. The following is a translation from the Sanskrit texts edited by Gustav Oppert for the Government of Madras:

Even Brahmanas should fight if there have been aggressions on women and priests. (IV. vii. 599.)

The man who runs away from battle is surely killed by the gods (IV. vii. 601).

The life of even the Brahmana who fights when attacked is praised in this world, for the virtue of a kshatriya is derived also from Brahma. (IV. vii. 606-7).

The death of Kshatriyas in the bed is a sin. The man who gets death with an unhurt body by excreting phlegm and bile and crying aloud is not a Kshatriya. Men learned in ancient history do not praise such a state of things. Death in the home except in a fight is not laudable. Cowardice is a miserable sin. (IV. vii. 606-13).

The Kshatriya who retreats with a bleeding body after sustaining defeat in battles and is encircled by family-members deserves death. (IV. vii. 614-15.)

Kings who valorously fight and kill each other in battles are sure to attain heaven. He also gets eternal bliss who fights for his master at the head of the army and does not shrink through fear. (IV. vii. 616-19).

People should not regret the death of the brave man who is killed in battles. The man is purged and delivered of all sins and attains heaven. (IV. vii. 620-21).

The fairies of the other world vie with each other in reaching the warrior who is killed in battles in the hope that he be their husband. (IV. vii. 622-23).

The great position that is attained by the sages after long and tedious penances is immediately reached by warriors who meet death in warfare. (IV. vii. 624-25).

The rascal who flies from a fight to save his life is really dead though alive, and endures the sins of the whole people. (IV. vii. 656-7).

When the Kshatriyas have become effete, and

the people are being oppressed by lower order men, the Brahmanas should fight and extirpate the evil. (IV. vii. 666-7).

This *Kshatriyaism* is *Bushido* according to Japanese notions, Chivalry in mediæval European phraseology, militarism in modern parlance. You may call this the spirit of Sparta.

Another aspect of Hindu Chivalry may be described from the authoritative *Law of Manu*, the Moses of India. This work is generally recognised as older than Chandragupta and may be as old as Sakya (though, in its present form, probably as late as fourth century A.D.):

Let the soldier, good in battle, never guilefully conceal

(Wherewithal to smite the unwary) in his staff his treacherous steel;

Let him scorn to barb his javelin—let the valiant never anoint

With fell-poison juice his arrows, never put fire upon the point.

In his car or on his war-horse, should he chance his foe to meet,

Let him smite not if he find him lighted down upon his feet.

Let him spare one standing suppliant, with his closed hands raised on high,

Spare him whom his long hair loosen'd blinds and hinders from to fly,—

Spare him if he sink exhausted; spare if he for life crave;

Spare him crying out for mercy, 'Take me for I am thy slave.'

Still remembering his duty, never let the soldier smite

One unarm'd, defenceless, mourning for one fallen in the fight;

Never strike the sadly wounded—never let the brave attack

One by sudden terror smitten, turning in base flight his back;

He, that flying from battle, by his foe is slaughter'd there,

All the burthen of his captain's sin hereafter shall he bear.

The translation is by Griffith. In these declarations by the Hindu Internationalists of Manu's School at least 2500 years ago we seem to be reading the latest resolutions of the 'Concert of Europe' at their Hague Conferences and the pious wishes of Peace-apostles like Carnegie.

As with Chandragupta, so with Asoka the contemporary of Shi Hwang-Ti. It is a far cry from the dogma of the historic Sakyasimha to the *Dhamma* proclaimed by Asoka. Besides, Asoka was a nationalist, i.e., an Imperialist first, and a follower of *Dhamma* afterwards.

Imperialists must necessarily be neutral in religious policy and eclectic in personal life unless they choose to fail like a Philip

II of Spain, a Louis XIV of France, an Aurangzeb of India, or a James II of England. Asoka's Edicts are therefore neither the fiery fulminations of ban and anathema and a Bull of excommunication:—nor the autocratic proclamations of a so-called state-religion such as was embodied in the Inquisition, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Re-imposition of the Jizya, or the arbitrary Declaration of Indulgence. They are the sober and sedate expressions of a social-service-propaganda and a universal moral sense to which nobody in the world could object. Like his Chinese contemporary, Asoka was harsh towards pedants, e.g., the Brahmanas, and did not like their sacrifices, but had no objection to Brahmanas as such. Rather, he made toleration an important article of his faith.

Such religious neutrality, toleration and eclecticism have been exhibited by the Asoka of Modern Asia. Mutsuhito the Great of Japan is inspired by the same sanity of good sense and liberalism in his formulation of the Educational Rescript which characterises the "Meiji" Era or Epoch of "Enlightenment" in *Dai Nippon*. Like the "enlightened despot" of the third century B.C. the Mikado assumes the position of a schoolmaster. The picture is that of an Emperor, with a *ferula* in hand, administering to the whole empire as to an elementary school homœopathic doses of common-sense morality. The Proclamation is in the right patriarchal style,—comparable in its austere dignity and earnestness with the historic edicts of the Indian Emperor, and breathes the simple eloquence of the "Ten Commandments" though there is no mention of God in it:

"Know ye, Our subjects,

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of our Empire, and herein also lies the source of our Education. Ye, our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the state; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not

only be our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by their descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with your, our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue."

This Imperial *Michi*, i.e., "Way" or *Tao* or *Magga* is neither Shintoism nor Confucianism, nor Buddhism, nor Christianity, and yet in a sense it is all. In fact, here is *Yamato Damashii*, the spirit of Japan. So also the *Dhamma* of Asoka embodies *Indono Damashii*, the spirit of Hindusthan, rather than any *ism*. It is not necessary to connect or identify Asoka's creed or "way" with any of the *isms* of his day. Like one of his illustrious successors, Akbar the Great, he may be credited with having founded a new faith. Philosophically speaking, it was a practical morality evolved eclectically out of the thousand and one *isms* floating in the air. Historically, it may be traced to the positivistic element in others' teachings as well. Says Rhys Davids:

"The doctrine, as an ideal, must have been already widely accepted. But how sane the grasp of things most difficult to grasp! How simple, how true, how tolerant, his view of conduct and life! How free from all the superstitions that dominated so many minds, then as now, in East and West alike!"

In personal life Asoka may have been a daily reciter of the Pali Tripitaka and a monk of the Sakyan Order. But the statecraft enunciated in his *Dhamma* was not Sakyaism. The *Dhamma* was a distinctively new force meant to govern the life and thought of the day. To ignore this is to ignore the laws of social evolution and ignore the philosophy of history.

It is absurd to suppose that Shintoism or Buddhism explains modern Japan. It is absurd to believe that the primitive Christian doctrine, e.g., "The Kingdom of God is within you," had any significance in Mediæval Europe when Guelphs and Ghibellins were flying at each others' throats in every city and every state. It is childish to think that modern Germany can be understood solely on the strength of such terms as the Classicism of a Goethe, the Idealism and Romanticism of a Fichte and a Pestalozzi, or the *Zollverein* of a Frederick List, without reference to all that the name Bismarck connotes. It is equally absurd to try to explain China

and India of the third century B.C. and after by ignoring the Napoleonism of Shi Hwangti and the Machiavellism of Kautilya and the *Dhamma* of Asoka.

Chandragupta, Asoka, Shi Hwangti and Wu Ti are at least as powerful names in culture-history as Sakyasimha, Mahavira, Confucius and Laotse. They were, in fact, the great protagonists in the drama of contemporary life, having pushed every other character into the back-ground. The old super-annuated doctrines were given the go-by in the *denouement*; so that to the post-Mauryan Hindus and the later Hans the "new sun rose bringing the new year." There was no longer a Sakya the moralist, but a Buddha the god, one of those whom Sakya had most probably repudiated. No longer a Confucius the librarian-sage of Loo, but a Confucius the god, a colleague of Shangti.

III. Internationalism in Western Asia and India in Olden Days.

The ever-fighting city-states of Greece could not protect their freedom against the monarchical resources of Alexander's father, nor did they present a united front against him. So Alexander succeeded Philip to a rich conquest. With him the old spirit of Hellas had no charm. He had no Hellenic traditions. He began his life-work, therefore, by abolishing, first, the republican form of government, and secondly, the parochial nationalisms of the people. Then he started on a world-conquest which was as much intellectual as physical. To students of science his expedition looks like the campaign of modern anthropologists, archæologists and naturalists. The pupil of Aristotle had mastered his comparative, historical and inductive methods quite well, though he rejected his system of city-states. So throughout his expedition he never forgot to bring about social and marital alliances between East and West, and to facilitate comparisons between facts of the same order by founding libraries, museums, gardens, etc. The whole route began to be dotted with Alexandrias, the nucleuses of race-mixture, culture-fusion, and wedlock between Asia and Europe, the ganglionic centres of an all-round eclecticism.

Alexander with his world-sense was altogether a new phenomenon in history. This conscious internationalism was a new force and left its stamp on Western Asia,

Egypt, and Greece, the principal field of its application, and to a certain extent on India and China. For centuries after the premature death of Alexander in B. C. 320 the spirit of Alexander dominated every part of Asia and Europe. Signs of the bridging of the gulf attempted and partially achieved by this greatest of idealists need be read (though with great caution) in every important item of the world's pre-Christian Culture.

It seems that Chandragupta had caught something of the great conqueror's internationalism, while a mere adventurer in the Punjab. Hence his acceptance of the daughter of Seleukos as wife. The marriage of a Hindu monarch with a Greek princess was an epoch-making event in Indian history like the expulsion of the foreigner. But such marriages were not few and far between in those days. It was probably an epoch of inter-racial marriages. Metropolitan life, e. g., at Pataliputra, was intensely international. Its position as the diplomatic centre of the world naturally made it the headquarters of foreign Embassies. Rhys Davids suggests the following picture :—

"And with the princess and her suite, and the ambassador and his, not to speak of the Greek artists and artisans employed at the court, there must have been quite a considerable Greek community, about B.C. 300, at the distant city on the southern bank of the Ganges."

Mr. Vincent Smith remarks in his *Early History of India* that "the Maurya Empire in the 3rd century B. C. was in constant intercourse with foreign states, and that large numbers of strangers visited the capital on business. Further, "all foreigners were closely watched by officials who provided suitable lodgings, escorts, and in case of need, medical attendance." According to this scholar, Hindu intercourse with Persians was greater than that with Greeks.

Internationalism inaugurated by Chandragupta continued under his successors. According to Lloyd in *The Creed of Half Japan*, while Bindusara (B. C. 297-272) "was on the throne, the king of Egypt sent an embassy, under a certain Dionysus, to Pataliputra; and on one occasion he wrote a letter to Antiochus, king of Syria, asking to have a professor of Greek sent to him. Greek writers speak of him.....that he adopted the Sanskrit title, *Amitraghati*, the slayer of his foes."

Asoka also was a great internationalist. He cherished the ambition of being a world-monarch. In the 13th edict we read of his embassies to the kings of Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Epirus, and Kyrene, to the Cholas and Pandyas in South India, to Ceylon and to the peoples dwelling on the borders of his empire. The missionaries sent out by him to various parts of the world were as much secular as religious—at once the St. Augustines, Alcuins and St. Thomas Roes of Hindusthan. Himself combining the functions of a Caesar and a Pope, Asoka's 'legates,' those 'hands and eyes,' were necessarily the plenipotentiaries and consuls-generals for his empire.

Mr. Lloyd gives a detailed account of Asoka's missionary activity.

"These sovereigns and peoples Asoka addresses mainly on two subjects—care for the health and welfare of the people, and 'true conquest' over themselves and their passions." He refers to the "Greek merchants trading and travelling in India, whose votive inscriptions have been found in ancient Buddhist temples in the peninsula."

We read:

"It was to Antiochus I. (of Syria) that Asoka had applied for assistance as to medicinal herbs. * * * In the wars which Antiochus I. waged against the Gauls and Celts.....he had used elephants which he, like his contemporary, Pyrrhus of Epirus, had obtained from Asoka's father, Bindusara....."

Macedonia must have been full of men who had been in Central Asia and India in those days of constant coming and going, and there must have been a great interest taken in things Indian.....

Among the dialogues of Aristippus the founder of the Cyrenaic School of Philosophy, there was one which bore the name of Porus, a name well known among Indian kings.....

Alexandria was connected with India by at least three routes. A certain amount of the overland traffic from China came into Alexandria via Palestine (which was in the Egyptian sphere of influence), and even the superior attractions of Antioch could not kill this commerce, which was, however, more Central and Eastern Asian than Indian. A further contingent of caravans brought in Indian goods via the Persian Gulf, Palmyra (later) and Palestine. The Egyptian ports in the Red Sea had direct communication, without any serious rivals, with the Indian ports at the mouth of the Indus."

Internationalism must have continued during the post-Asokan times also. For Sewall remarks in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II. on the commerce of the period from B.C. 200 to A.D. 250: "There was trade both overland and by sea with Western Asia, Greece, Rome and Egypt, as well as with China and the East. * * * Many mentions vast quantities of specie

that found its way every year from Rome to India." And for the same period in Northwestern India there was great intercourse with Rome during the ascendancy of the Kushans.

(b) CENTRAL ASIA AND CHINA.

The early history of the intercourse of China with foreigners is not yet clear. Scholars like Lacouperie have been assiduous in proving the connexion of the Celestials with the Hindus, Persians and Babylonians from pre-Sakyan and pre-Confucian times. Astrological notions, totemistic practices and some of the superstitions, as well as the whole Taoistic metaphysics and 'hocuspocus' have been traced to foreign sources. Even the theory has been started that the first Emperor Shi Hwang Ti, the contemporary of Asoka, "was in some way connected" with the Maurya Dynasty of India. And there is a tradition that Buddhism first came to China about B.C. 217.

Incontestable evidences are not forthcoming. Hence Hirth, the great authority on the ancient period of Chinese history, is sceptical about any foreign religions of China before Wu Ti's time. And yet he is compelled to criticise himself thus:

"We possess the most plausible arguments for the introduction of foreign influences in Chinese culture at the time when relations with Western Asia were opened under the Emperor Wu Ti at the end of the second century B.C.; but if we examine numerous facts still on record as referring to times immediately preceding the Wu Ti period we are bound to notice that changes of a different kind had come over the Chinese of this as compared with those of the Confucian and pre-Confucian periods. The growing influence of foreign elements from Tsin in the west, Chau in the north, and Chu in the south may account for this. Lau-tzi, as a native of the state of Chu, was born and probably brought up among the southern barbarians."

Further:

"Altogether, readers of the history of Chau, as represented in Ssuma-Tsien's account, will receive the impression that it contains various prognostics of that important change in cultural life which became dominant in the age of Tsin Shi Hwang Ti; namely a Tartarised China, the traditional Confucian views of life having been supplanted by Tartar, Scythian, Hunnic or Turkish elements, elements that, whatever name we may give them, had grown out of the national life of Central Asiatic foreigners."

Just as Western Asia plays an important part in Indian history of the 3rd century B.C., so Central Asia, i.e., the regions to the west of China, plays an important part in her history of the period. And Central Asia is also the connecting link

between India and China. Wu Ti formed an alliance with the Yueh Chi or Indo-Scythians against the common enemy, the Huns. Later, to quote Gowen, "the great generals carried the arms of China into Western Asia, caused the banners of Eastern Empire to meet the banners of Rome on the shores of the Caspian, and made a way for the merchants of China to carry their silk and iron into the markets of Europe."

The following is from Parker's *China*:

"A great revolution in thought took place about two centuries before our era; the time coincides with the conquests of the Parthians, and it is possible that Graeco-Roman civilisation was affected by the same wave that influenced China—whatever it was. At all events, there was a general movement and a simultaneous expansion in the world all the way from Rome to Corea. The result was that China now first heard of India, Buddhism, and the Parthians."

Eitel's *Buddhism* also may be quoted:

"Chinese armies had been fighting a series of campaigns in Central Asia and had repeatedly come into contact with Buddhism established there. Repeatedly it happened that Chinese generals, engaged in that war, had occasion to refer, in their reports to the throne, to the influence of Buddhism."

Laurence Binyon in his *Painting in the Far East* speaks of the same foreign intercourse in the following terms:

"In B.C. 200 the Chinese seeking markets for their silk opened communication with Western Asia. A century later the Emperor Wu Ti sent a mission to the same regions. Greek designs appear on the earliest metal mirrors of China. It is possible that in the Chinese fable of the Paradise of the West the myths of the Greeks may be reflected."

The whole epoch beginning with Alexander's accession to the Greek throne and extending for at least three centuries may be presumed to have been one in which race-boundaries were being obliterated, cultural angularities were being rounded off, people's intellectual horizon was being enlarged, and the sense of universal humanity generated. It was a time when the Aristotelians, Platonists, "Cynics" and Stoics were likely to meet the Apocalyptists, Zoroastrians, Confucianists, Taoists, *Nirvanists* and Yogaists on a common platform,—when the grammarians and logicians of Alexandria were probably comparing notes with the *Paninians* and *Darsanists* of India. when the herbalists of Asia Minor could hold debates with the Charakan Ayurvedists of Hindusthan, when, in one word, culture was being developed not

from national angles but from one international view-point and placed as far as possible on a universal basis. The courses of instruction offered at the great Universities of the world, e.g., those at Honanfu, Taxila, and Pataliputra, the Alexandrias and Athens, comprehended the whole encyclopædia of arts and sciences known to both Asia and Europe.

The *literati*, *bhikshus*, magi and *saryasins* of the East met the mystics, sophists, gnostics and peripatetics of the West at out-of-the-way inns or caravanserais or at the recognised academies and seats of learning. 'Universal-Races-Congresses' and International Conferences of Scientists may have been matters of course, and every man who was of any importance—Hindu, Chinese, Persian, Egyptian, Greek—was necessarily a student of world-culture and a citizen of the world. This intellectual expansion influenced the social systems also in every part of the civilised world. Inter-racial marriages may be believed to have been things of common occurrence and everywhere there was a *rapprochement* in ideals of life and thought. The world was fast approaching a common consciousness, a common conscience and a common standard of civilisation.

A picture of this fusion of cultures though for a subsequent period is given by Laurence Binyon in his chapter on *Early Art Traditions in Asia*.

"What then do we find in this little, remote kingdom in the heart of Asia? We find sculpture and paintings, we find heaps of letters on tablets of wood; odds and ends of woven stuffs and furniture; and police notices on strips of bamboo The police notices are in Chinese. The letters are written in a form of Sanskrit. But the string with which the wooden tablets are tied is sealed with a clay seal; and in most cases the seal is a Greek seal, the image of an Athena or a Heracles. Here, then, we touch three great civilisations at once—India, Greece, China.....

If we ask ourselves what affinities these paintings reveal, with what art we can connect them.....we are reminded of features in Indian, Persian, Chinese and Japanese Painting.....

Will the sculptures tell us more? They at once remind us of other sculpture.....We see what seem a Greek Apollo; and then little by little the Greek features become more Indian; Apollo transform himself into a Buddha."

The marriage of Asia with Europe—that meeting of "the twain" which is never to be—was thus an accomplished fact in every department of human culture at least 2200 years ago!

IV. The Pioneers of Asiatic Unity.

The fortunes of Buddhism during the period of so-called anarchy in China may be thus described, in the word of Hackmann:

"The most striking fact, to which too little notice has so far been given, is that it was not till the beginning of the fourth century A.D. that the Chinese were allowed to become monks in the Buddhist religion. The authorised representatives, therefore, of the new religion were foreigners during the first two and a half centuries. A roll of names of foreigners has been handed down to us who came from India, from the Himalayan states, and from Central Asia, to take charge of Buddhism in China. For a long time their most important labours consisted in translations of the books of the Buddhist Canon.....Till about A.D. 300 the translators were all foreigners (with the exception of one Chinese layman)."

The following is taken from Giles:

"It was not until A.D. 335 that the Chinese people were allowed to take Buddhist orders. This permission was due to the influence of a remarkable Indian priest, named Budhachinga, who reached the capital in A.D. 310.....Buddhism now began to take a firm hold; and under the year 381 we read of a special temple built for priests within the Imperial palace. A further great impetus to the spread of this religion was given by the arrival, about the year 385, of Kumarajiva.....He laboured for many years as a translator, dying in 417.....The work by which he is best known.....is the translation of what is called *The Diamond Sutra*.....which teaches that all objects, all phenomena are illusory, and have no real existence.....seems to show that faith in Buddha through the Buddhist scriptures can also make a man 'wise unto salvation'.....While Kumarajiva was spreading the faith in China, and dictating commentaries on the sacred books of Buddhism to some eight hundred priests, the famous traveller, Fa Hien, was engaged upon his adventurous journey."

The heroic idealism as well as lofty spirituality which inspired Fa Hien in his arduous journey (A.D. 399-413) were characteristics of the Chinese converts of the day. The following is taken from Legge's translation of Fa-Hien's *Travels*:

"That I encountered danger and trod the most perilous places, without thinking of, or sparing myself, was because I had a definite aim, and thought of nothing but to do my best in my simplicity and straightforwardness. Thus it was that I exposed my life where death seemed inevitable, if I might accomplish but a ten thousandth part of what I hoped."

Fa Hien's noble personality can be understood also from the following account of Giles:

"He brought with him a large number of books and sacred relics, all of which he nearly lost in the Bay of Bengal. There was a violent gale, and the ship sprang a leak. As he tells us in his own account of the journey, 'he took his pitcher and ewer, with whatever else he could spare, and threw them into

the sea; but he was afraid that the merchants on board would throw over his books and images, and accordingly he fixed his whole thoughts upon Kuan-shih-yin or Kuan Yin, the Hearer of the Prayers of the World, and prayed to the sainted priests of his own country, saying, 'Oh that by your awful prayer you would turn back the flow of the leak and grant us to reach some resting place!'"

These are the words of a real *bhakta* or lover, be he a Shaiva, a Vaishnava, a Ramaite, a Jaina, or a Buddhist. The Religion of Love and Faith was established in China by genuine Romanticists and self-abnegating devotees of the Fa Hien-type.

With Kumarajiva and Fa Hien, i.e., towards the beginning of the 5th century, we enter a new era of Indo-Chinese relationships. It marks the beginning of an intimate cultural and spiritual union between the two peoples, which, backed by equally deep commercial and political intercourse, has given rise to that composite crystal of human thought known as Asiatic Culture. The land of Sakyasimha and the land of Confucius met at last in a real "Holy Alliance." For the next thousand years (i.e. down to about A.D. 1453, the year of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks), the life and activity of human beings from Kyoto to Cairo were governed by one Asiatic science, art and philosophy. This, carried to Europe by Arab intermediaries, became also the foster-mother of that Renaissance, the ultimate results of which we have been witnessing in the world since 1815. That chapter of world's mediæval history has yet to be written.

Hindu culture in general, and Buddhism in particular, may now be said to have come to stay in China. Indianism was no longer a mere "interest" of curious hunters and faddists; but on the fair way to be a permanent factor in Chinese civilisation. According to Hackmann, "perhaps the renown attained by the Chinese Buddhism of that period is best demonstrated by the striking event that in the year A.D. 526 the patriarch of Indian Buddhism, Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth in the list of the Buddha's successors, left his native land and migrated to China, which thence-forward became the seat of the patriarchate."

V. "World-sense" and Colonising Enterprises of the Hindus.

The Hindus of the fourth, fifth and sixth

centuries were not living in "splendid isolation," as it has been the fashion to suppose that the Asiatics have ever done. As in previous ages, so under the Guptas they kept up cultivating the "world-sense."

In the first place, it must be remembered that India alone is a world by herself—the whole of Europe minus Russia. Therefore, for the Hindus to be able to develop the "India-sense" in pre-steam days must be regarded as an expression of internationalism of high order. Considered territorially, and also in terms of population, the world-sense of the Roman Emperors was not greater than that of the Hindu Imperialists.

The Internationalism of the Hindus was extra-Indian too. It is well-known that the world of Kalidasa's poetry includes the whole of India and also the Indian borderland and Persia. The fact that with the fifth century is augmented the stream of traffic between India and China both by land and sea is itself an indication of the "Asia-sense" they had been developing. It may be said that the Mauryas had cultivated mainly the relations with West-Asia, the Kushans had opened up the Central-Asian regions, and the Guptas developed the Far Eastern intercourse. The Hindus could now think not only in terms of India but of entire Asia.

The larger world beyond Asia was also to a certain extent within the purview of the Hindus. Ever since Alexander's opening up of the West-Asian route, the Hindus had kept touch with the "barbarians." About the first century A.D. Hindu trade with the Roman Empire was not a negligible item of international commerce. The *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* (c A.D. 100) is a document of that Indo-Roman intercourse. Both the Kushans in the North and the Andhra Monarchs in the South were interested in Rome.

In the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (India, Vol. II.) Sewell describes the foreign trade of the Hindus under the South Indian Andhras (B.C. 200—A.D. 250):

"The Andhra period seems to have been one of considerable prosperity. There was trade both overland and by sea, with Western Asia, Greece, Rome, and Egypt, as well as with China and the East. Embassies are said to have been sent from South India to Rome. Indian elephants were used for Syrian warfare. Pliny mentions the vast quantities of specie that found its way every year from Rome to India and in this he is confirmed by the author of the *Periplus*. Roman coins have been found in profusion in the peninsula, and especially

in the south. In A.D. 68 a number of Jews, fleeing from Roman persecution, seem to have taken refuge among the friendly coast people of South India and to have settled in Malabar."

The following picture of foreign settlements in Southern India is given by Vincent Smith:

"There is good reason to believe that considerable colonies of Roman subjects engaged in trade were settled in southern India during the first two centuries of our era, that European soldiers, described as powerful Yavapas, dumb Mlechhas (barbarians), clad in complete armour, acted as body-guards to Tamil kings."

According to the same authority Chandragupta II. Vikramaditya (A.D. 375-413) of the Gupta dynasty was "in direct touch with the sea-borne commerce with Europe through Egypt."

Besides, intercourse with Further India and the colonisation of Java form parts of an adventure which in Gupta times was nearing completion. In fact, with the fourth century A.D. really commences the foundation of a "Greater India" of commerce and culture, extending ultimately from Japan in the East to Madagascar in the West. The romantic story of this Expansion of India has found its proper place in Mookerji's *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times*. The heroic pioneers of that undertaking were all embodiments of the world-sense.

It would thus appear that the travels of Kumarajiva the Hindu Missionary (A.D. 405) and of Fa Hien the Celestial Apostle were facts of a nature to which the Indians had long been used. The Chinese monks came to a land through which the current of world-life regularly flowed. Hindustan had never been shunted off from the main track of universal culture. To come to India in the age of the Guptas was to imbibe the internationalism of the atmosphere.

Regarding the Indo-Chinese intercourse of this age the following extracts from *The Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* are interesting:

"Of what took place in the Tartar regions of the north we know little, since their dynasties have not been recognised by Chinese historians as legitimate. The true Celestial annals, indeed the lore of Chinese genius, belong at this time to the stimulus afforded by the new southern conditions. The new capital, near the present Nanking, was on the great Yangtse.....The Southern seats of the Chinese were in closer proximity to a new part of India, the south through Burma, or along the opening lines of coast trade.....It was here, too, in the Southern

Chinese nests, that Buddhism could drop her most fertile germs."

It may be mentioned that the patriarch Bodhidharma, originally a South Indian Prince, reached Canton by sea and was then invited to Nanking (A.D. 520).

The above is a picture of the sea-traffic. References to this are to be found in the *Ewai-Yuen Catalogue* (A.D. 730) of the Chinese *Tripitaka* which has been drawn upon by Prof. Anesaki for his paper in the *R.A.S.* (April, 1903).

It must not be forgotten, besides, that Eucha and Khotan, the halfway house between India and China, remained all this while the great emporium of Hindu culture and Graeko-Buddhist art. Manuscripts, unearthed by Stein and others, both in Echaroshthi and Chinese scripts, prove that Central Asian Indianism flourished during the period from 3rd century A.D. to 8th or 9th. And it was the Central Asian land-route which was traversed by Fa Hien in A.D. 399 and later by Hiuen Tasang in A.D. 629 on their way to India, from which both returned home by sea.

VI. Comparative Chronology and Comparative History.

A parallel study of the dates and facts of political history of the Chinese and Hindu as well as the European races from earliest times down to 1815 (and even 1870) would bring out the facts:

1. That there have been at least as many instances of strong and centralised rule in the Orient as in the Occident; and necessarily as many periods of anarchy also.

2. That the durations of unified administrations have been equally long or short both in China and India as well as in Europe.

3. That Chinese and Hindu history as well as the history of other Asiatic peoples can present no fewer Alexanders and Napoleons than the history of European races.

4. That Asiatic aggressions upon Europe have been at least as frequent as the inroads of European races into the East.

5. That the defeat and expulsion of foreign invaders by Asiatic peoples are as solid facts of oriental history as the retreat of Persian, Saracen, Tartar and Turkish nationalities from the heart of Europe.

6. That the cases of successful resistance of enemies' military inroads in Asiatic or European history cannot be conveniently

explained away as instances of home-keeping conservatism, or desire for "splendid isolation," or absence of international spirit on the part of any people.

7. That the ability to bring within the pale of one culture three hundred or four hundred millions of people indicates as great "aggressiveness" on the part of the Hindus or the Chinese as the ability to spread a common civilisation among the heterogeneous races of Europe on the part of the Westerners.

8. That if twenty, thirty, or forty millions be the human basis of a 'nationality,' as has been the case in the West during the last forty years, Asiatic peoples have always given rise to such nation-states.

9. That fratricidal and internecine wars between peoples of the same race and religion have been at least as frequent in the West as in the East.

10. That instances of one Asiatic people dominating another have not been greater than those of the exploitation or "government of one people by another" in Europe.

11. That in ancient and mediæval times the nations of Asia have had knowledge about one another as much as or as little as the nations of Europe about themselves.

12. That the ignorance of Europeans regarding the Asiatics in ancient and mediæval times has been, to say the least, as profound as that of the Asiatics regarding the Europeans.

13. That 'splendid isolation' was equally true of both Asiatics and Europeans.

14. Hatred of foreigners was as powerful in the West as in the East; such terms as "barbarians" "heathens," "infidels," "vile Turk" "nigger," etc., are found in non-oriental languages.

15. Besides, the morals and manners of the Court of Peking have been out-Pekinged in lands other than Cathay. Thus Macaulay speaks of court-life in England under the Stuarts with his characteristic eloquence in his *Essay on Milton*:

"Then came those days never to be recalled without a blush, the days of servitude without loyalty and sensuality without love, of dwarfish talents and gigantic vices, the paradise of cold hearts and narrow minds, the golden age of the coward, the bigot and the slave. The King cringed to his rival that he might trample on his people, sank into a viceroy of France, and pocketed, with complacent infamy, her degrading insult, and her more degrading gold. The caresses of harlots and the jests of buffoons regulated

the policy of the state. The Government had just ability enough to deceive, and just religion enough to persecute. The principles of liberty were the scoff of every grinning courtier, and the anathema maranatha of every fawning dean. In every high place, worship was paid to Charles and James, Belial and Moloch, and England propitiated those

obscene and cruel idols with the blood of her best and bravest children. Crime succeeded to crime and disgrace to disgrace, till the race accursed of God and man was a second time driven forth, to wander on the face of the earth, and to be a by-word and a shaking of the head to the nations."

PORTUGUESE COLONIES IN INDIA—THEIR FATE

THE fourth centenary of the death of Affonso of Albuquerque was recently celebrated in the Portuguese Colonies in India. It was made the occasion for a demonstration of good feelings between the Portuguese in the Continent and the Colonies—feelings which, of course, arise from the sense of common citizenship.

The figure of Albuquerque still stands clear in the light of history over the wreck of the past. He is a man whom the Portuguese regard as the founder of a well-nigh forgotten empire, the establisher of their national faith in the East. The centenary made, therefore, its appeal on the one side to the patriotism of Portuguese and on the other side to the religious beliefs and aspirations and hopes of the majority of Portuguese.

It is interesting to note that a Provincial Congress met in Goa last April. It was attended by the representatives of the municipalities, village communities and other local bodies. The Congress was summoned by Dr. Couceiro da Costa the Governor-General of Portuguese India, whose administration has inspired a wide measure of general confidence. Imbued with a hearty sympathy for the grievances and aspirations of the people he governs, he appointed a Provincial Congress Committee selected impartially from men of all political opinions to promote this Congress; and it is significant, the fact that the Congress was to meet for the first time on the fourth centenary of the death of Albuquerque, whose memory ranks in the minds of the people of Portuguese India among the greatest of Portuguese who have fought to secure for them justice and privileges that they should enjoy as Portuguese.

Humiliating as is the confession, it

must be owned that Portugal with all which that word suggests, is haunted from time to time by heroic visions. Whenever the evils of her condition cry aloud for redress, there kindles in the mind of the nation the desire of emulating the renown of her great ancestors. Interested in past things, because they happened but not because they are still powerfully affecting the nation, Portugal remembers her ancient exploits of valour, and makes most of her annals—annals which attract the scholar and challenge the attention of the political inquirer, but nevertheless annals that portray at once the cradle and the grave of Portuguese greatness. This contemplation of the past, without penetrating the recesses of bygone ages with intelligent skill, has given birth to serious evils. It has, indeed, stood in the way of the development of a true and healthy national life. And if history be rightly defined as philosophy teaching by examples, there are not many instances such as Portugal affords of wilful disregard of its repeated lessons.

The East Indies enabled Portugal to keep up a certain grandeur. The expeditions of Vasco de Gama, the conquests of Albuquerque and the bravery of Duarte Pacheco raised Portugal to a pitch of wealth and power that excited the admiration of the whole world. But all at once, this ephemeral greatness vanished. The Portuguese dominion in the East rested upon two ruinous bases, a navy which could easily be equalled, and men who became insensible to the calls of honour.

Dom Francisco d'Almeida, the first Viceroy of India, sought to subordinate all else to sea-power. "Almeida" says Osorio, the chronicler of King Manuel I,

'judged that there would be little security if the Portuguese assailed the cities of India from the danger of dividing their forces and weakening them. Therefore, his counsel was to hold the sea, for he considered that the master of the sea was master of the whole India.' The policy of Almeida was supported at the Court of Lisbon by Duarte de Lemos and Goncalo de Sequeira. The Portuguese captains in India advocated it "in language," says Morse Stephens, "which vividly recalls that used by the English East India Company two centuries and a half later." These views, however, were not held by Albuquerque who had been entrusted by his sovereign with the scheme of founding an Empire in the East. "Animated by the higher hopes which great minds are usually accustomed to conceive," says the chronicler Osorio, "he thought of the means not only of assuring the affairs of the Portuguese for a few years, but also of gaining a firm footing for their domination, which he assured himself would be very widely extended in the future."

Albuquerque, within the short period of five years (1507-11), succeeded in establishing the Portuguese supremacy in the East. He took Goa, a flourishing place for commerce, by reason of the excellence of its harbour, which he chose for the capital of the Eastern Empire; he made himself master of Ormuz, which commanded the narrows through which the trade with Persia and through Persia with Europe had to pass; he captured Malacca, the key of the navigation of the Indian archipelago, which commanded the narrows between Sumatra and Malay Peninsula and thus let Portugal appropriate all the trade which the Arabs had carried for nearly six centuries. Brought up at the Court of King Affonso V, in whose palestra, "he strove emulously," to quote Barbosa Machado, "to become the rival of that African Mars," Albuquerque even hoped to induce the famous Prester John to divert the Nile into the Red Sea and so to starve Egypt. He also sketched the course of a campaign designed to redeem Palestine.

The Portuguese set out to break up the barriers which the followers of the Crescent had raised up between the people of Europe and the races inhabiting Asia. They were, therefore, so much accustomed to think of Portugal as supreme—a

supremacy which was but of Yesterday—that they sometimes forgot that they were confronted with a civilisation older than that of Europe. Vasco de Gama's gifts, for instance, to the Zamorin of Calicut comprised such articles as washing basins, casks of oil and strings of coral—goods which might be sent to an African chief but seemed hardly proper to a powerful Hindu ruler! Albuquerque's imperial policy, however, attested his profound respect for political morality and his knowledge of political obligations. He, no doubt, tortured prisoners surrendered at Goa, cut off the ears and noses of defenceless fishermen in the Red Sea and planned the murder of Rais Ahmad. But, nevertheless, he took into account the different social conditions and political necessities of India. The union of judicial and revenue functions which is today adopted by the British in India, had been adopted by Albuquerque in his scheme of settlement of Goa. The co-operation of the Indians with European officials was a part of his policy. Albuquerque likewise understood the value of Indian troops. In his expedition to the Red Sea, he employed 800 soldiers. He did away with the custom of the *Suttee*—the burning of the widow—a custom not abolished in British India until 1829. But above all Albuquerque maintained intact the constitution of the village communities into which Goa was divided; and shortly after his death a code called *Foral de Usos e Costumes* was compiled to serve as a guide to his successors.

But the conquests of the Portuguese ceased with Albuquerque. By 1505 the Empire he founded became dependent on subsidies from the Royal Treasury in Lisbon! Meantime the war between the Turks and Egyptians, which allowed the Portuguese to develop in the East had ended in 1517 with the overthrow of the Mameluke dynasty.

"Evils increased and good things diminished," wrote the chronicler Gaspar Correia in his *Lendas da India*, which embraces the events of the years 1494-1550, "so that almost the whole became a living evil and the historian of it would rather be called the imprecator than the writer of illustrious deeds." The administration of the Eastern Empire became a hotbed of knavery and corruption. Money was extorted for safe conducts at sea and trading licences and this formed, indeed, a very im-

portant portion of the revenue; the Portuguese exacted a considerable contribution from the native states; and the Crown lands in India yielded an enormous income. All this wealth, however, was no longer regarded as national revenue. "The royal revenue," says Faria e Sousa, the historian of the Portuguese deeds in the East, "should have been double but it was reduced by frauds"—frauds which cannot be remembered now without shame and sorrow. Bent on enriching themselves as speedily as possible the Portuguese officials resembled a flock of vultures battling over a corpse. "All the officers", says Faria e Sousa, "have great salaries besides their lawful profits and their more considerable frauds, though their salaries are enough to make them honest; but avarice knows no bounds." It was, indeed, disgraceful, the state into which Portuguese rule fell, when it began to be weak as well as wicked. "Robbery is so public and common", were the words of Francis Xavier the Apostle of the Indies, writing to a brother Jesuit on June 22, 1545 "that it hurts no one's character and is hardly counted a fault: people scarcely hesitate to think that what is done with impunity cannot be bad to do." These were the principles on which the Portuguese governed the East Indies.

But worse still, this unbridled tyranny went hand in hand with religious bigotry and crass ignorance. The affection the Portuguese formerly entertained for their municipal institutions and Cortes was transferred to the tribunal of the Inquisition, which destroyed the former manliness of Portuguese and fitted them for despotism. "I do not know," wrote the Viceroy Joao de Saldanha de Gama, "under what law the Inquisition pretends to have the right to try men who were never Catholics, but what I see is that on account of excessive number of prisoners of this description all the northern province is depopulated, the admirable factory of Thana is lost, and a corresponding one is commenced at Bombay from whence the English take silks, woolen goods and other merchandise which they introduce into Portugal." The Portuguese sank and stranded the ships of the so-called heathen, burned their temples, trampled on their books and threw them into flames. This truculent ruffianism pretended to be animated by the crusading spirit. But the Portuguese had sunk in more debasing idolatry. Martim Affonso

de Sousa, Governor of India from 1542 to 1545, when informed that the Conjevaram Temples of Vijayanagar contained a fabulous treasure thought it was *not unchristian to spoil the heathen of their ill-gotten gains*.

Portugal owed her greatness to religious ideals. Her whole history shows no works of genius except such as were influenced by sacred enthusiasm. It was religion that formed the earliest basis of national union; it gave first the idea of an united Portugal. It was not merely cherished as a form of faith, but as a principle of honour. It was a part of national history. It is impossible not to note the religious faith which shines in the granite pillars in lands discovered by the Portuguese navigators, where are sculptured the Royal Arms of Portugal and a cross set up in sign that the territory belonged to a Christian King. In visiting Portugal to-day and asking to be directed to the greatest and the only works of Art the traveller is confronted with the monuments of this faith, monuments associated with a long and varied national life. When I approached these monuments I saw built and carven in stone the heroic age of Portugal. Time has scarcely touched the solid masonry. Alcobaca, which commemorates the origin of Portugal, was founded with the spoils gained by the first King of Portugal in his wars with the Moors. The Abbey of Batalha was built to commemorate the victory of the people and its chosen King and here were preserved the helmet and sword worn by the Portuguese King at Aljubarrota. The Church of Jeronimos that historical monument that calls up the soul of Portugal to those who now behold its corpse, was built in memory of the discovery of a new way to India.

But once the inspiring poetry of religion was destroyed the nation immersed itself in material facts. "The Portuguese," were the words of the great Viceroy Dom Jono de Castro, "entered India with the sword in one hand and the Crucifix in the other; finding much gold, they laid aside the Crucifix to fill their pockets." Dom Jono de Castro died in the arms of his friend the Jesuit Francis Xavier. The cause of his death according to Faria e Sousa "was a disease which today kills no man.....for diseases also die. It was a keen sense of the wretched state to which

India had come and of his own inability to repair it."

The Portuguese supported with the edge of their swords their trembling Empire. Dom Francisco da Gama, the Viceroy of India, received orders to levy 2 per cent. consular duties at certain ports "with a view of raising a fund for the equipment of a fleet" to turn out of India the Dutch—a danger which was foreseen from the first by Dom Francisco d'Almeida, the first Viceroy of India. His presentiment was now an accomplished fact! Ormuz was lost to the combined Persian forces in 1622. Muscat was wrested from the Portuguese by the Arabs in 1650. Malacca was lost in 1641. Colombo fell in 1656. Ceylon was taken away in 1658. In 1673 the settlement of Hugli in Bengal was attacked by the forces of the Mogul Shah Jehan, which was a blow to the Portuguese prestige in the East.

The dream of Greater Portugal was over but the effects remained. The geographical discoveries and conquests in the East deprived Portugal of the best part of her population and also expended her resources almost to the verge of exhaustion. But while Portugal was drained of its best men, hordes of negro slaves were imported to fill the vacancies especially in the South. "It would have been interesting to learn the views of Senhor de Braganca Cunha upon the subject of miscegenation which some authorities have credited with a bearing upon the case," wrote the London daily, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, suggesting the short brilliance of the Portuguese in history as a phenomenon worthy of investigation. The Portuguese intermarried freely with the slaves and this infusion of foreign blood was, indeed, one of the most remarkable phenomena following the Age of the Heroes and one of the most momentous in its results. A degenerate race of half-castes was bred in the very heart of the Empire, while citizens of Portuguese blood, proud of their allegiance to the Portuguese throne and the right to the Portuguese flag, in dying to Portugal lived to mankind.

Portugal was long deprived of her colonial supremacy but her flag still flies in Africa and Asia, and these remnants of an Empire which found itself reckoned in history as the "Empire of Lost Opportunities" have even in her decline contributed something to her distinction. The Portu-

guese still speak of their remaining possessions in India as the "brightest jewels in the Portuguese diadem," but they use a metaphor which has come down to them from days which have long passed away.

What Vogel said in 1860 is still not inapplicable to the Portuguese colonies. "From whatever point of view one regards the Portuguese colonies, their present condition," he wrote, "appears more deplorable than that of the mother country. Their economical century is three centuries behind hand and the former grandeur of the Portuguese dominion in the Indies has left no traces but ruins. The invariably weak and imperfect development of their natural resources has not only remained stationary but everywhere it languishes for want of hands, industry and capital. The administration is badly ordered and too much abandoned to itself. The restraint of a vigilant and vigorous control is wanting. The elements of which it is composed are not entirely free from the reproach of venality and cupidity and they do wrong through want of energy and enlightenment"(a). The truth is that Portugal has not opened her eyes to a fact she still ignores; that Portugal cannot hold the heritage bequeathed her from a distant past, unless she expands her dominion from historic settlements, and outlines a policy consistent with the laws of colonial government or of political economy—a policy which will not lead to the flight of thousands of emigrants from Portuguese India to foreign lands. The jealous and monopolising spirit which governs the conduct of Portugal towards her dependencies, has only served to enrich her rivals and retard their industrial development. Ferreira d'Almeida, however, proposed in Parliament the sale of Portuguese possessions which he thought increased Portugal's embarrassment rather than add to her prestige. The ex-Minister of Marine and Colonies had no argument to produce but that "colonies do not pay." Things were in this posture when the implantation of the Portuguese Republic came to announce that the new movement of regeneration under republican auspices, would inspire the Portuguese in the Continent with an appreciation at once proud and fond of those kindred communities from which they are divided by oceans but

(a) Vogel, *Le Portugal et les Colonies*, Paris, 1860.

no longer by sentiment. The Revolution of 1910 was proclaimed as a new era in the Portuguese colonial history; a new and better order of things was announced and the colonies were promised colonial autonomy. But the disillusion which followed was sudden and complete. The Republic, people hoped, would lay bare the wounds of the Portuguese parasitism with a view to their treatment and cure. But the Portuguese Revolution had produced hundreds of "heroes" who in any country would have furnished the subject for a comic opera. The most promiscuous shooting became an act of heroism worthy of Albuquerque, Castro and Pacheco in the everyday language of the Republican Press. They had to be accommodated. Duarte Leite, the Republican Minister of Finance, dramatically announced that he was unable to pay the "enormous salaries" assigned by the Revolutionary Government to the so-called "heroes" and others who prefer living upon politics to earning a livelihood by honest industry. Anyway, the Colonies soon discovered they were doomed to be an asylum for the vast and rapacious tribe of functionaries who devour the revenue of the State and the resources of the Colonies.

Comedy was, moreover, mingled with tragedy. The Portuguese Republicans precipitated themselves into the policy of an out-of-date Jacobinism. If any proof were needed that the real moving spirit at the back of the Republic was fanatically Jacobin, it would be found in the words of the Republican Minister who drafted the recent Separation Law of Church and State. He openly declared that "within three generations after the passing of the Separation Law, the Catholic religion will be annihilated in Portugal." These utterances need no comment. They recalled of course the inordinate vanity of the ignorant Portuguese knight-errant which appears to exercise so great an influence on the decisions of some Portuguese who still fight moorish phantoms in some national

assembly or political arena to win no prize but barren honour. Unfortunately the education the greater part of Portuguese politicians receive at the mediaeval University of Coimbra—on the avvil of which the Portuguese are still hammered into statesmen—is of the most cramping and bigoted character that turns them out narrow, intolerant, drunk with power and unscrupulous in using it. Be that as it may, Republican Portugal cut herself adrift as a nation from the Church but wished to enjoy the prestige and influence that came as a gift from Rome. The Portuguese Republicans broke the Concordat without any regard to the good faith due to treaties. But jealous of their prerogative they stooped to claim the rights of Patronage in the East, granted to Portugal in view of Apostolic Bulls dating back to the days of Popes Nicolas V, Alexander VI and Gregory XIII and secured to the nation in conformity with the Canons of the Roman Catholic Church. In other words, they still cling to the Concordat signed in 1859 which was slightly modified in 1886 by which it was agreed that the Portuguese rights of Patronage should be exercised as regards India and China over the Cathedrals of Goa, Cranganore, Myapore, Cochin and Macau.

Such is the plight of the Portuguese Colonies, remnants of an Empire which drew some of the Mother Country's best blood and which is still regarded with a certain patriotic reverence as the best episode in Portuguese history. The Portuguese, to whose hands are now committed the destinies of the country, are perhaps to be commiserated even more than they are to be blamed. This sentiment of pity will, I am sure, gain strength as in the development of the Portuguese tragedy, it shall hereafter appear how in deluding themselves they have failed to delude anybody else.

V. de BRAGANCA CUNHA.

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN JAPAN

BY RAI SARAT CHANDRA DAS BAHADUR.

BABYHOOD.

TO the Japanese the birth of a baby, whether it be a girl or a boy, is the cause of much rejoicing. As soon as the event takes place, a special messenger is sent to notify relatives and intimate friends. All persons thus notified must make an early visit to the new-comer, taking with them some present. Toys, pieces of cotton, silk, crepe for the baby's dress are regarded as suitable. Before the seventh day the baby receives its name. There is no special ceremony connected with it. The household keep a holiday in honour of the event. A festival dish of rice cooked with red beans denoting good fortune is partaken of on the 7th day. The father usually names the child. Names of beautiful objects in nature, such as plums, snow, sunshine, lotus, lilies, gold, &c., are commonly used for girls, while boys (generally among the lower classes) are given the appellations of stone, bear, tiger, &c.

The distinction between the dress of the boy and the girl is marked even in babyhood. A very young baby wears red and yellow, but soon the boy is dressed in blues, greys, greens, and browns; while the little girl still wears the most gorgeous of colours and the largest patterns in her garments, red being the predominant hue. The sex, even of a young baby, may be distinguished by the colour of its clothing.

To the Japanese the normal way for a baby to sit is with its knees bent under it, and so, at a very early age the muscles and tendons of the knees become flexible. The girls continue this habit of sitting on knees to young and old age but boys learn other methods of sitting as on chairs or squatting on the floor on cushions, but women never change their method of sitting, which must always be on the knees.

The Japanese baby's first lessons in walking are taken under favourable circumstances. With feet comfortably shod in mitten-like sock, they can tumble about as they like, with no bump or bruise, upon

the soft matted floors of the dwelling houses which are always devoid of stools, chairs, tables, &c.

After learning how to walk, the baby's first attempts out of door begin with the use of *geta*, a light straw sandal or small wooden clog attached to the foot by a strap passing between the toes. Babies of two or three trot about comfortably in *geta*, though they seem to give insecure footing.

GIRLHOOD.

The Japanese little girl's place in the family is a pleasant one: she is the pet and plaything of father and elder brothers, and she is never saluted by any one in the family, except her parents, without the title of respect due to her position. If she is the eldest daughter, to the servants she is *O Jo Sama*, literally, young lady; to her own brothers and sisters, *Ne San*, elder sister. Should she be one of the younger ones, her given name, preceded by the honorific *O* and followed by *San*, meaning Miss, will be the name by which she will be called by younger brothers and sisters, and by the servants. As she passes from babyhood to girlhood, and from girlhood to maidenhood she is the object of much love and solicitude; but she does not grow up irresponsible or untrained to meet the duties which maidenhood will surely bring to her. She must then learn all the duties that will fall upon the wife and mother of a Japanese household, as well as obtain the instruction in books and mathematics that is coming to be more and more a necessity for the woman of Japan. She must take a certain responsibility in the household; must see that tea is made for the guests who may be received by her parents. Every morning there are the beds to be rolled up and stored away in cells made in a bedside wall, the mosquito nets to be taken down, the rooms to be swept, dusted and aired before breakfast. Besides this, there is the washing and polishing of the *engawa* or piazza which runs

around the outside of a Japanese house between the *shoji* or paper screens that serve as windows, and the *amado* or sliding shutters, that are closed only at night, or during heavy, driving rains. Breakfast is to be cooked and served, dishes to be washed; and then perhaps there is marketing to be done either at shops outside or from the vendors of fish and vegetables who bring their huge baskets of provisions to the door; but after these duties are performed, it is possible to sit down quietly to the day's work of sewing, studying, or whatever else may suit the taste or necessities of the housewife. Of sewing there is always a good deal to be done, for many Japanese dresses must be taken to pieces whenever they are washed, and are turned, dyed, and made over again and again, so long as there is a shred of the original materials left to work upon.

As our little girl emerges from babyhood she finds the life opening before her a bright and happy one, but one hedged about closely by the proprieties, and one in which, from babyhood to old age, she must expect to be always under the control of one of the stronger sex. Her position will be an honourable and respected one only as she learns in her youth the lesson of cheerful obedience, of pleasing manners and of personal cleanliness and neatness. Her duties must be always either within the house, or if she belongs to the peasant class, on the farm. There is no career or vocation open to her! She must be dependent always upon either father, husband or son, and her greatest happiness is to be gained not by cultivation of intellect, but by the early acquisition of self-control, which is expected of all Japanese women to an even greater degree than of the man. This self-control must consist not simply in the concealment of all the outward signs of any disagreeable emotion,—whether of grief, anger, or pain,—but in the assumption of a cheerful smile and agreeable manner under even the most distressing of circumstances. The duty of self-restraint is taught to the little girls of the family from the tenderest years; it is their great moral lesson, and is expatiated upon at all times by their elders. The little girl must sink herself entirely, must give in always to others, must never show emotions except such as will be pleasing to those about her: this is the secret of true politeness and must be

mastered if the woman wishes to be well thought of and to lead a happy life. The effect of this teaching is seen in the attractive but dignified manners of the Japanese women, and even of the very little girls. They are not forward nor pushing, neither are they awkwardly bashful; there is no self-consciousness, neither is there any lack of *savoir faire*; a childlike simplicity is united with a womanly consideration for the comfort of those around them.

MAIDENHOOD.

In the opinion of Lafcadio Hearn, the celebrated writer on Japan, a Japanese woman is "the sweetest type of woman the world has ever known." Now-a-days in Japan maidens generally remain engaged in study in Colleges and Schools. Among the humbler classes in farms and villages the maidens have domestic works to do. Leisure they have little. There is washing too, to be done, although neither with hot water nor soap; and in the places of ironing, the cotton garments which are usually washed without ripping, must be hung up on a bamboo pole passed through the arm holes and pulled smooth and straight before they dry; and the silk always ripped into breadth before washing must be smoothed while wet upon a board which is set in the sun until the silk is dry.

Then there are the everyday dishes which our Japanese maiden of better and richer class must learn to prepare. The proper boiling of rice is in itself a study. The construction of the various soups which form the staple in the Japanese bill of fare; the preparation of *mochi*, a kind of rice which is prepared at the New Year, or to send to friends on various festival occasions; these and many other branches of the culinary art must be mastered before the young girl is prepared to assume the cares of married life.

But though the maiden's life is not without its duties and responsibilities, it is also not at all lacking in simple, and innocent pleasures.

There are occasional all-day visits to the theatre, too, where, seated on the floor in a box, railed off from those adjoining, our maiden in company with her mother and sisters, enjoys, though with paroxysms of horror and fear, the heroic historical plays which are now almost all that is left

of the heroic old Japan. Here she catches the spirit of passionate loyalty that belonged to those days, forms her ideals of what a noble Japanese woman should be willing to do for her parents or husband, and comes away taught, as she could be by no other teachings, what the spirit was that animated her ancestors,—what spirit must animate her, should she wish to be a worthy descendant of the women of old.

Among these surroundings, with these duties and amusements, our maiden grows to womanhood. The unconscious and beautiful spirit of her childhood is not driven away at the dawn of womanhood by thoughts of beaux, of coming out in society, of a brief career of flirtation and conquest, and at the end as fine a marriage, either for love or money, as her imagination can picture. She takes no thought for these things herself, and her intercourse with young men, though free and unconstrained, has about it not a grain of flirtation. When the time comes to her to marry, her father will have her meet some eligible young man, and both she and the youngman will know, when they are brought together, what is the end in view, and will make up their minds about the matter. But until that time comes, the modest Japanese maiden carries on no flirtations, thinks little of men except as higher beings to be deferred to and waited on, and preserves the child-like innocence of manner, combined with serene dignity under all circumstances that is so noticeable a trait in the Japanese woman from childhood to old age.

The Japanese maiden is, under this discipline, a finished product at the age of sixteen or eighteen. She is pure, sweet and amiable, with great power of self-control and a knowledge of what to do upon all occasions. The higher part of her nature is little developed; no great religious truths have lifted her soul above the world into a clearer and higher atmosphere, but as far as she goes, in regard to all the little things of daily life she is bright, industrious, sweet-tempered, and attractive, and prepared to do well her duty, when that duty comes to her, as wife and mother and mistress of a household. The highest principle upon which she is taught to act is obedience, even to the point of violating all her finest feminine instincts, at the command of father

or husband; and acting under that principle, she is capable of an entire self-abnegation such as few women of any race can achieve.

With the close of her maidenhood the happiest period in the life of a Japanese woman closes. The discipline that she has received so far, repressive and constant as it has often been, has been from kind and loving parents. She has freedom to a certain degree, such as is unknown to any other country in Asia. In the home she is truly loved, often the pet and plaything of the household, though not receiving the caress and words of endearment that children in America expect as a right, for love in Japan is undemonstrative. *

WOMANHOOD.

When the Japanese maiden arrives at the age of sixteen, or thereabouts, she is expected as a matter of course to marry. She is usually allowed her choice in regard to whether she will or will not marry a certain man. Marriage is as much a matter of course in a woman's life as death, and is no more to be avoided. If she positively objects to the man who is proposed to her, she is seldom forced to marry him.

The courtship is somewhat after the following manner. A young man, who finds himself in a position to marry, speaks to some married friend, and asks him to be on the look-out for a beautiful†

* Kisses are unknown, and regarded by conservative Japanese as an animal and disgusting way of expressing affection.

† To the Japanese, the ideal female face must be long and narrow; the forehead high and narrow in the middle, but widening and lowering at the sides. The hair should be straight and glossy black, and absolutely smooth. The Japanese ladies who have the misfortune to have any wave or ripple in their hair, as many of them do, are at as much pains to straighten it. The eyes should be long and narrow, slanting upward at the outer corners; and the eyebrows should be delicate lines, high above the eye itself. The distinctly acquiline nose should be low at the bridge, the curve outward beginning much lower down than upon the Caucasian face; and the eye-socket should not be outlined at all, either by the brow, the cheek, or by the nose. It is this flatness of the face about the eyes that gives the mildness of expression to all young people of Mongolian type that is so noticeable a trait always in their physiognomy. The mouth of an aristocratic Japanese lady must be small, and the lips full and red; the neck, a conspicuous feature always when the Japanese dress is worn, should be long and slender, and gracefully curved. The complexion should be light,—a clear ivory-white, with little color in the cheeks. The

and accomplished maiden, who would be willing to become his wife. The friend, acting rather as an advanced agent, makes a canvass of all young maidens of his acquaintance, inquiring among his friends; and finally decides that so-and-so (Miss Otenahe, let us say) will be a very good match for his friend. Having arrived at this decision, he goes to Miss Otenahe's parents and lays the case of his friend before them. Should they approve of the suitor, a party is arranged at the house of some common friend, where the young people may have a chance to meet each other's merits. Should the folks find no fault with the match, presents are exchanged, a formal betrothal is entered into, and the marriage is hastened forward. All arrangements between the contracting parties are made by go-betweens, who hold themselves responsible for the success of the marriage, and must be concerned in the divorce proceedings, should divorce become desirable or necessary at a future time.

The marriage ceremony, which seems to be neither religious nor legal in its nature,* takes place at the house of the groom, to which the bride is carried,—accompanied by her go-betweens, and, if she be of the higher classes, by her own confidential maid, who will serve her as her personal attendant in the new life in her husband's house. The trousseau and household goods, which the bride is expected to bring with her, are sent before. The household goods required by custom as a part of the outfit of every bride are as follows:

A bureau; a low desk or table for writing; a work-box; two of the lacquer trays or tables on which meals are served, together with everything required for furnishing them, even to the chopsticks; and two or more complete sets of handsome bed furnishings.

figure should be slender, the waist long, but not especially small, and the hips narrow, to secure the best effect with the Japanese dress. The head and shoulders should be carried slightly forward, and the body should also be bent forward slightly at the waist, to secure the most womanly and aristocratic carriage. In walking, the step should be short and quick, with the toes turned in, and the foot lifted so lightly that either clog or sandal will scuff with every step. This is necessary for modesty, with the narrow skirt of the Japanese dress.

* Many women still blacken their teeth after marriage after the manner universal in the past; but this custom is rapidly going out of fashion.

The trousseau will contain, if the bride be of a well-to-do family, dresses for all seasons, and handsome sashes without number; for the ever-changing fashion of Japan, together with the durable quality of the dress material, make it possible for a woman, at the time of her marriage to enter her husband's house with a supply of clothing that may last her through her life time. The parents of the bride, in giving up their daughter, as they do when she marries, show the estimation in which they have held her by the beauty and completeness of the trousseau with which they provide her. This is her very own and in the event of a divorce, she brings back with her to her father's house the clothing and household goods that she carried away as a bride.

With the bride and her trousseau are sent a great number of presents from the family of the bride to the members of the groom's household. Each member of the family, from the aged grandfather to the youngest grandchild, receives some remembrance of the occasion; and even the servants and retainers, down to the *jinrikisha* men, and the *betto* in the stables, are not forgotten by the bride's relatives. Besides this present-giving, the friends and relatives of the bride and groom, send gifts to the young couple often some article for use in the household, or crepe or silk for dresses.

In old times, the wedding took place in the afternoon, but it is now usually celebrated in the evening. The ceremony consists merely in a formal drinking of the native wine (*Sake*) from a two-spouted cup which is presented to the mouths of the bride and groom alternately. The drinking from one cup is a symbol of the equal sharing of the joys and sorrows of married life. At the ceremony no one is present but the bride and bride-groom, their go-betweens, and a young girl, whose duty it is to present the cup to the lips of the contracting parties. When this is over the wedding guests, who have been assembled in the next room during the ceremony, join the wedding party, a grand feast is spread, and much merriment ensues.

On the third day after the wedding, the newly married couple are expected to make a visit to the bride's family, and for this great preparations are made. A large party is usually given by the bride's parents either in the afternoon, or in the evening in

honor of this occasion, to which the friends of the bride's family are invited. The young couple bring with them presents from the groom's family to the bride's, in return for the presents sent on the wedding day.

The festivities often begin early in the afternoon and keep up until late at night. A fine dinner is served, and music and dancing, by professional performers, or some other entertainment, serve to make the time pass pleasantly. The bride appears as hostess with her mother, entertaining the company, and receiving their congratulations, and must remain to speed the last departing guests, before leaving the paternal roof.

Within the course of two or three months, the newly married couple are expected to give an entertainment, or series of entertainments, to their friends, as an announcement of the marriage. As the wedding ceremony is private, and no notice is given, nor are cards sent out, this is sometimes the first intimation that is received of the marriage by many of the acquaintances, though the news of a wedding usually travels quickly. The entertainment, held at some tea-house, is similar in many ways to the one given at the bride's home by her parents.

Besides the entertainment, presents of red rice, or *mochi*, are sent as a token of thanks to all who have remembered the young couple. These are arranged even more elaborately than the ones sent after the birth of an heir.

The young people are not expected to set up house-keeping by themselves, and establish a new home. Marriages often take place early in life, even before the husband has any means of supporting a family; and as a matter of course, a son with his wife makes his abode with his parents, and forms simply a new branch of the household.

The only act required to make the marriage legal is the withdrawal of the bride's name from the list of her father's family as registered by the Government, and its entry upon the register of her husband's family. From that time forward she severs all ties with her father's house, save those of affection, and is more closely related by law and custom to her husband's relatives than to her own.

At present in Japan the marriage relation, unlike that in olden times, is by no means a permanent one, as it is virtually

dissoluble at the will of either party, and the condition of public opinion is such among the lower classes, that, it is not an unknown occurrence for a man to marry and divorce several wives in succession; and for a woman, who has been divorced once or twice to be willing and able to marry well a second or even third time. Among the higher classes, the dread of the scandal and gossip that must attach themselves to troubles between man and wife, serves as a restraint upon a too free use of the power of divorce; but still, divorces among the higher classes are so common now that one meets numerous respectable and respected persons who have at some time in their lives gone through such an experience.

One provision of the law, which serves to make most mothers endure any evil of married life rather than sue for divorce, is the fact that the children belong to the father; and no matter how unfit a person he may be to have the care of them, the disposal of them in case of a divorce rests absolutely with him. A divorced woman returns childless to her father's house; and many women, in consequence of this law or custom, will do their best to keep the family together, working the more strenuously in this direction, the more brutal and worthless the husband proves himself to be.

The ancestor-worship, as found in Japan, the tracing of relationship in the male line only, and the generally accepted belief that children inherit their qualities from their father rather than from the mother, make them his children and not hers. Thus we often see children of noble rank on the father's side but ignoble on the mother's, inherit the rank of their father, and not permitted even to recognize their mother as in any way their equal. If she is plebeian, the children are not regarded as tainted by it.

In the case of divorce, even if the law allowed the mother to keep her children, it would be almost an impossibility for her to do so. She has no means of earning her bread and theirs, for only a few occupations are open to women, and she is forced to become a dependent on her father, or some male relative. Whatever they may be willing to do for her, it is quite likely that they would begrudge aid to the children of another family, with whom custom hardly recognizes any tie.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Laissez Faire in Indian Evolution.

I find from Mr. P. N. Bose's observations in the September number of the *Modern Review* that my article on his "Illusions of New India" has failed to please him, and I am not surprised. It is true that I have sometimes quoted him in support of my views, which are often precisely the views which he condemns. I may add that about half a dozen extracts in his book in praise of Indian civilisation, or depreciating Western civilisation, may be traced to articles contributed by me to the pages of this Review, and I refer to this only to show that just as Mr. Bose knows all about western civilisation and rejects it, so I may claim to know something about the greatness of Indian civilisation, and may yet desire to improve it by grafting on it what appears to me best in European civilisation. To know both sides of a case is not to accept them as equally true, for that would be absurd, and by pointing out that Mr. Bose occasionally recognised the seamy side of Indian life I never intended to convey that he was not thoroughly convinced of the superiority of Indian civilisation as a whole.

It is quite true that I have no first-hand knowledge of Europe like Mr. Bose, but on his own showing I have a more intimate and up-to-date knowledge of rural life in Bengal than he possesses, and I have travelled, though not extensively, in other parts of India. So far as I know, Mr. Bose moves in a higher,—or if Mr. Bose is too modest to admit it, then I shall say, a different—circle than myself, which is also more removed from the social life of the orthodox rural community than mine. Under the circumstances, I cannot but think that it is distance which lends enchantment to his view, and evokes the pangeyrics on Oriental civilisation of which his book is full.

I yield to none in my patriotism, for I spring from the soil of mother India, and it is my fervent hope to see my motherland great and glorious. Not for worlds would I abjure my national individuality and the cultural traditions of my race, an admirer of Western civilisation, in some of its aspects, though I am. I have seen too many instances of the indifference of orthodoxy to the humiliation of the national religion or the racial culture to imagine that blind conservatism is really more patriotic than reasoned admiration. Neither am I so obsessed by the glamour of Western civilisation as to ignore the grave evils that accompany it, and perhaps in my daily life and habits I shall be found to have come less under Western influence than even such a doughty champion of Indian civilisation as Mr. Bose himself.

I have read all the three books referred to in Mr. Bose's criticism of my article. I may say at once that I agree with much of what he says, and I can quite conceive the force of the argument that the dangers and the shoals ahead which he points out had to be pointed out, and the warnings he gives had to be given, in order to prevent us from losing our balance and rushing into a mad career of imitation. But though I often agree with his presentation of facts, I

emphatically demur to his conclusion, which, stripped of verbiage, is nothing short of this—hold fast to all *that is*, and don't try to improve what you have by borrowing from the West, lest you destroy the good with the bad, and get nothing substantial from the West into the bargain. That this is the sum and substance of his teaching, will also appear from his criticism of my article. Here he dwells on the extreme difficulty of determining what is good or bad in any civilisation, owing to the excessive complexity of sociological phenomena. But does it follow that we should desist from the investigation, and leave things as they are? This, however, we simply cannot, for whether we will it or not, things *will* move, circumstances *will* change, and the changes *will* have some effect on us. Is it the part of wisdom to let things take their course, instead of trying to control and regulate the movement to suit our special needs? Hindu civilisation has always absorbed something from its environments—in fact its elasticity and genius for assimilation have been regarded as important factors in its survival through the ages. The pre-Buddhist Brahmanism was very different from the Hinduism of the post-Buddhist age. During the long Muhammadan regime, we were largely influenced by our rulers in dress, speech and manners, and even our social customs underwent some modification. Some of the proud Rajput houses entered into matrimonial alliances with the Moguls without giving up their religion. Mr. Bose, in his "Epochs of Civilisation," tries to minimise the Muhammadan influence, but Sir Henry Elliot, in the preface to his monumental work on the historians of the Muhammadan period, says that even the Hindu historians of the times used to call their co-religionists 'infidels,' and speak of 'the light of Islam shedding its refulgence on the world.' No wonder that he calls them 'a slavish crew.' The process of imitation and absorption will therefore go on in spite of ourselves, and the only question is, whether it should be conscious or unconscious. To me it seems that the only way of making the contact of the West with the East fruitful of the best results for ourselves is consciously to guide the process of assimilation in our own interests.

I admit that evolution is sometimes regressive, but I do not therefore doubt the progressive character of evolution as a whole. The world spins for ever round the ringing grooves of change, and it is not surprising that there should be back-currents and eddies here and there. The Yuga doctrine of the Hindus, according to which we are deteriorating in geometric progression in this *Kali* age, is emphatically *not* the doctrine which will make for our salvation. In fact, to it, and to the fatalism of our popular philosophy, must be ascribed, in no small degree, our present sad condition. So long as Europe was in the grip of the blighting theological doctrine of the radical corruption of man, it was in no better plight than ourselves, but since the days of Comte the idea of the progress of Humanity has taken firm hold of the European mind, and has transfused it and given it a truer, brighter, and more fruitful outlook. Lord Morley in his latest essay recognises the regressive undercur-

rents prevailing in progressive human societies, but does not deny the generally progressive character of social evolution. Mr. Bose speaks of the 'moving or dynamic' equilibrium of Hindu society. This expression does not involve a contradiction in terms only if and in so far as we recognise that there can be nothing like stable equilibrium in human society, and that social equipoise is like two straight lines in space, which always tend to but never meet. In the same way society is everywhere trying to harmonise all its conflicting elements and reach an equilibrated condition, and at the same time it moves on, so that it is always trying to establish a state of stable equilibrium, but never actually does so, one element or the other preponderating in its composition.

Mr. Bose admits that the standard of living in old India was not quite so simple and primitive as some imagine. Quite so. The refinements of luxury which prevailed in the last great Hindu Kingdom of India, Vijaynagar, in the sixteenth century, before Moslem influence penetrated into southern India, have been well described by Sewall from contemporary Portuguese records, and show that when Hindus were great, they could fight as well as enjoy life, and produce men like Sayana and Madhava whose intellectual achievements any nation might be proud of.

As for Western materialism, I find that Sir Rabindranath, in a recent interview with a special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* at Tokio, says as follows:—

"Do I think that Eastern thought, the Eastern outlook can be reconciled with the mechanism of Western civilisation? I think it can and must be. In the East we have striven to disregard matter, to ignore hunger and thirst, and so escape from their tyranny and emancipate ourselves. But that is no longer possible, at best for the whole nation. You in the West have chosen to conquer matter, and the fine task of science is to enable all men to have enough to satisfy their material wants, and by subduing matter to achieve freedom for the soul. *The East will have to follow the same road, and call in science to its aid.*" (The italics are mine).

Mr. Bose asks us to stick to our simple standard of living, as it would be 'suicidal' for poor India to imitate the Western standard, for it would retard the growth of our indigenous industries. But if we keep to our simple scheme of life, the industries will not advance beyond their Vedic prototypes, and Mr. Bose himself admits that cottage industries cannot stand before Western machinery. Besides, with increasing wants will come the desire to remove them, and the desire will lead to action, and will in the end enable us to get rid of poverty. When the Hindu race is committing suicide by giving such generous hospitality to famine, plague, and malaria, and driving out large numbers from its pale by obnoxious social customs, when the birth-rate, as compared with the death-rate, handicaps it so heavily in the race of life, when the expectation of life both among males and females—and among Indian females the standard of living is certainly not yet high—has been found on calculation to be at birth just one-half and even less of what it is in England, why fear so much the prospect of suicide from a rise in the standard of living alone? People will surely give up luxury when faced with starvation and death, but before they do so, they may perchance be led to make a supreme effort to raise their income, and thus solve the problem of poverty. Besides, a high standard of living connotes sanitary environments,

good nourishment, and sufficient protection against the inclemencies of the climate, and all these make for healthy growth.

The more I study the social organisation of India for the last ten centuries, the more do I feel convinced that the village community has got more praise from men like Munro, Metcalfe, and Elphinstone than it deserved; or rather, that they have emphasised only one side of it. H. G. Keene, an observant student of this period of Indian history, says that it no doubt facilitated the preservation of ancient customs and usages and thus helped to maintain the integrity and secure the continuity of the racial traditions, but that it had also 'its wholly deplorable side,' the unprogressive character of Indian society being largely due to it. "In a rejection of external influences and of the efforts necessary to adapt itself to their action, Indian society has shown a culpable negligence from which it has greatly suffered." The *Chach-nama* is a contemporary record of the earliest Mussalman (Arab) invasion of Sind at the commencement of the eighth century. From it we find that all the Brahmins at the capital of the kingdom were employed to betray their countrymen, and bring them under Moslem rule. This service the intellectual leadership of the Brahmins enabled them to perform down to the times of Hyder Ali of Mysore, as I have found from contemporary publications which I have come across. The first two volumes of Elliot's History containing accounts of the Arab, Ghaznavite, and Ghorian invasions of India from the pen of Muhammadan historians, are deeply painful reading to Hindus. The massacres and plunders, the pillages of holy shrines and the humiliating fate of their idols, the reduction of millions of men, women and children to slavery, their forcible conversions and marriage, the immense wealth removed from the country,—all this was the permanent feature of the sacred land of Aryavarta, the holy Madhyadesha of Manu where the black antelope roamed, during the two centuries when Hinduism first came into contact with the forces of Islam; and yet Hinduism heeded not these dire catastrophes—'one rural generation dreamt out its existence after another, and all was forgotten,' the great Hindu text-writers, some of whom were born during the subsequent political upheaval, went on elaborating their penances and absurd and fantastic rituals; and, in the eloquent language of Sir William Hunter, "dynasties struggled and fell, but the bulk of the people evinced neither sympathy nor surprise, nor did the pulse of village life in Bengal beat faster for all the calamities and panic of the outside world." The self-contained village communities could not save us from being cornered in our own land, and a reversion to that simple social organisation, even if it were possible in these days of steam and electricity, would certainly not contribute to our national solidarity and strength.

The squalor, brutality and degradation of the masses in the West have been described even more graphically by Taine than by Mr. Bose. Taine calls the British slum-dwellers human yahoos. But hard words, after all, break no bones, and the fact remains that with all its high standard of living, there is no death from starvation in Western Europe. We saw only the other day how the accidental death of a few Territorials from heat-stroke near Karachi created quite a sensation in the House of Commons, leading to the dismissal of high European officials in India. Here, Sir John Seeley finds "great populations cowering in abject

misery for centuries together;.....if they cannot live, they die, and if they can only just live, then they just live, their sensibilities dulled and their very wishes crushed out by want." Their simple standard of living helps them but little to eke out even a miserable existence on the verge of dissolution. If need be, I would therefore go so far as to say, having regard to the welfare of the race as distinguished from individual members of it: better a brutal existence which can hold its own in the struggle against mortality raging through all Nature, than a docile, commonplace, and featureless existence ready to be blown out at the first blast of adversity; for your soul must have a fleshy tabernacle to thrive in, and so long as the body exists, the soul has a chance, but not otherwise. I know that according to the Evolutionary theory, the morally great are not necessarily physically the fittest to survive, and I shall be the first to condemn that social organisation where the spiritually great are not sheltered from the baneful effects of a weak constitution. I believe in Western countries such men have ampler scope for thriving than in India. Moreover, while in the case of individuals, a frail body does not necessarily prevent his mental growth, in the case of societies at large, physical deterioration leads inevitably to national ruin. Mr. Bose speaks of existing predatory organisations which exhibit the same 'wonderful scientific skill, brain power', &c., as the belligerent nations of Europe. I know of none such, and Mr. Bose mentions none. The point to note is that the high standard of living does not enervate us, and sap the foundation of our national virility; for the elemental virtues of courage and enterprise, strength and vigour, are as necessary to-day for national well-being as they ever were, and the 'maturity' which has attained the 'rigidity' Mr. Bose speaks of is more consistent with senile decay than with national greatness. We read in the Ramayana (Aranya-Kanda, I) that when Rama visited the great forest of Janasthan in Southern India after his exile, the Rishis who had settled there approached him with a request for protection against the terrible raids of the Rakshasas, adding that by leading a religious life they had become as incapable of self-help as the child in the mother's womb. So long as the whole human race has not attained the ethical stage of civilisation at which India has, according to Mr. Bose, arrived, a position like that of the sages of Janasthan can hardly be said to be conducive to the welfare of the body-politic; it is rather the speediest way to national extinction. Nietzsche is at a discount since the present world-war began and I have elsewhere tried to show that I only half agree with him. Nevertheless, his insistence on manliness is a lesson which we Indians can the least afford to forget.

I would invite Mr. Bose's attention to a letter of Justice Woodroffe published in the *Bengalee* of the 21st June last, in which he says: "One must allow for free growth; and here some so-called 'orthodox' resistance may have to be overcome. Because bows and arrows were used in the days of the Mahabharata, it is no argument against the use of modern weapons because India did not evolve them. Foreign achievements and culture should be a food for each people—eaten and assimilated.....It used to be said that Greece derived its art from Egypt; but only an expert archaeologist could detect this origin by examining Greek art in all its stages. In its finished product how different it seems from

Egypt, Hellas having absorbed into herself what she got elsewhere.....In India, there was a good deal of false asceticism and false 'Vairagya' which is nothing but the tired feeling of the surface consciousness.....a good deal of religious renunciation is mere slackness, the tired feeling of an organism which neither truly reacts to life nor is yet strong and sincere enough to truly negate it [this is what Vivekananda used to call our *Tamasic* torpor]..... One must do away with all this. Unless a man is by nature truly a yati who has forsaken the world, let him be truly of it and develop all his powers therein according to his 'Dharma'. This is the Religion of Power which India needs if she is to be herself again."

Lastly, Mr. Bose seems to be too hard on 'the limbs of the law.' If it be permitted to one belonging to that much-abused profession to put in a word in its favour, I may say that the British Courts of Justice have introduced in India a sense of fair dealing and security as between man and man, of equality in the eye of the law, and a love of constitutional methods, which have in no small measure fostered the democratic spirit among us. "The habitual enforcement of civil rights is the best possible training for the temperate use of political privileges," I have admitted with regret the evils of unrestricted competition in the profession, but when we think of the judicial methods prevailing in India and elsewhere during the Middle Ages, of the trials by ordeal and the theological obsession of judicial tribunals, we may venture the remark that the ideal of dispensing justice under the village banyan tree by the rule of thumb had its defects. I have not the figures with me now, but I know from personal experience that the vast majority of lawsuits instituted are decreed *ex parte*, and of the rest which are contested, the majority again terminate successfully for the complainant. This does not seem to show that the British judicial system as implanted in India is a failure. It should and could certainly be made cheaper, but for political considerations necessitating the maintenance of a highly paid foreign judiciary; and the revenue from court-fee stamps may easily be considerably reduced. Our publicists speak of British Justice as the mainstay of British rule in India, and they are not far out of the mark. "Effective and expeditious" justice might have been in the days preceding the dissolution of the Mogul Empire, but the manner of its administration was hardly consonant with a high degree of development of the social conscience and public responsibility.

As regards the altruistic virtues of benevolence and charity, a perusal of Lala Lajpat Rai's recently published book on the United States of America is sure to knock the bottom off our conceit. Mr. Rai even holds that charity administered by organisations (as in America) and not by individuals (as in India) is the better kind of charity, in as much as it does not lower the recipient's self-respect. What the combination of scientific methods with humanitarian instincts can achieve even in a field which Mr. Bose seems to regard as peculiarly Indian, may be studied in the pages of that book.

The same writer, contrasting the civilisations of the East and the West, is satisfied with neither, but he adds that if a choice were given him he would prefer the latter to the former, which stand for "the negation of the world, a negation of its

reality, a refusal to face it by renouncing it, a contentment which might bring servility, and an idealism which might end in political bondage, humiliation and disgrace." He goes on to say that with the Hindus, "the choice lies between extinction and Europeanisation, unless they can find out a mean by which they may be able to retain the best parts of both and evolve a new and a more humane civilisation of their own. That is the problem before the East".....It is this problem which I am humbly trying to study and though I have not yet reached any definite conclusions capable of being formulated in the shape of a constructive programme, the little that I have learnt impels me to meet the position arrived at by Mr. Bose with a categorical negative, however much I may admire his learning, patriotism, and the courage with which he expresses his convictions.

POL.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have come across an extract from an article by Mr. Aurobindo Ghose which besides being characterised by the thoughtfulness and brilliance usually associated with the writings of that finished scholar and thinker, is so pertinent to our present discussion that I cannot help quoting a few lines from it. Mr. Ghose says:

The East "is able to nourish the illusion that it has not changed, that it is immovably faithful to the ideas of remote forefathers, to their religion, their traditions, their institutions, their social ideals, that it has preserved either a divine or an animal immobility both in thought and in the routine of life and has been free from the human law of mutation by which man and his social organisations must either progress or degenerate but can in no case maintain themselves unchanged against the attack of time....It is only when we look close that we see the magnitude of the illusion....As a matter of fact, the double-cycle which India has described from the early vedic times to the India of Buddha and the philosophers, and again from the time of Buddha to the European irruption, was in its own way vast in change religious, social, cultural, even political and administrative; but because it preserved old names for new things, old formulas for new methods, and old coverings for new institutions, and because the change was always marked in the external, but quiet and unobtrusive in the external, we have been able to create and preserve the fiction of the unchanging East. . . . The Eastern or rather the Indian conservative still imagines that stability may be the true law of mortal being, practises a sort of 'logie asana' on the flood of time, and because he does not move himself, thinks—for he keeps his eyes shut and is not in the habit of watching the banks—that he can prevent the stream also from moving on . . . the hope of the world lies in the re-awakening in the East of the old spiritual practicality and large and profound vision and power of organisation under the insistent contact of the West....If therefore the conservative mind in this country opens itself sufficiently to the necessity of transformation, the resulting culture born of a resurgent India may well bring about a profound modification in the future civilisation of the world. But if it remains shut up in dead fictions, or tries to meet the new needs with the mind of the schoolman and the sophist dealing with words and ideas in the air rather than actual fact and truth and potentiality, or struggles merely to avoid all but a scanty minimum of change, then, since the new ideas cannot fail to realise themselves, the future India will be formed in the crude mould of the Westernised social and political reformer and will

turn us all into halting apes of the West." If therefore, we are to avoid the wholesale imitation of the West, we must substitute a wise liberalism for our blind admiration of the past, and learn to recognise the true place of conservatism in a progressive scheme of conscious evolution.

POLITICUS.

This controversy is now closed.—Editor, M. R.

Mr. Gandhi on Ahimsa.

Had Lala Lajpat Rai first ascertained what I had actually said on Ahimsa, his remarks in the Modern Review for last July would not have seen the light of day. Lalaji rightly questions whether I actually made the statements imputed to me. He says, that if I did not, I should have contradicted them. In the first place, I have not yet seen the papers which have reported the remarks in question, or those in which my remarks were criticised. Secondly, I must confess that I would not undertake to correct all the errors that creep into reports that appear in the public press about my speeches. Lalaji's article has been much quoted in the Gujarati newspapers and magazines; and it is perhaps as well for me to explain my position. With due deference to Lalaji, I must join issue with him when he says that the elevation of the doctrine of Ahimsa to the highest position contributed to the downfall of India. There seems to be no historical warrant for the belief that an exaggerated practice of Ahimsa synchronised with our becoming bereft of manly virtues! During the past 1500 years we have as a nation given ample proof of physical courage, but we have been torn by internal dissensions and have been dominated by love of self instead of love of country. We have, that is to say, been swayed by the spirit of irreligion rather than of religion.

I do not know how far the charge of un-manliness can be made good against the Jains. I hold no brief for them. By birth I am a vaishnavite, and was taught Ahimsa in my childhood. I have derived much religious benefit from Jain religious works as I have from scriptures of the other great faiths of the world. I owe much to the living company of the deceased philosopher Rajachand Kavi who was a Jain by birth. Thus though my views on Ahimsa are a result of my study of most of the faiths of the world, they are now no longer dependent upon the authority of these works. They are a part of my life and if I suddenly discovered that the religious books read by me bore a different interpretation from the one I had learnt to give them, I should still hold to the view of Ahimsa as I am about to set forth here.

Our Shastras seem to teach that a man who really practises Ahimsa in its fullness has the world at his feet; he so affects his surroundings that even the snakes and other venomous reptiles do him no harm. This is said to have been the experience of St. Francis of Assisi.

In its negative form it means not injuring any living being whether by body or mind. I may not therefore hurt the person of any wrong-doer, or bear any ill-will to him and so cause him mental suffering. This statement does not cover suffering caused to the wrong-doer by natural acts of mine which do not proceed from ill-will. It, therefore, does not prevent me from withdrawing from his presence a child whom he, we shall imagine, is about to strike. Indeed the proper practice of Ahimsa requires me to withdraw the intended victim from the wrong-doer, if I am in any way whatsoever the guardian of such a child.

It was therefore, most proper for the passive resisters of South Africa to have resisted the evil that the Union Government sought to do to them. They bore no ill-will to it. They showed this by helping the Government whenever it needed their help. *Their resistance consisted of disobedience of the orders of the Government, even to the extent of suffering death at their hands.* Ahimsa requires deliberate self-suffering, not a deliberate injuring of the supposed wrong-doer.

In its positive form, Ahimsa means the largest love, the greatest charity. If I am a follower of Ahimsa, I must love my enemy. I must apply the same rules to the wrong-doer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong-doing father or son. This active Ahimsa necessarily includes truth and fearlessness. A man cannot deceive the loved one he does not fear or frighten him or her. अमर्यादा (Gift of life) is the greatest of all gifts. A man who gives it in reality, disarms all hostility. He has paved the way for an honourable understanding. And none who is himself subject to fear can bestow that gift. He must therefore be himself fearless. A man cannot then practise Ahimsa and be a coward at the same time. The practice of Ahimsa calls forth the greatest courage. It is the most soldierly of soldier's virtues. General Gordon has been represented in a famous statue as bearing only a stick. This takes us far on the road to Ahimsa. But a soldier, who needs the protection of even a stick, is to that extent so much the less a soldier. He is the true soldier who knows how to die and stand his ground in the midst of a hail of bullets. Such a one was Ambarish who stood his ground without lifting a finger though Durvasa did his worst. The Moors who were being powdered by the French gunners, rushed into the guns' mouths with 'Allah on their lips,' showed much the same type of courage. Only theirs was the courage of desperation; Ambarish's was due to love. Yet the Moorish valour, readiness to die, conquered the gunners. They frantically waived their hats, ceased firing and greeted their erstwhile enemies as comrades. And so the South African passive resisters in their thousands were ready to die rather than sell their honour for a little personal ease. This was Ahimsa in its active form. It never barter away honour. A helpless girl in the hands of a follower of Ahimsa finds better and surer protection than in the hands of one who is prepared to defend her only to

the point to which his weapons would carry him. The tyrant, in the first instance, will have to walk on his victim over the dead body of her defender, in the second, he has but to over-power the defender; for it is assumed that the canon of propriety in the second instance will be satisfied when the defender has fought to the extent of his physical valour. In the first instance as the defender has matched his very soul against the mere body of the tyrant, the odds are that the soul in the latter will be awakened, and the girl would stand an infinitely greater chance of her honour being protected than in any other conceivable circumstance barring, of course, that of her own personal courage.

If we are un-manly to-day, we are so, not because we do not know how to strike, but because we fear to die. He is no follower of Mahavira, the apostle of Jainism, or of Buddha or of the Vedas, who being afraid to die, takes flight before any danger, real or imaginary, all the while wishing that somebody else would remove the danger by destroying the person causing it. He is no follower of Ahimsa (I agree with Lalaji) who does not care a straw if he kills a man by inches by deceiving him in trade, or who would protect by force of arms a few cows and make away with the butcher, or who in order to do a supposed good to his country does not mind killing off a few officials. All these are actuated by hatred, cowardice and fear. He who loves the cow or the country is a vague thing intended to satisfy one's vanity, or soothe a stinging conscience.

Ahimsa, truly understood, is, in my humble opinion, a panacea for all evils mundane and extra-mundane. We can never over-do it. Just at present we are not doing it at all. Ahimsa does not displace the practice of other virtues, but renders their practice imperatively necessary before it can be practised even in its rudiments. Lalaji need not fear the Ahimsa of his father's faith. Mahavira and Buddha were soldiers, and so was Tolstoy. Only they saw deeper and truer into their profession, and found the secret of a true, happy, honourable and godly life. Let us be joint sharers with these teachers and this land of ours will once more be the abode of Gods.

M. K. GANDHI.

Jain Ahimsa.

Jainism occupies the foremost place amongst the Ahimsa religions. Ahimsa Paramo Dharma is the watch-word of Jains. It is said that this Ahimsa has been a cause of the degradation of India or at least of the Jains. How can a people who regard it sinful to kill an ant defend themselves against the tyranny of a tyrant or the attacks of a ruffian? This is the argument put forth to show that Jains are a meek people born to suffer whatsoever fate or fortune may bring to them. This view, I submit, is based neither on any knowledge of the Jain principles of Ahimsa nor on the history of Jains. First let us see what history says about them.

There have been Jain kings, generals and soldiers not only mythical but historical as well, and the Jain acharyas make no mean mention of them in their sacred books, they do not call them (Mithyatvi) or heretics because of the blood they shed in wars. There have also been persons although not admitted by history but recognised as Jains in the Jain Shastras, who took part in the fiercest wars of those times—Chakravarties who fought for empires.

History shows that Chandra Gupta Maurya, the renowned emperor of Northern India was a Jain. His terror was enough to lead Selucus to make a treaty with him—"it is not wise to be on bad terms with

such a mighty foe." This was in the 4th century B.C., only two centuries after the Nirvana of Mahavira the Ahinsaist teacher. Even in the time of Prativiraj, the armies of one of his foes from Gujrat were led by an Ahinsaist Jain. Bhamashah, the saviour of Mewar, was a Jain Oswal. He laid all his hoarded wealth at the disposal of Rana Pratap, to collect men and munitions for war against the Moghal emperor Akbar, in order to maintain the independence of his Native land. Again, Kumarpal, a king of Gujrat (12th Century) had Hemchandracharya the Jain encyclopedist as his Guru; even that Ahinsaist Guru never asked him to retire from his kingly duties so as to escape from Hinsa. These are some of the instances of men whose religion the modern historians have thought it worth their while to mention. India had innumerable kings; what religion they professed can be gathered only from the Shastras, and the Jain Shastras describe many Jain kings, persons of flesh and blood, who reigned over the various kingdoms in Behar, Malwa, Deccan etc.

Even so late as the 16th and 17th Centuries, we find in the Jain Historical Studies by U. S. Tank, in the Indian Antiquary and in Todd's Rajasthan as well as in the household tales of Indian bravery in Rajputana—alas they are becoming scarcer with the introduction of modern histories of Rajput deities and Hindu retreats—Oswal Jains serving their monarchs in the various capacities of generals, ministers and administrators; and for their services they have been awarded hereditary Jagirs and Putras which exist unto this day. Even now, one finds in the capitals of Rajputana states Mehtas, Bachhawats, and Singhis, gotras of Oswal Jains whose immediate ancestors, i.e. grandfathers great-grand-fathers had led the forces of the Rajputana Chiefs, and the Oswals form an important part, a third of the Jain Community.

Now if we examine the Jain principles of Ahinsa, we find nothing that may make men unmanly and nations degraded and void of self-respect. We quote Jain Acharyas below.

While describing the Ahinsa for a Grihast i. e. a layman Vijay Laxmi Suri says :

अथर्वने गृहस्थानां सवृत्तादा विशेषकाः

देवादि दर्शिता पूज्यैः नाधिका तु प्रकाशिता

i. e. : The sages have prescribed in the first Vrata for a Grihastha one and a quarter Biswa (out of 20 Biswas) of दया (Daya) and not more. That is, even the highest Grihastha should observe only one sixteenth of what is prescribed for a Sadhu (who, of course is quite away from all wordly turmoils, and whose business is only to elevate his own soul and to guard the morals of his flock). This is so because, as is explained by various Acharyas, a layman cannot help using water, fire etc, he can not help killing in matters like cooking, digging, house-building, tilling etc (because Jainism does not recommend its laymen to become mere beggars and to depend on others for their daily bread) and because they cannot (for they should not) abstain from using force which involve Hinsa in order that the weak should be protected against the strong and that the aggressor and the usurper the thief and the scoundrel, the lustful villain and the infamous violator of woman's chastity, the ruffian and the cheat should be prevented from inflicting injustice and doing harm. What is required is that he

should not kill *merely* to satisfy his whim, or for want of ordinary care, or to satisfy his passions. Says Hemchandracharya :

पंगु कुष्ठकुष्ठिलादि दष्टा हिंसा फलं सुधीः

निरागस्तस्य जंतुना हिंसासंकलं पतत्यजेत्

i. e.—Seeing that defect in limbs leprosy etc. are the results of Hinsa a layman should refrain from doing Hinsa with the *determined intention of causing injury without any purpose to innocent moving-living-beings* (जंतु are moving-living-beings as opposed to स्थावर the stationary living-beings e.g. plants, vegetables, etc.) As to the Sthavara the same Acharya says :

निरर्थका न कुर्वीत जीवेषु स्थावरेषुपि

हिंसामहिंसाधर्मज्ञः कांक्षन् मोक्षमुपासकः

i. e.—An Ahinsaist desirous of Moksha should not do Hinsa to Sthavara beings *without any purpose*.

Jain Ahinsa is not the "Perverved Ahinsa of which" as Lala Lajpat Rai says in the July number of the Modern Review, "his grandfather was a believer and which forbids the taking of any life under *any circumstances whatever*." Jains do not believe in that "Extreme Ahinsa" which might "throw in the background all other virtues which ennoble men and nations", "which might throw into shade honor and self-respect," "which might extinguish courage, bravery, heroism, patriotism, love of country, love of family, honor of the race." It cannot be said for certain what Lala Lajpat Rai means by "some good people thoroughly well intentioned and otherwise saintly" who "made a fad of Ahinsa; but certainly Jain Ahinsa does not teach "that it is sinful to use legitimate force for purpose of self-defence, or for protection of our honor and the honor of our wives, sisters, daughters, and mothers." It does not teach us "to guard the honor of those who are under our charge by delivering ourselves into the hands of men who would commit sacrilege."

It is only the innocent beings whom a Jain should not kill. Those who deserve punishment must get the right chastisement and the Jains are free to use the necessary force.

There are Kathas in which even the Sadhus have made use of force for the protection of innocent persons and to save women from sacrilege. In a Jain Grantha निशिच-चूल्का Chapter X is related a story of Kalikacharya, who, in order to save a Sadhvi from being dishonoured by a prince, caused another prince to bring his forces to her rescue. There is another Katha of a Sadhu, Vishnu Kumar. He himself punished a king who intended to kill all the Jain Sadhus within his empire.

The Jain Ahinsa is not merely a negative precept—"Don't hurt." It is more. It is a positive moral commandment. It says—"Soothe Serve". It is not only "live and let live," "but also "help others to live."

No doubt there are weaknesses in modern Jains. Their community is not very healthy or flourishing. Much work and sacrifice is needed to raise them; and we hope young Jains will not lag in doing their duty, they are already alert. But Ahinsa is not the cause of their weakness. Modern Jains are mostly business men like the non-Jain Vaish Community. It is their contact with this Vaish Community that has

introduced in them most of the evils. We have evidence of the Vaish influence in the social rites and ceremonies of the Jains, most of which are quite inconsistent with Jain Principles. The same influence is at the root of Jain "dislike of force or fear" wherever it exists. It is not an "inherited fear" but "a borrowed fear." The Vaish fear is the indirect result of Brahmanic and Kshatriya supremacy, of the kind found in ancient India, when Vaishas could be treated despotically and with impunity, when they could not even raise a voice against the injustice of their masters for fear of incurring the rage of gods. Jainism recognises no such supremacy of any class nor the anger of gods to punish a man doing any right or just action.

If "India is bereft of manly virtues" it is not Ahinsa, Jain or non-Jain, that has contributed to this result, for we find non-Ahinsaist Indian communities equally void of those virtues. It is the general notion of inferiority of race that has, somehow, got into the Indian head, which is at the bottom of all evil. Give them liberal education. Teach them that the Ahinsaist ancestors achieved great successes in all spheres of life. Teach them that they are not inferior to other nations in every respect and that they are not incorrigibly so, if at all. Then the Ahinsaist nation, the Indian nation shall shine forth in her glory and shed lustre all around. Ahinsa shall make it all the more noble, manly, and glorious.

'AHINSAIST.'

RELIGION AND MODERN CIVILISATION

WITH regard to the question how religion and civilisation stand related to each other, the views maintained by the thinking minds of the modern age may roughly be brought under four classes :—

(i). Advocacy of Religion and opposition to Civilisation.

(ii) Advocacy of Civilisation and opposition to Religion.

(iii) The view that both are necessary but antagonistic to each other.

(iv) Attempts at reconciliation—viewing the two as different manifestations of one and the same spirit.

Let us consider these four stand-points one by one.

I. The first view generally takes the form of idealising the past or the future, and condemning the modern age and modern civilisation as destroyers of morality and religion. It conceives of an ideal state of society in the remote past when religion was the supreme factor in human life, when all the spiritual endeavours of man, science, art, morality, law and political organisation centred round the religious consciousness. In fact what goes under the name of civilisation is itself a child, which has been fostered at every stage of its development by Religion as by a mother. The sciences of chemistry, astronomy, geometry and the arts of poetry, painting and sculpture arose in close connection with the religious practices and ceremonies. The worship of ancestors, the priesthood of the King, sacrificial ceremonies, public assemblies in temples, consultation of auguries

and oracles—these and many other adjuncts of the religious beliefs marked the earliest beginnings of civilised society. All the details of human life were regulated by religious injunctions, which were afterwards compiled in legal codes or scriptures. One might establish this truth about the influence of religion on society by referring to the city fire and the Delphic oracle in ancient Greece, the spiritual conquest of half the world by the Buddhist missionaries, the vast ecclesiastical organisation of Rome, and the civilising activities of Christianity and Mahomedanism, spreading culture and learning, inaugurating moral and social reforms, helping the poor and uplifting the masses through cathedrals and mosques, monks and faquirs, poor-houses and caravansaries during the ancient and the middle ages.

Modern civilisation, according to these votaries of religion, is guilty of patricide in so far as it is up in arms against religion, to which it owes its birth and growth. This crime of civilisation against religion is being avenged by Nature, it is said, in the materialistic tendencies of the modern age, as shown in the life of the peoples of Europe and America, in their greed and lust, their mad pursuit of comforts and conveniences, their physical view of human welfare as consisting of the pleasures of eating and drinking, of housing and clothing, bathing and sleeping; their low view of morality which justifies cutting each other's throat, usurping the rights of the weak, depriving the neighbouring states of their liberty; their appli-

cation of the results of the sciences and arts to the criminal end of robbing and killing each other, to the invention of the engines of destruction, reducing cathedrals and universities into ruins, to the exploitation of gold and silver hidden in the bowels of the earth from the more favoured countries, their degradation of divine philosophy into materialism, agnosticism, scepticism and atheism. With all their vaunted progress in science and civilisation, the sum total of human misery on the earth has rather been increased than diminished, as proved by the existence of slums and the white-slave traffic, drunkenness and gambling, adulteration of food and dishonesty in trade, increase of litigation and crime, insanity and suicide, infant mortality and scarcity of milk, the frequent visitations of famine, plague and natural catastrophies. So these religious extremists call the modern age the Kaliyuga (the dark age), and constantly apprehending the approach of the day of judgment and the final dissolution of the world, they turn their back towards the so-called advance of civilisation and retire into the caves and jungles or into the solitary recesses of the inner life, and devote themselves to chanting and singing of hymns, to meditation and prayer with their eyes fixed on the Heaven of Eternal Life or on the Nirvana of Eternal Rest.

II. The other extreme of this one-sided thinking is represented by the votaries of civilisation, who openly confess their enmity towards religion. In the march of civilisation they find the growth of the power and the freedom of the human race, the widening of the sphere of knowledge, the triumph over the forces of nature, the vastness and the permanence of social organisation and what not. Look at the railway trains and the motor cars, the ships and the aeroplanes, the postal services, telegraphs and telephones; think of the electric powers, the mills and the factories; are they not unmistakeable proofs of the superiority of the modern age? Are we not making the seas and mountains, the clouds and the wind our slaves? Are we not overcoming space and time, conquering disease and death and liberating ourselves from the tyranny of nature, and of the customs and traditions of society, with the help of the numerous natural and mental sciences? Is not modern civilisation raising man into the rank of God and driving

the gods and goddesses into the regions of non-entity? The religion that you so blindly adhere to is only a product of ignorance and superstition, a child of fear and wonder, a creation of the imagination and dreams, a remnant of barbarism, and is bound to disappear like darkness at the dawn of the progressive civilisation. Our anthropologists and sociologists are collecting materials which convincingly prove the crudity of the origin and the futility of the end of religion. Psychologists are engaged in analysing the phenomenon of religious consciousness and in finding out what percentage of the sense of dependence and the weakness of will must be combined with what percentage of nervous disorder and insanity to give rise to that infirmity of the old age, or that pathological state of mind known as belief in God. Political philosophers are coming forward with their defence of this poor client on the plea that religion has a utility for the masses in so far as it develops the altruistic virtues and suppresses the selfish impulses of man, so that even if there were no God, we must invent one for the sake of political expediency. These extreme opponents of religion base their views on a philosophical system, according to which matter and motion are the fundamental realities, human life is only an automatic machine, mind and thought are nothing but the dancing of atoms, the whole cosmic order is the outcome of the play of blind forces, pushing and jostling with one another, man is the highest product of this world-demon or by far the most successful game ever hit upon by the Life-force in the course of its age-long experiments. According to these thinkers morality can serve as an adequate substitute for religion and ethical societies should take the place of churches.

III. The third class of thinkers realise that both the views represented above have elements of truth, but recognise at the same time that these elements of truth can never be reconciled by human reason and shown to follow from one principle or to lead to the same goal. There is, so to speak, a fundamental contradiction in human nature, because of its belonging to two absolutely different worlds, one sensible and the other super-sensible. Man has an animal life on earth, which is dependent on the physical conditions and the laws of nature. Science and civilisation

are concerned with the study of these conditions and laws with a view to improve man's earthly lot and as such they have certainly some claims on us. But man is also a member of the spiritual world, which is his true home, with which his eternal destiny is linked. Religion is concerned with this second aspect of human life, drawing our attention towards and preparing us for the hereafter. Hence it is that man finds himself at the mercy of two masters,—the world and religion, mammon and God, science and faith, reason and revelation, both of which are essential to him, however impossible it may be to harmonise them. Those who accept this dualistic position generally divide their mind into water-tight compartments. When they are in the scientific sphere, they give free play to their reason, are acute in their analysis and penetrating in their investigation, they would not accept a single proposition without proof and would confine themselves to the positive and certain relations of coexistence and succession. But when they enter into the religious sphere and put on their Sunday cloak, they are ready to believe in any nonsense and submit to all unreasonable superstitions, from the creation of the earth in six days to the ascension of the dead body of a Jesus. Their attitude towards these two spheres is therefore one of compromise. Here is the positive field of knowledge,—the region of ever increasing light, let us be masters over it; there is the unknown and the unknowable—the kingdom of eternal darkness—let us bow before it—such is their supreme maxim of conduct.

But the human soul cannot rest satisfied with this dualism and inconsistency and naturally seeks for a unity. If it does not find this unity in a harmony or reconciliation of the apparently opposing principles, it must abandon one or the other factor of the opposition and thus identify itself with either of the one-sided and extreme forms mentioned under I and II.

IV. Hence the demand for a synthesis of religion and civilisation to completely satisfy the dialectic of human reason. I propose to attempt a reconciliation of the two.

Religion and civilisation, truly understood, have a common source and origin as well as a common end and destiny. Both arise from man's consciousness of

bondage and finitude and both aim at the attainment of the soul's freedom or liberation and of its realisation of the Infinite. It is only in their corrupt and degenerated forms that these two manifestations of the human spirit are found to come into conflict. The extremists of the votaries of religion and the extremists of the advocates of civilisation are each of them right in so far as they point out the defects and imperfections in the other, which result from a unhealthy and diseased condition of the latter, but they are equally wrong in so far as they ignore that there are also elements of infinite value on the other side.

If religion is at a discount in the modern age, it is not so much the materialistic civilisation of the day that is to blame. In fact the term "materialistic civilisation" is itself a contradiction in terms, for the two elements of this complex idea can never be brought together in thought. Civilisation can never be wholly materialistic, as it is always the self-expression of the spirit of humanity in art and literature, in science and philosophy, in social, political and economic life. In civilisation the spirit comes to the knowledge of itself, of its power and glory, through the conquest of matter and physical forces, rising above the laws of necessity and nature-determination, and moulding its own life as well as the life of the universe in which it dwells according to the ideals Truth and Beauty and Goodness. Science and art, morality and religion are the constant companions of civilisation, for they are the various stages or processes through which the spirit transcends its finite character and realises its freedom in nature and society. Civilisation in this sense can no more be materialistic than religion itself. The spirit cannot work in vacuum. It must either overcome, employ and organise material conditions, or reduce itself into an abstract idea, empty nothingness, and attain Nirvana or extinction of life and consciousness through spiritual drill or gymnastic. That is why a religion which divorces itself from the world of matter and life, and occupies itself too much with the disembodied ethereal state of the soul beyond the grave, is in sure danger of losing its hold on the living world and of becoming a dead weight of obsolete rites and ceremonies, and a repetition of meaningless words, till it meets

with natural death or decay and finds its honoured place in the museum of antiquarian researches. If 'civilisation' has become the catch-word of all idealistic and spiritualistic thinkers to-day, it is because they understand by it something more comprehensive and more real than the so-called 'spiritualism' of the historical religions, which are themselves the originators and the supporters of the materialism of the modern age, in so far as they oppose all progress in science and civilisation. For, (i) while all other spiritual endeavours of man are moving with the march of times; religion alone refused to advance even a single step forward in response to the growing needs of the hour and rested content with the so-called relations made by God to a Prophet or Seer thousands of years ago; she accepted a Veda or a Bible, a Koran or a Zendavesta as the final word of God about the nature of man and of the world, about the history of creation and the destiny of human life. The followers of these historical religions would cling to the superstitious beliefs and erroneous cosmogonies of the scriptures against all the established truths of science, and retard the progress of knowledge based on a free and unprejudiced observation of and experiments on the processes of nature and mind. (ii) Religions maintained a class of priests and elevated them into self-contained and self-sufficient aristocrats, who instead of studying the scriptures and practising a godly life, spread ignorance, propagated false doctrines, forced their selfish claims on a credulous laity, encouraged stereotyped forms and ceremonies, supported the principles of caste and inequality and thereby cut at the root of the communal life. (iii) These fanatic believers fostered sectarian narrowness and dogmatic claims to finality and absolute truth on the part of one particular dispensation; they generated mutual hatred and jealousy, among religions and formulated elaborated codes of dogmas and creeds, stifling the liberty of thought, speech and action which is man's in virtue of his spiritual descent from God; they have blackened the pages of history by the impious persecution and burning of the martyrs who would not give up their honest convictions. (iv.) Religion divorced herself from all those fine arts and innocent enjoyments which make life holier, healthier and more beautiful; she promot-

ed anti-social and ascetic tendencies, which, regarding the world as an evil and the social relations as the bondage of illusion, turned man away from the home and family life, and led him to the opposite and far more destructive evil of *otherworldliness*; she was responsible for all those evils of impurity and dissolute life which necessarily accompanied monasticism and celibacy in most cases. (v). She produced in the mind of her followers on the one hand a craving for individual salvation which led to an egoistic spirit in all the affairs of the earthly life, and on the other hand a deterministic outlook which naturally led to the inactivity of fatalism and quietism; in either case religion retarded social progress and civilisation.

All these elements which are symptoms of the corruption and the disease of spiritualism in religion have combined to bring about modern materialism, agnosticism, scepticism and atheism.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the scientists, artists and politicians of the modern age have more of the truly religious spirit in them than the so-called missionaries, preachers and ministers who have made religion their special professions. Take for instance the case of the scientist, who is supposed to be as far removed from the sphere of religion as hell is from heaven. A scientific genius must learn to distinguish between appearance and reality, and go out in search of the Unseen, the Beyond, the Rational, which is at the same time the Real; he has to dive beneath the surface of things; to transcend the finite standpoint and go beyond the region of the senses, in order to understand the super-sensible. This however involves on his part: (1) meditation and concentration of mind on the essence of things, as divested from the irrelevant conditions and outer husks of phenomena;—which may be compared to the attitude of worship or communion on the part of religious minds towards the Supreme Being; (2) intense longing for the truth, earnest seeking after whatever may throw a little light on the subject of research—which resembles the religious man's habit of prayer; (3) lifelong devotion to the cause of knowledge, sacrificing all the comforts and pleasures of life, forgetting the self and the world—which is akin to the practise of austere penances and asceticism in the religious life; (4) again, if it is only the pure in heart that can

see God, no less is it true that the secret laws of nature are revealed only to a holy mind, for Nature is a jealous mistress, and an exacting queen who demands absolute chastity and purity of heart, undivided love and attention, utter self-abnegation and self-surrender, before she admits any one to her inner chamber and lays bare the invaluable treasures of her mysterious kingdom. Lastly (5) the scientists' communion with nature is fruitful only so far as he brings himself in line with or is at one with the course of nature, so far as he moves with and not against the current of the spirit, *i.e.*, so far as he goes in the direction of the natural flow of the spiritual life or 'vital impulse' and this means that he must somehow be connected with the centre of the universe, have a deep insight and comprehensive grasp of the whole, or in other words, the whole world must be reflected in his self. Hence it is that all scientific inventions are mere imitations of nature, all scientific discoveries are mere refindings of what is already present within us, and all knowledge is memory, as Plato said long ago. This brings us to the recognition of the important philosophical truth that nature and mind are one, the microcosm mirrors the macrocosm. Now, is this not also the beatific vision or the highest religious experience as described in the writings and utterances of the religious saints and seers? Can we not identify the greatest scientific genius with the profoundest mystic in so far as both see the world in the soul and the soul in the world? If such an attitude of the scientist towards reality is not religion, I do not know what else is meant by religion. The same might be shown to be true of the artist and the statesman. If religion manifests itself in the triumph of the spirit over nature, the discovery of the unseen world of truth and beauty and goodness, the participation by men of the omniscience and omnipotence of God, then it is just under the favourable condition of modern civilisation with its progress in science, art and good government that such a religion is evolving. There is a providential dispensation even in the distribution of scientific, artistic and political geniuses in the human race, and the moral government of the universe is so constituted that only those nations, in which the spiritual life of its members has reached a very high stage of development, can give

birth to a number of seers and originators in science and art, so that physical and material improvements in a society, the progress of the sciences and arts in a nation, are dependent on the progress of the spiritual life of that society or nation. Thus the progress of civilisation means at the same time a higher degree of development of the spiritual principle or the religious consciousness in man. In this sense, a civilisation without religion or a materialistic civilisation is a monstrosity which may find a place in the imagination of some upstart in philosophical dabbling, but has certainly no claim to reality either in the history of human society or in the logical thought of metaphysics.

Such being the relation between religion and civilisation in general, it is worth while enquiring, in what special directions our conception of religion has been influenced and modified by the modern civilisation.

(i) First of all, the modern age has taught us to distinguish the essential from the accidental features of religion, the eternal verities that are the same to-day, yesterday and for ever, from their local and temporal forms and accompaniments. We have learnt now that the essence of religion does not consist in creeds and dogmas nor in the performance of certain rites and ceremonies; it is not to be sought in a faith in heaven and hell, where our virtues are rewarded and vices punished; nor does it necessarily involve a belief in gods and goddesses, in fairies and angels; it is not to be identified with "chanting and singing, and telling of beads," nor with the offering of meals to one's fore-fathers and the feeding of priests and saints, nor does it imply regular attendance in a church or confessions and alms with a view to make provision for the hereafter. No, the essence of religion must be sought elsewhere, *viz.*, in a system of ideas and feelings which regulate the moral life of the individual as well as the spiritual life of society. As I have expressed it in another connection,

"Faith in a *spiritual world* beyond and above the visible world presented to our senses, and faith in a *Just Being* at the centre of this spiritual universe, the recognition of this supersensible kingdom as our true home, and of this *Just Being* as our *Father*—form the centre of the religious system and the root of the religious life, all other ideas and feelings being mere satellites around them or mere fibres that are sustained by them. Religion, pure and undefiled, lifts man beyond the region of shadows and appearances and translates him into a world where all the con-

facts and discords, all the evils and enigmas of our life are reconciled and solved. It affords us the only means of communing with the Higher than the Highest and the Holiest of the Holy. It evokes in our heart the sublimest and deepest feelings of wonder, admiration and reverence, which give birth to science and philosophy, art and morality, hero-worship and devotion to prophets and seers. It inspires us with a faith unshakable in the ultimate triumph of justice, with a hope indomitable for the realisation of our best and highest aims and aspirations. It generates in us an idealistic view of life and things and lends us the moral force of a reformer and the large-heartedness of a philanthropist. Hence the love of truth, purity and freedom, the sympathy for a charity to man and animals, the care for the poor and the homeless, the blind and the cripple, the widows and the orphans, the relief of the depressed, the up-lifting of the down-trodden, the resistance to evils in society, the tending of the sick, the consideration for the weaker and gentler members of the race, meekness and submission to the universal will, the patient endurance of the worries and evils that cannot be cured, the ardent appreciation of all that is noble and holy, even in our enemies, the forgiveness of and the reconciliation with the shortcomings and transgressions of our brethren,—which we find to be constant companions of the religious consciousness."

(*The Indian Messenger*, July 11, 1915).

(ii) All the qualities of head and heart I have just mentioned as the necessary correlates or concomitants of the religious life are at the same time the indispensable conditions for the evolution of human society and the essential requirements for the realisation of a higher spiritual life by the individual. Modern biology acquaints us with the law of evolution which governs the life of the individual and of society. The value and importance of religion according to the scientific minds of the modern age lie in the inculcation and cultivation by it of those virtues in man which enable him to go with the current of the universal life and to rise higher and higher in the scale of being, passing from the stage of animality through the gate of humanity to the rank of angels till he realises his perfection in divinity. As Benjamin Kidd says, religion is the supreme factor in social evolution insofar as it makes the individual subservient to the needs of the race, and insofar as nature selects those races, in which the individuals of the religious type predominate, as the fittest to survive in the struggle for existence, and eliminates those races which develop anti-religious and egoistic tendencies (Social Evolution). Equally important is the part played by Religion in the maintenance of the individual life, for it is the only medicine that can relieve us from the worries, the care and anxieties, from the fear and igno-

rance, the failures and disappointments, dangers and calamities that beset our earthly life. But for the faith, hope, love and spiritual idealism generated in us by religion, our life would have been unbearable. Religion is the staying power which maintains the balance and the equilibrium of the soul, keeping it always true to the centre of gravity which is in God, enabling it to fix its vision on the Infinite and the Eternal and thus to rise above the limitations of space and time.

This conception forces on us at once the recognition of the *vital* necessity of religion for the race and the individual in the biological sense, apart from its intellectual and moral necessity, which has long been realised.

We therefore need not trouble ourselves about the future of religion. The existence of the religious spirit cannot be threatened by modern civilisation, for religion is based on the adamant rocks of reality and is one of the elemental forces of nature which govern human life and society. It cannot die even if we are indifferent to it. If it is neglected, civilisation will give place to barbarity, man will be replaced by animals; the life of the human race will be extinct from our planet. Such is the verdict of scientists who know the limitation of their sphere and the impotence of mere intellect without religion.

(iii) It may be asked, are not the feelings of wonder, admiration, and reverence, faith in the triumph of justice, hopefulness, the idealistic outlook, love of truth, purity, freedom, sympathy, charity and so on,—I mean, are not all these qualities, which are supposed to be essential to the life of society and of the individual,—possible without religion? Could we not be made fit to survive in the struggle for existence by means of morality alone? What then is the use of concerning ourselves with the transcendental world and asserting our belief in a Supreme Being? This question presses upon us to-day all the more formidably in view of the fact that the greatest world-religion *viz.*, Buddhism, does not seem to attach importance to the existence or non-existence of a divine father, and also in view of the fact that many of the leaders of modern idealism and rationalism could lead an ideal life of purity, duty and public spirit without caring for God and religion. But, as I have already said, morality, as

well as art and science are alike manifestations of the same principle of spirituality and rationality in man, which reaches its highest culmination in religion. We cannot separate morality from religion, for the latter is the spirit that quickens, perfects and fructifies all those activities which are known to us as moral. A man who is moral is already religious without his knowing it; perhaps his ideal of goodness and purity is a truer substitute and representation of God than the idolator's visible object of worship made of clay or wood. No, in God's world, there is no atheism, although there are different ways of representing the faith in the spiritual principle according to the culture, the temperament, the surroundings, the age and the race of a man. By some, God is identified with mammon; to some the devil takes the place of the Deity; for others, God is represented by a particular metaphysical theory or artistic notion or moral ideal. We can give so wide and comprehensive an interpretation to the term 'religion' as to include all these various classes of man's attitude towards Reality as the different gradations of the manifestation of the religious consciousness. From this standpoint, the moment a man sacrifices himself and his interest for a higher end, the moment he recognises his ignorance and impotence before an external world, which is independent of his will and which offers him resistance at every step, he is already pledged to the belief in God, if he wants to be rational and consistent. In fact our God is revealing Himself in an infinite variety of ways, and training the most confirmed atheist in the most beautiful and sublime lessons of religious experience, by coming to him as his own father and mother, wife and child, and receiving his homage unawares in all forms of domestic duties, friendship and affection, virtuous practice and social service. So unless a man ceases to be a man and becomes a brute, he cannot escape being religious in some form or other, although the value of a man's religion is ultimately to be judged by the nature of the God he believes in or worships.

But we must go further and assert that without an explicit recognition of the specially religious elements of our spiritual life, morality is sure to lose its hold on the mind of man and to meet with decay and death. This admits of proof by reference

to the witness of history as well as to the verdicts of moral philosophy. (1) although many men of culture in modern civilised societies lead a good moral life without adhering to religion in any form, yet it is undeniable that the advanced stage of civilisation in which morality can stand unsupported by religion, has itself been brought into existence by long centuries of religious practices and teachings which began with the dawn of human society and were intensified by the rise of spiritual world-religions; (2) unless morality is sustained by the sense of one's own weakness and insignificance combined with a belief in the moral government of the universe and in a power that helps us onward and pulls us upward, it runs the risk of bursting its own walls by a vague hankering for an unattainable ideal or degenerating into a refined form of egoism; (3) In religious consciousness alone man has an anticipatory glimpse of his origin and destiny. Man's thirst for the Infinite is at once the proof and the result of his bearing the stamp of his divine origin and the signal of his eternal life in the heart. In other words religion is the light which reveals our own weakness and imperfection and thereby awakens in us the need of salvation or freedom from the bondage of the flesh-vessel in which our spirit is locked up and into which our spirit is likely to be absorbed, unless purified and elevated by moral and religious practices; and religion is also the light that casts its rays upon the distant goal or God, through the right adjustment of our relation to whom alone we can rise to power and glory and to freedom and joy. Hence it is that such thorough-going rationalists in the sphere of ethic as Kant and Sidgwick found it impossible to systematise and rationalise our moral experiences without the help of the theological postulates of God and immortality.

(iv). Another important problem confronting the religious conception of the modern age is, how to reconcile the new facts brought to light and the new explanatory principles formulated by the scientists of to-day, with the old ideas of creation, incarnation, inspiration, miracles and so on, which are necessarily associated with religion. To answer this question would require more space and time than we can afford to spare for the present, ...

I shall try to indicate as briefly as possible the line of thought along which the solution of the problem must be sought.

The indispensable minimum of religious faith which we can safely retain as incapable of being shaken by any advance of knowledge and which need not impose any limitation on the freedom of scientific investigation, may be expressed, I think, in the form of three propositions, which are of the nature of postulates, viz:—

(1) There is a Power behind phenomena, with an infinite knowledge and with a moral purpose,—a just holy, loving Being, best described as a Person, whom we may call our Father, without ascribing to Him the limitations which attach to human personality. This conception of the Supreme Reality is common to all the higher religions and although not amenable to scientific proof, it is confirmed by philosophical speculation,

(2) There is a spiritual world, beyond and above the Kingdom of nature, a world that is not in space and time and not subject to the mechanical laws, but is rather the supersensible region from which flow the Ideals of Truth, Beauty and Goodness, which are *revealed* to the seers and the prophets and the pure in heart and realised by them in the sensible world.

(3) Man as a spiritual being can enter into a relationship with this spiritual world and commune with the Supreme Being at its centre—*prayer and meditation* being the means of communication between them.

In so far as the human soul identifies itself with God, it is *inspired* with the Ideals of the supersensible world and acquires supernatural powers. Such a man may be represented as a divine *incarnation* in the same sense in which the physical body of every man becomes an 'incarnation' of an indwelling spirit during his life-time.

In support of these three religious postulates I may mention that even the most acute scientists and the most radical empiricists who are unbiassed by any religious prejudices and have approached the dogmas of religion with the spirit of free scientific investigators are now coming to recognise more and more clearly the existence of a guiding, purposing and powerful mind behind the world-machine (*vide* William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*, L. T. Hobhouse's 'Development

and Purpose' and Sir Oliver Lodge's 'Life and Matter'); where as the reality of the spiritual world and the infinite capacity of the human soul with regard to the realisation of its freedom in the world of nature are finding strong advocates among the leading philosophers of Europe, Eucken and Bergson. The progressive liberal religious movements throughout the world are also coming out triumphant after long years of fruitless controversies on 'Science *versus* Religion' and presenting before the scientific world the old concepts of religion under new forms, so that the ideas of Revelation, Incarnation, Inspiration, Miracles and Immortality are receiving new interpretations in their hands. And yet the modern religious man is far from claiming absolute finality with regard to the truths which concern the details of the three general postulates of Religion stated above.

For example, the questions as to how the infinite power brings into being and sustains the world, what His final purpose may be, what the laws of His moral government exactly are, what form of life the soul will live hereafter,—these questions must necessarily remain shrouded in mystery and obscurity, till our sciences and philosophies attain a higher level of development, and till our experiences touch a deeper region of reality.

(v) Lastly, the question that naturally arises after these discussions is, which particular form of religion will survive the stress and the pressure of competition between thoughts and ideas, practices and institutions in the modern world? The answer ought to be evident to any one who has studied the spirit of modern civilization aright. It is the religion which can ally itself with morality, art, science and philosophy, the religion which has a clear vision of the future destiny of man in the light of the past history of his evolution, which will help man in understanding the laws of the development of human society and in gaining mastery over the conditions of his life and growth; the religion which has a deep insight into the spiritual world, a comprehensive grasp of the whole reality; the religion which embraces in its sympathy all the races of mankind and all the departments of human life and activity, the body and the soul, the family and the society, the religion which aims at nothing less than the realisation of the divine will and the establishment of the kingdom of heaven

on earth, the religion which is characterised by universality, catholicity, sociality and spirituality. This is the religion that is going to survive. The existing religions must all undergo greater or less transformations before they can become organically related to this world-religion. But sooner or later the transformations must come and then it will be realised that the small body of the religious liberals in India, who belong to the Brahmo Samaj, had already chalked out the path for approaching the new religion of the new world, and that

the details of local and temporal differences apart, this universal religion had already been revealed in its frame-work to Raja Rammohan Roy and practised and elaborated by generations of mighty souls like Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen. Whatever name may be given to this future religion of the world, the religion of the Brahmo Samaj represents its soul, its essence, its spirit.

S. C. Roy

HOW MOTION PICTURES ARE MADE.

THE features of the modern motion picture which are an improvement on the earlier form and which render it adaptable for its present amusement purposes are the production of the images by photography. Twenty years ago the motion picture was a child's play. To-day it is the basis of business, giving profitable employment to millions of people, offering education and amusements to billions, and evolving investment of capital, that places it among the world's greatest industries. The motion picture camera man sets up his whirling camera in the wilds and crowded cities alike. He records the downfall of the kings and the inauguration of the presidents, the horrors of great disasters and the deeds of popular heroes; he spreads before us in moving panorama all that is interesting in nature and in man's work in the drama and in real life.

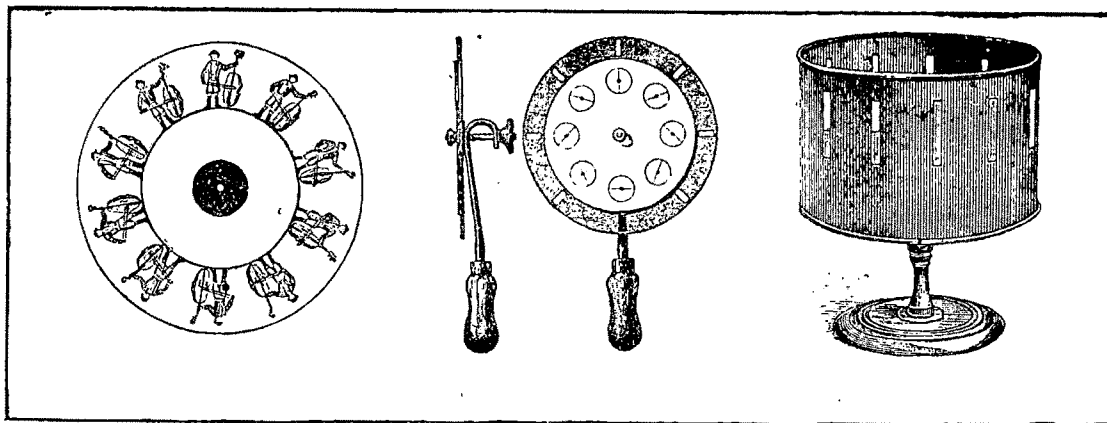
The flexible negative film permits a large number of pictures to be taken quickly in succession upon a single strip of negative film. This flexible negative film before use in the camera, consists of a long narrow strip of celluloid coated with gelatin photographic emulsion. The transparent support for the positive print or the positive film, permits the pictures to be projected on an enlarged scale upon a screen, so that they may be viewed by the large audiences. Motion pictures were well received by the public from the beginning and the industry grew rapidly from the first.

In the beginning it was sufficient to photograph anything which had a movement and the wonder of the projected feature was sufficient to hold the attention of the audience. The subjects which were confined to travel and science studies and occasional foolish comedies were enthusiastically received by the public; dramas were not then known.

The public soon discovered that the photoplay is more realistic than the plays produced on the stage and that the range of the subjects that can be covered by the film is almost limitless. Instead of using painted sceneries, it is possible to produce the act among the actual surroundings demanded by the play. When the producer needs a ship, he does not build one of painted canvas and a few boards, but goes and photographs the group of players on board an actual ship, that sails on an actual ocean or river. The photoplay fills actually the increasing demand for realism.

Sometimes it is necessary to play deceptions to curtail the expenses of the production, but it is played so cleverly, that very few of the frequenters of the picture theatre can detect it. For that reason the film-producer must be artful for he must get by ingenious contrivances the maximum of effects for the minimum of expense and trouble.

About this time the manufacturers have discovered that the foreign pictures or scenes are attractive to the average show-patrons, with the result that the travel



THE FIRST MOVING-PICTURE MACHINE IS NOW A CHILD'S TOY.

The "wheel of life," or zoetrope, in either form shown here, gave the effect of motion by an optical illusion.

pictures have come into being. The pictures are not only entertaining but are constructive as well.

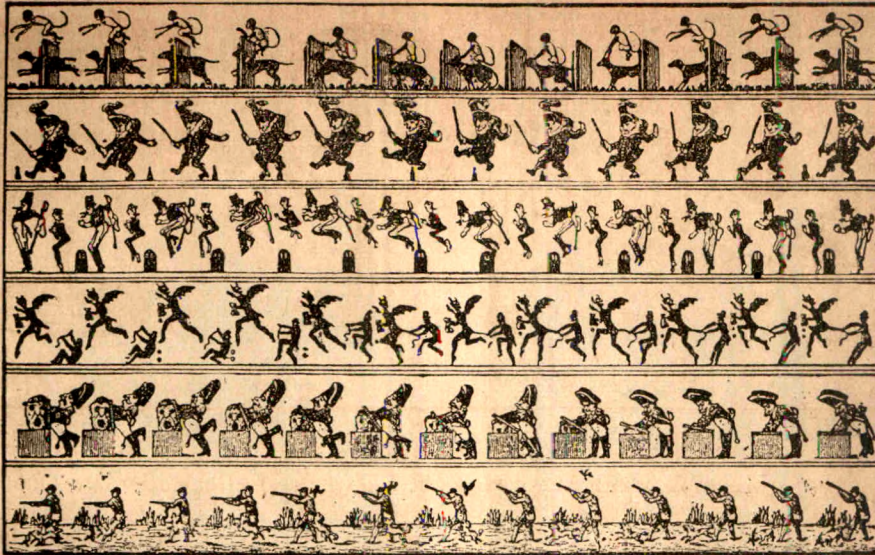
With the advent of the exclusively motion picture theatre, the demand for the drama grew. It became necessary for the motion picture manufacturer to acquire studios suitable for staging dramas to employ writers to furnish themes for motion picture plays, to employ actors and stage directors to present the theme properly before the motion camera and to employ scene painters and property-men in a manner very similar to the operation of a standard theatre except that the sitting capacity is absent and the play is produced but once in the studio.

Dramatic films which tell the story, through a series of related incidents are equivalent to a drama of the legitimate stage in all its essential details except of course that the action is expressed entirely in pantomime. The incidents in the film drama, like that of the legitimate drama, are based on a story or manuscript, known as scenerio. The players go through the play before the camera as in the ordinary theatrical performance, the camera playing the role of the audience. The interior scenes of these plays are enacted in the studio of the manufacturer. The exterior views are of course taken at the place designed by the scenerio which may be any place south of the Arctic or north of the Antarctic.

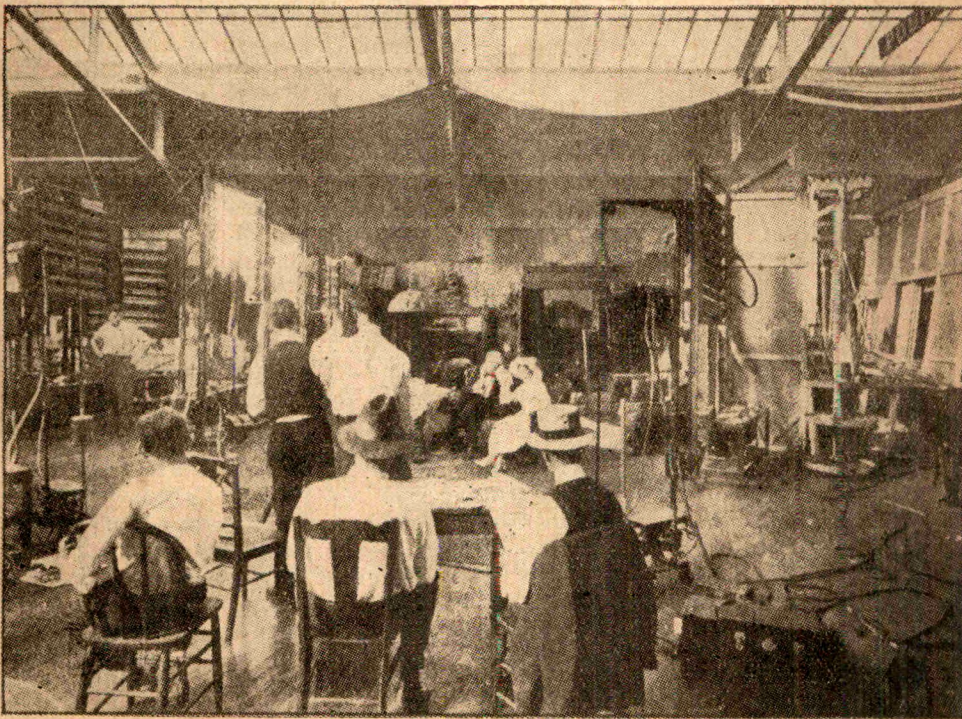
All parts of acting and stage fixing are directed by the producer, who is the principle factor in the management of the studios, and in the production of the

plays. From the time that the scenerio first falls into his hands until the negative has been delivered to the developing department he is constantly on the job in directing the work of the players and scenic mechanics. On the receipt of the scenerio the producer makes such additions and subtractions as he thinks necessary and notes the details of the scenes and the property required for the plays. In case of out of door scenes, the producer determines on the proper locality for the action. While all these are in progress, he selects the players and calls for a rehearsal. If the scene to be rehearsed is a studio act, the stage is set completely and the actors appear in full costume. The camera is set in position so that the operator may become familiar with the act, and the rehearsal proceeds. After a number of substitutions and additions made by the producer to improve the scene or to bring it within the time limits of the films, it finally receives his approval and the camera is started. An instant after follows the order, "start your action." The producer now starts his direction to the players "You are out of camera." "Kelly, faster, faster, faster," "cheer up, you with harem skirt, not so far" "roll your eyes" "be more serious" and so on. During the rehearsal the players are either assigned or assume a dialogue that corresponds in a rough way to the pantomime. While the speech is not produced by the projection, it is a great aid in attaining the correct facial expression, and makes the picture much more natural.

If any mistake is made during the



Twenty inches of pictures made the first cinematograph.



IN THE WELTER OF THE MOVIE STUDIO.

The actors, surrounded by a tangle of machinery, play only to the producing staff.

filming of the play, the film is destroyed and the act is repeated until it meets the approval of the producer.

In the case of the out of door scenes the play is generally rehearsed in the studios before going into the field. This practice



THE ACTOR CAUGHT—



IN THE ACT.

An actor is enacting a movie scene for the camera as the staff direct and register what seems to be a very solemn moment.

is always followed in case of the street scenes, where the throng of spectators would interfere with a prolonged rehearsal.

The players are frequently recruited from the theatres. It is customary to hire some actors for a day at a time, because of the fluctuations in the studio demands. One day the producer may require as many as five hundred players and the next day less than one twentieth of that number, depending on the character of the play then being produced. The company maintains a small body of players known as stock company, who are kept continuously in the service of the company at a fixed salary. The selection of actors and actresses is by no means an easy task, for they must not only be the masters of pantomime but must look their part as well. The camera is a merciless critic and exaggerates all the awkward gestures or facial peculiarities of the players, and the defects that would not be noticed on the

stage are glaringly apparent on the screen. It is almost impossible to doctor up a character with grease paint, for the magnification of the projector would make such an attempt ridiculous. It is almost impossible for an old man to take the part of a young or vice versa, which can be done in the legitimate theatre with success.

The company I am working with, as oriental assistant producer, have twenty-six different producers, and each maintains a stock company of its own. The company supplies scenerios and money and the producers make the picture. This company is the largest in the United States giving employment to twenty thousand people everyday. The place where they have their studios and factory is known as Universal City after the name of the company and occupies four thousand acres of land. This company maintains a menagerie of wild animals to produce hunting, wild animals and the African pictures.

The studio is the department of the producer and the factory is the department of the photographer. The factory superintendent or the photographer, does but little of the photographic work, with his own hands. The divisions of his factory, taken in the order in which they become useful in the making of the picture film, are as follows:—

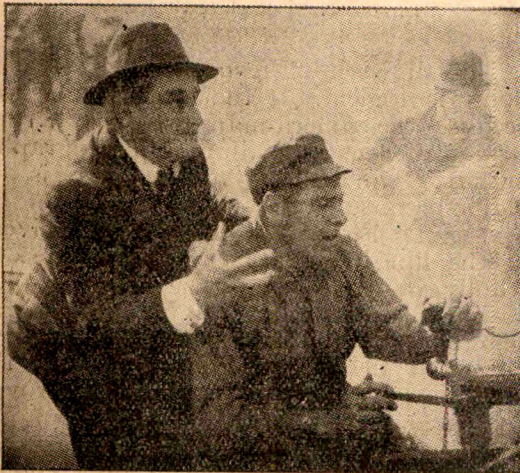
The raw sensitive films are purchased, cut to pieces and packed in the tin cans; a fireproof iron safe or iron vault for film storage holds the films until needed. From the vault the film is taken to the perforating room, where holes are punched in the edges. Thence the negative film goes to the camera-man, who is the photographer's assistant, working under the order of the producer. From the camera-



UNDER HEAVY FIRE.

The stirring picture of Germans crossing a stream in the face of enemy shells is managed with the aid of powder-filled bladders exploded under water.

and spliced up according to copy, the film negative goes to the printing room and supplies of positive films also go from the perforating room to the printing room, where the positive film is printed from the negative. The negative after all prints are



THE CAUSE.

By showing alternately the photos of the gunners and their victims, we have a presentation far beyond the spoken drama.

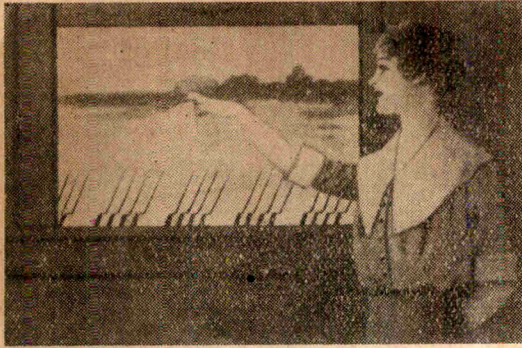
man, the exposed film goes to the developing room, where it is developed into a negative. Then titles are made, scenes and titles are finally approved



THE EFFECT.

The victims of the machine gun. The rapid alternation of the two scenes is called "swit ching there-and-back."

made goes to the film storage room permanently. The printed positive film goes from the printing room to the developing room, which develops the negative, then to the washing room, then to the drying room, and, when dry, to the inspection and

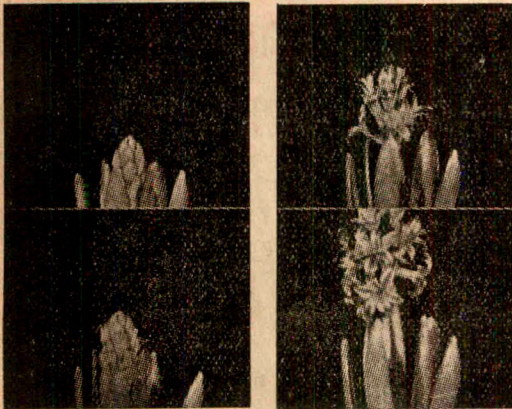


OFF TO THE WAR.

The "passing regiment" is manipulated by an assistant behind the scenes, while the heroine waves a touching farewell.

splicing room, and again to the fireproof storage vault, until the day for packing and shipment.

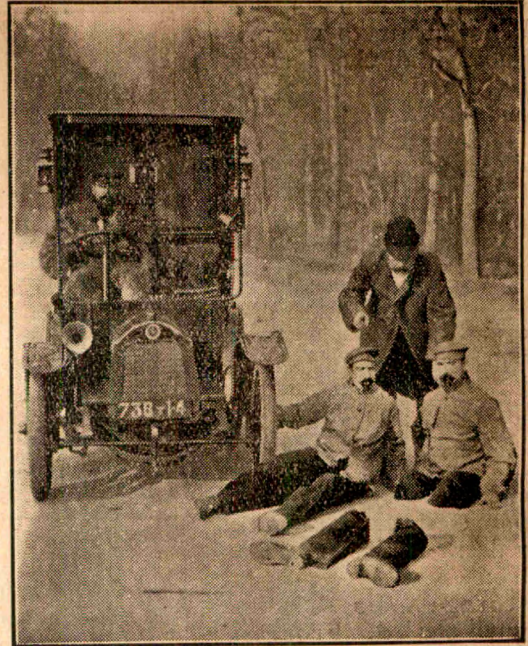
In brief the division of the photographer's factory are film storage, perforating, camera title making, developing, printing, washing and drying, inspecting and shipping. The total task of the photographer is to produce a creditable photographic film picture, when the producer has enacted the scenes and has written the titles. This task requires the photographer to have



THE BIRTH OF A FLOWER.

The pictures represent the stages of growth on the second, fourth, sixth and eighth days respectively.

his assistant the camera-man present, when the producer enacts a scene, and leaves the responsibility upon the photographer through his assistant, the camera-man, for the proper photographic record of the scene, upon the negative film of the camera.

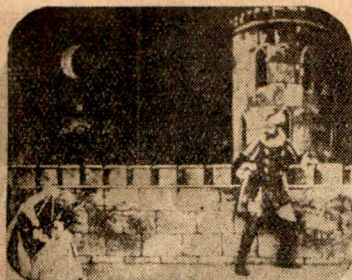


TRICK CINEMATOGRAPHY—THE AUTOMOBILE ACCIDENT.

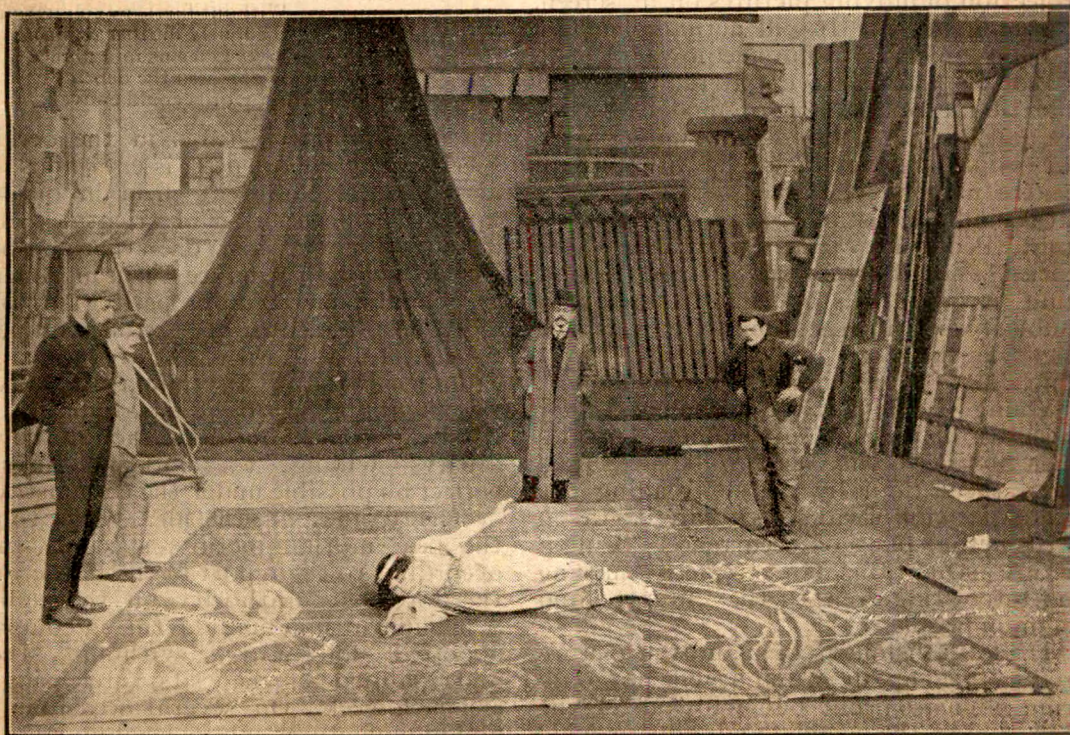
This is done by 'stop and substitution' method, the principal actor is made up as a double of a cripple. Here the actor is being replaced by the legless cripple with the dummy legs. The Taxicab will run over and displace the legless cripple's property legs.

The division of responsibility at this point is logical. If the negative is lost because the camera-man used the wrong stop in the lens, the failure is photographic in nature and the photographer is to blame because of the incompetency of his assistant. From this point to the delivery of the film for shipment the process is wholly photographic. The photographer assigns his camera-man to the producer as demanded, providing him with the negative film, and delivers proof print to the producer for criticism. From the approved proofs and the picture copy, the photographer prints finished film pictures as requested and delivers them by shipping them under salesman's order.

The field for the motion picture industry is unsurpassable, because it controls indefinite lives, and is more realistic than the legitimate drama. Merely on account of its educational value it will never grow old. "No device ever within the brain of man has such boundless educational, mind-transforming potency and powers, as the



The Appearance of a Demon explained. Scene A was photographed first. The ogre was photographed against a neutral background upon a second film B, the camera being brought very close to figure. When the two films were superimposed and printed the startling picture, C, was obtained.



THE MYSTERY OF THE SIREN REVEALED.

The camera was placed in the flies with the lens pointing downwards upon the actress moving on the painted floor.



THE MYSTERY OF "THE SIREN."

A beautiful woman is observed to be swimming gracefully in the depths of the sea, and the public is mystified as to how she can exist under water.

projection of moving pictures on a screen, where all can see. It will actually surpass literature in almost supreme power."

Motion pictures have entered into the educational programme of modern American and European schools and universities. Our people might call it the motion picture theatre university, or the picture civilizer; but its influence is real and sure just the same. People like pictures and they like stories, and the motion picture drama being a picture story, has therefore a double reason for its popularity, it is the latest in the series of human inventions which have made human history.

Young people as well as old can better remember history and mythological stories if the actual occurrence can be presented before them, than by merely reading the incidents. Historical scenes can be taken in the actual place of occurrence. Being a picture story this is extremely amusing and interesting even to the illiterate and common people.

The establishment of a motion picture producing company in India, will not only bring immense profit but will aid in the education of the people, and will provide work for thousands of the starving poor. If we go after it cautiously and sagaciously, we shall succeed, because the demands



WHERE THE PHOTO-PLAY BEST THE STAGE DRAMA.

A young girl is shown ill at ease in the midst of gay company. Without further explanation a "cut in" of the lonely mother waiting at home (above) gives us in a glance a clearer insight into the depth of her soul than words could convey.

for the foreign pictures in the occident, specially for the oriental, is enormous, and also we have a great field in our own land. The production of oriental pictures in the orient will cost one-twentieth of the sum required to produce them in America, and can be made more perfect and pleasing to the occidental eye. American people think that all orientals are alike, they cannot make any discrimination between the Arabs and the East Indians, and Hindus and Mohamedans, though they are always willing to make pictures as perfect as possible under the circumstances.

The tropics are the ideal place to take the best motion picture, specially India, according to the report of the Pathe Frere, the foremost authority on the subject. A prominent film-manufacturing company, operated for years, without studios and painted scene sits, releasing a reel each week. On several occasions the film-manufacturer, whose headquarters and factories are located in the northern hemisphere have sent producing companies to the tropics in the winter, when many

complete dramas have been produced, before the camera, without studio and without artificial scenery. The beauty and attractiveness of a motion picture is enhanced by avoiding painted scenery and their artificial appearance, whenever possible. No painted scenery can equal the details and accuracy of the natural objects.

The few small companies, who are working on this line in India, can do better, if they can push their goods through the American market. It might seem a little hard in the beginning, but it could be done just the same with a little exertion. The American public always goes in for the novelty without caring what it is and is ready to pay enormous prices, specially for anything concerning the mysterious orient. Here is the chance for our picture film manufacturers to establish their companies on a firm basis, the only requisite is a little enterprising spirit. They ought to do it before it is too late, because many of the American film manufacturing companies are contemplating to start the oriental branch of their studios in India right after the war is over. Only in the city of Los Angeles, ten oriental, specially East Indian, film features (dramas) are being released every week; in the whole United States, not less than two hundred oriental features are being produced every week, and these are being directed and acted by the Americans, who are fully ignorant of the oriental characteristics. American people always love realism, all these releasing companies are fully aware of this fact, and are always willing to get real things. Having been interested in this subject, I am well known among the "movie circle," specially with some of the biggest releasing companies. These companies have always expressed their desire to buy some genuine oriental features. It is customary with these companies to witness the feature on the screen before the deal. If it is satisfactory

and reliable they are ready to pay a very big price and will make contracts on a weekly or monthly basis. Any person who is willing to push his goods through the American market, may communicate with me, or send a few reels of their positive films. I will do the rest very willingly to represent my country to the Americans; and will be able to say: "We are not so backward as you think."

The routine of manufacturing and selling motion pictures, can be compared very closely with the routine of printing and selling a newspaper or a magazine. The amusement business is established upon a weekly or daily basis, in theatrical circles a year being spoken of as fifty-two weeks and a day as one-seventh of a week. The big theatres change their bills at the end of the week and vaudeville programs are changed weekly. Similarly in the motion picture theatres the program is made upon the weekly basis. The film-renter makes his schedule upon the weekly basis, and it best suits his convenience to receive his films from the manufacturer upon a weekly schedule. As the businessman gets his newspaper every morning, so the prominent daily change motion picture theatre gets its new film from the renter, who in turn gets the film every morning from the manufacturers. Orders are placed by the renter on the basis of weekly deliveries that his schedule may run smoothly.

In view of the deliveries required by his customer of the renter, the manufacturer is obliged to issue his pictures as regularly and as punctually, as a publisher issues his newspaper. Each film manufacturer therefore establishes one or more release days for each week according to the number of reels of films which he will manufacture per week, and advertises that a full feature will be sold or released upon each of his release days.

NIRUPAM CHANDRA GUHA.

THE PLACE OF CINEMATOGRAPH IN EDUCATION

THE Indian Universities were not at the outset founded to impart education as we generally understand the term—viz., a harmonious development of the physical, intellectual and moral faculties combined with some practical training or technical knowledge, to fit the recipient of education for public and individual duties in life or a station in life which suits his aptitudes and interests. The only object of the university is to test proficiency.

Teaching in Indian Schools and Colleges implies coaching for examinations. In some it consists of only giving notes. While the evils of an examining English University are fully existing in Indian Universities, they are without the redeeming features or compensating influences that can be found in England. However defective the School, College, or University education of an English boy may be, the defect is made good by home influences and association. Send an Englishman to any part of the world, he will as a rule rise to the occasion and meet the situation, for his instincts and early practical education fit him for emergencies in life. The influences which educate a man at home, in the streets, and in the gatherings, either for games, sports or lectures, are very few in India.

There are lots of things one never learns at school. Education and knowledge do not necessarily mean the same thing. It might be very useful, for instance, to know that the sun is precisely so many millions of miles from the earth but it is more of an education to get an insight into the manners and customs of a foreign people, to follow the destinies of human beings, and to know life. The photo-play is going to do for the crowd what Ibsen and Bernard Shaw have done for the intellectuals. Those responsible for the education of the young in this country have not yet attempted to give the cinematograph its true place in the school where it may aid the teacher in imparting lessons in geography, natural history and other kindred subjects. But in the Western countries the turning has been reached in the long lane leading to the regular adop-

tion of the cinematograph as an educational instrument. A very interesting experiment in educational cinematography is in progress at a theatre at Balham. Seven secondary schools of the district have united for the purpose of giving the pupils one morning each week a cinema demonstration bearing upon the school lessons of the preceding week. The classes from the different schools go direct from the schools to the cinematograph theatre instead of having the usual geography, science, or Nature study lesson in the classroom and return again to the school after they have witnessed the particular films arranged for them.

At the Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburg, the steel business is being taught by means of a series of films entitled "From Iron Ore to Finished Steel." The pictures show the ore mine "Hull-Rust," in the Mesaba District of Minnesota, the largest ore mine in the world; the digging of ore by gigantic steam shovels, and loading on peat freighters, and again, the unloading. The product is then followed to the United States Steel Corporation Mills, when every process of steel-making is most vividly portrayed. The films are described as being of exceptional educational value, as, besides showing steel-making, they also show the various processes of the by-products, coke-plants, and many other accessories.

Views of foreign countries and life add a living interest to the dull geography lesson. Films showing the process of manufacture of articles handled or seen by children every day and almost indispensable to modern civilisation, or films upon natural history and country life for town-bred children, or views of great ships sailing out of port for children bred remote from the seas—all these have their value. Again, the cinema has the power to gain the interest of the young in simple and instructive scientific experiments.

There is not the slightest doubt that plenty of room exists for films upon new educational subjects or upon the same subjects from different points of view. The cinematograph is an educational instru-

ment as valuable to the teacher as the telephone is to the business man.

In this connection it is interesting to note the activity of the London Teachers' Association. This society, mainly consisting of London teachers of all grades, has been investigating the question of films and has appointed a sub-committee to draw up a report and recommendation upon existing films, and offer suggestions for new films suitable for elementary schools.

The picture-play has great possibilities as a form of dramatic expression. Certain novels and plays lend themselves admirably to pictorial treatment. The growing im-

portance of film work on the literary side is proved when we see that everything distinguished in English literature is represented in cinematograph. A few hours in a cinema theatre which selects its subjects carefully can supply interest for king, peasant, queen and seamstress.

The cinema has won for itself a place of honour in the world's activities as a power for the entertainment and instruction of the masses. But what we do further hope is that it should become a great force in the educational system with enormous possibilities for the coming generations.

X.

REVIEWS

Mr. Gangoly on the South Indian Bronzes.

By S. KUMAR, M.R.A.S.

South Indian Bronzes: A historical survey of South Indian Sculpture with iconographical notes based on original sources. By O. C. Gangoly. With an introductory note by J. G. Woodroffe. Published by the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, 1915. 40. pp. i-xiii, 1-80; pl. I-XCIV.

In the life-history of a nation, art is the greatest factor. It is art which marks out the standard of human civilization and it is art again which definitely points out the particular niche of culture in which any nation is to be placed; it is in fact the primary factor in the evolution of a nation's life and it may be said, with considerable emphasis, that art and life of a nation are interdependent on one another. The one moulds the other in as much as it is moulded by the other.

The work under review is a treatise on art. About the usefulness of the treatise and the qualifications of the author, who is an artist himself, there can be no gainsaying. The "project of the present publication" came to the mind of the author "during a hasty pilgrimage to the shrines" of South India and the discovery of the texts of the Silpa-Sastras contributed no less to the materials which he had been collecting during his travels for a treatise on the bronzes of South India.

In the preface the author takes his readers into confidence and speaks about his inability in obtaining "first-hand informations" for his want of knowledge in the Tamil language. These informations mainly relative to the history of the subject are not, in our humble judgment, to be regarded as of supreme importance in such a work as under review. It is art in all its technicalities and classical exposition that we expect from an artist of the author's calibre; and our

expectation, we are sure, has been adequately fulfilled.

The work is prefaced by an introduction from the pen of the Hon'ble Justice Sir John G. Woodroffe. We fully concur with what has been said in the very sympathetic and appreciative foreword; the work is likely to contribute a good deal to the dispelling of misconceptions of foreign critics and to refute unjust criticisms of prejudiced art connoisseurs. The so called monstrosities of the Hindu Pauranic conceptions had been much decried by some self-styled art-critics of the West. The merits of Brahmanic sculpture have failed to appeal to some of the artists and connoisseurs of Europe and America and are still looked down upon as "a freak of Asiatic barbarism," not because there is anything which is monstrously absurd and devoid of æsthetic conceptions in the specimens hitherto collected, examined and studied, but because, above all, they are exclusively Indian. Preconceived notions and personal equation have much to answer for such deprecatory remarks from quarters wherefrom better and more appreciative criticisms would be expected. The case in point reminds us of the remarks from the pen of such a scholar as Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum, in connection with the work under review, in the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.* Dr. Barnett in his notice is not at all forgetful of the fact that the author is a Bengali; the admission of the author of his ignorance of Tamil has afforded him grounds enough to run him down. I wonder how much of Tamil Dr. Barnett knows himself! And to that single theme two full pages have been devoted.

"Tantaene animis coelestibus irae!"

Dr. Barnett should have had the good sense to discover that the work in question is neither a work on iconography, nor a historical treatise on the bronze art of South India, but that it is a work on the technics of the classical art of the South. Dr.

* Jan., 1916, p. 174.

Barnett is misled by the subtitle which we think is a misnomer. The fault partly lies with the author.

The work opens with a discourse on the distinction between the Dravidian and the Brahmanic feature of civilization and a traditional account of the advent of the so-called Aryan culture into the South. We cannot and do not agree in all that has been said here. A curious medley has been made of myths, traditions and legends, of history and quasi-history, of facts unwarranted and unwarrantable, followed by a sketchy cultural history of South India. This the author could have spared himself the pains to put in without doing any very great injury to his work. Kasyapa, Agastya and Rama we can very well afford to banish to the realms of myth and folklore. The only matter of importance with regard to our old friend Agastya is that the Silpasastra is said to be his work; but this is only a tradition, and as such should have been left out of consideration as of no historical value. Dr. Barnett in his notice has alluded to this portion of the work and taken the author to task for his having set store by these traditions. But he is mysteriously reticent about the subject-matter proper of the work. There is, however, one thing that we should not lose sight of. These myths and traditions reflect, though very vaguely, the culture of the nation during a very extensive period. The spirit in which Dr. Barnett has wielded his trenchant pen against the work and its author, for the simple reason that the author happens to belong to a race which fails to commend itself to his good graces, is neither broad nor scholarly.

Mr. Gangoly, in the middle of the first chapter, gives an elaborate account of the manuscripts he had discovered and which afforded him materials to work with. Some of these works are attributed to their traditional author Agastya; but traditions like this and the colophons of manuscripts bearing out such myths and traditions should have no place in critical and historical studies. The author could have heightened the value of the historical and critical portion of his work by being a little more incredulous of traditional accounts of the introducer of so-called Aryan craft amongst the Dravidians. Agastya and his followers must be consigned to the dreamland of myths and folklore peopled by the shadows woven into being by the gossamer threads of imagination.

The second chapter introduces us to Saivism and the growth of the Sivite art in South India. The author holds that the exact time at which the doctrine was established in India as a definite cult is not at present ascertainable; but the creed is as old as the Vedas. The *Rudras* of the *Rig-Veda* were the gods of the howling storm. In some of the hymns, probably the earlier ones, the singular form, viz., *Rudra*, is to be found. *Rudra* is represented as the father of the *Maruts*. The Vedic pantheon perhaps at a later period felt the necessity of multiplying some of its divinities and probably Rudra shared in this multiplication. The conception of Rudra had certainly not much to do with the phallic Siva; neither are we ready to accept that the Sivite of the South took the idea up from the Vedas. The compromise between the two conceptions and the identification of the altogether different divinities are the results of that spirit of toleration which is found in India alone. To anyone who has made a serious study of the history of Indian religions and who has had the opportunity of devoting himself to the study of the cultural history of the so-called Aryans, as it is presented in the Vedas, we are sure, he will be convinced that in the present case

two separate conceptions, which were originally foreign to one another, were made to coincide at a comparatively later age and give birth to the phallic Sivitism. This amalgamation was certainly gradual and set afoot long before the *Mricchakatika* was written. What we contend is that it is doubtful whether the Phallic Sivitism was an exotic creed planted in the Dravidian land, or that it was an indigenous conception of the South which was afterwards elevated and rendered more dignified by grafting on it the superior spiritual and mythical conception of the North.

The remarks of Patanjali, viz., *Mouryair hiranyar-thibhir arcah Prakalpitah*, referred to by the author, does not prove anything with regard to either the Sivite icons, or the introduction of the Sivite cult among the Southerners. The author then proceeds, in the rest of the chapter, to narrate in brief the history of the Sivite faith among the Tamil-speaking Dravidians.

The foregoing chapters form a sort of preliminary note to the main subject matter treated in the work. The real treatise commences from the third chapter of the book. There would have been no discount on the value of the work if the two preceding chapters were never written. The chapter opens with a lucid exposition of the canons of the Silpasastras and in connection with this the various stages in the process of casting metal images have been illustrated and explained. Then follows the enumeration of preliminaries such as, preparation of wax models, taking of measurement, judging of dimensions and poses, etc. For the preparation of models the Silpasastras afford us formulae which a novice has to learn by heart. These canons form the most important portion of the Sastras. They inculcate rules of proportion which once played not a very inconsiderable part in the development of the arts of sculpture and metal work in India. Certainly, they do limit the scope and the originality of the artist's genius and at times the representations become rather more conventional than suggestive. It is also true that they do not leave a very great latitude for the artist. But such limitations have often been necessary. And we cannot endorse in full all that the author wants to tell us in the following passage:—

"The rules and canons are only limitations for the mediocre and the incapacitated—and not the real artist, to whom the fixed convention of a particular theme is never a barrier to his artistic expression." (p. 31).

Generally and broadly speaking Mr. Gangoly is perhaps right; but by testing the statement in a closer light we must have to confess that the general statement quoted above is rather too vague and sanguine. Certain canons there are and will always be, which even a Raphael or a Guido have to abide by. Executions of Rodin or the paintings of Alma Tadema would fail to appeal to our senses and feelings if they did not conform to the elementary conventions of art. Of course, the Dhyamantras are rather too rigid, but still the art which flourished in Northern India, under the regime of *Mahayanaism*, has not failed to supply us with specimens of exquisite beauty and finish. The Dhyamantras of the Buddhists cannot be called less conventional and rigid than those of the Sivites. The Greeks had their canons and the Romans had theirs too; and judging from the specimens hitherto discovered, and studied, none of the classical types have been found to strike up a very distinct note of revolt against their respective canons.

The author has very lucidly explained the subtle distinction between the *dhyanas* and the *lakṣanas*.* The three 'poses' and the 'fingerplays' have been amply illustrated by means of figures, diagrams and drawings. The author's experience has also been noted, and we learn with regret how the art is dwindling away and how the craftsmen little care to know what has been enjoined by their predecessors whose works have become almost classical to the students of South Indian art. The author says "the modern practising sculptors however have generally forgotten the practice of these three poses and although I read to many of them the original text from Kasyapiya and Agastya giving the exact plumb lines† with reference to the three *vangas* [*sic*, for *bhāngas*] they were unable to illustrate the rules by a diagram" (p. 40). This plain statement of truth leads us to realise how gradual and how complete is the downfall of the Indian craft. The indolence and the mechanical and easy mode of living characteristic of inhabitants of the tropical East have much to do to bring about a sleepy indifference to what is little out of the way of their merry go-along life.

In chapter IV the relation between the Chola art and that of the earlier Sivite schools has been traced. Special studies of the evolution of certain images, as for instance that of Nataraja, have been given. A comparative study of the contemporary stone sculpture has been pronounced to be necessary, as the one and the same artist would sometimes cast the bronze images, and at others chisel the stone panels in the niches of temples. An account of the Sivite art as it flourished under the Pallavas (*sic*, for Pahlavas) has also been subjoined.

One thing that strikes us as out of place and far from the mark is the account of the Indian immigration in the East Indies. What we expect here to find is the oldest example of the images in South India; the authors' researches should have been circumscribed by the sea-bound coast lines of India. The Javanese art and the art of the ancient Indian colonies are manifold enough, in all their different stages of evolution, to be dealt with in volumes, each of which would be at least as big as the work under review.

A brief history of the bronze art of the South which follows will, no doubt, prove interesting to the students of the Indian artistic evolution. One regrets its being so short and the presentation of data so meagre. In one point we cannot but differ from what the author has said about the attribution of certain images "to the great sculptors of historical fame," Jaya, Parojaya and Bijaya [*sic*, for Vijaya]. These three names, I am sure, the author has found in Taranatha's history.‡ We do not think the author has any inscription to stand by. A particular image or any group of images can never be regarded as a specimen or specimens of artistic creation of any particular person or of persons, when there is nothing in the shape of inscription indicating the name or names of the artist or artists, or any other similar tangible and contemporary evidence. Assertions such as the one above, unsupported by evidence of tangible and contemporary nature, cannot be introduced into the sacred arena of history. Mere stylistic grouping of images can never help one to

trace the development of art with definiteness and accuracy.

The author has also attempted to trace the relation between the Ceylonese and the South Indian art. On this point, we think, it is better to keep the question open. The study of the style and the history of the Ceylonese art has only begun. We are not yet sufficiently advanced to pronounce any definite opinion on the art of Ceylon. The conjecture which the author has ventured is rather too vague and hence, unacceptable.

In the last chapter the author winds up his magnificent work with a comparative study of the art of various nations and sects. We fully agree with the author in what he says with regard to the Buddhist art. About the effect of the canons, the author has only elucidated his own assertion in one of the preceding chapters, with regard to which we have had to refer to our remarks already made. The comparison between the Greek, the Egyptian, the Roman and the Indian artistic evolution as instituted by the author has not much to commend itself to our serious attention. Patriotism is good, no doubt, but there are times when proper moderation is to be exercised, and in no case it should be allowed to render one's reasoning cloudy. The classical, the Egyptian and the Indian art had each their excellence, their special features and characteristic ideals. One conception is as good as the other, so long as it is clearly and aesthetically expressed in the artist's execution. The physical idealism of the Hellenic art, the gross realism of the Romans, the remote and uncommunicative figures in the Egyptian monuments, the super-natural and mysterious conception of the Indian artists are all superbly magnificent and exquisitely beautiful. It would be inartistic to judge one as superior to the other, and the judgment would depend much upon the individual liking and predisposition.

Lastly, we think we should be lacking in our duty, should we not point out to the author the unworkable nature of his system of transliteration. The system sanctioned by the Geneva Congress of the Orientalists is the best suited to the purpose of romanising Oriental languages and should have been adopted by the author.

In fine, we have only to say that in spite of difference of opinion on certain points which we have tried to argue in the course of our review, we have not the least hesitation to say that the work is a very valuable one and sure to prove useful to the students of Indian art. We tender our hearty welcome to the work and our sincerest good wishes to the author and request him to have his treatise translated and published in Bengali, so that the literature of his own province may boast of one more jewel added to her crown.

Rawlinson's Shivaji.

Shivaji the Maratha: his Life and Times, by H. G. Rawlinson. Pp. 125, 2 illustrations, and 1 map (Clarendon Press, 1915), 2-6 net.

This is the first life of Shivaji in English, apart from the translations of one or two old chronicles which have appeared before. During the last 30 years, a mass of historical materials has been collected and made available by the industry of a band of scholars in India, especially in the Deccan. The vernacular sources are all in print and most of them have been subjected to criticism and sifting in the pages of the Marathi magazines. The Persian sources have been mapped out and partly given

* Perhaps owing to the loose system of transliteration the word is spelled *lakṣanas* in the text.

† This is another instance of loose transliteration.

‡ *Gesch. d. Buddh. i. Ind.* Ueberset. v. A. Schiffner.

in translations in this Review from its very foundation in January 1907. The time has, therefore, come for a scientific study of these materials and the production of a trustworthy, minutely accurate, and documented life of Shivaji. Such a task has been attempted with an eminent degree of success by Mr. Govind Sakharam Sardesai, B.A., in his *Marathi Riyasat*, Vol. I, published last winter in the vernacular.

Professor Rawlinson, on the other hand, seems to have undertaken the book under review in a dilettante and uncritical spirit. He has totally ignored the "other side," namely, the mass of Persian materials translated in this Review; and with regard to the Marathi *bakhsars* he has made the strange selection of later and legendary works in preference to earlier and more reliable ones. The Marathi lives of Shivaji, arranged in order of time are:—

1. *Sabhasad bakhar*, written in 1694 by Shivaji's secretary Krishnaji Anant, (tr. by Manker).

2. *Shiva-dig-vijaya*, composed in 1718 and ascribed to Khando Ballal, the son of Shivaji's chitnis Balaji Avji, ed. by Nandurbar-Kar and Dandekar. (Baroda, 1895.)

3. *Chitragupta bakhar*, c. 1765.

4. The Raigarh Life, incorrectly translated by Frisette in Forrest's Selections, c. 1780.

5. *Chitnis bakhar*, written in 1810 and ed. by Kirtane.

As to the relative merits of these works, Mr. Sardesai writes: "Chitnis's *bakhar* is certainly inferior to Sabhasad's and to *Shiva-dig-vijaya*. The latter quotes original documents extensively and I am sure the author had full access to Shivaji's *daftar*. The *Chitragupta bakhar* is only an enlarged copy of Sabhasad with a mixture of self-composed Marathi verses here and there. The author, Raghunath Yadav, calls himself Chitragupta in order to show himself off as a Puranic...He had a fund of information from various sources, but no idea of accuracy or historical truth." (See also Rajawade, Vol. iv. 7-17). As for Chitnis's *bakhar*, Grant Duff writes (i. 120n): "Mulhar Ram Rao's life of Sivajee is very voluminous; but I do not think that he has made a good use of the valuable letters and records in his possession."

And yet Mr. Rawlinson has thought fit to rely on the most discredited of the above five sources, and "chiefly used the Chitnis *bakhar* and the *bakhar* known as Chitragupta's in the compilation of the present monograph"! Sabhasad's *bakhar* is referred to in three places only and *Shiva-dig-vijaya* is totally ignored by him.

It is clear that Mr. Rawlinson has not himself read any of the Maratha books he refers to in his Introduction. On page 7 he speaks of the Chitnis *bakhar* as edited by Mr. Sane,—while as a matter of fact Mr. Kirtane edited Chitnis's life of Shivaji and Mr. Sane edited the same author's lives of Shambhuji and Rajaram.

A still more glaring error disfigures his citation of English authorities. He repeatedly speaks of Briggs, *Ferishta* (1832) as one of "the English works on Maratha history," in entire oblivion of the fact that Ferishta never wrote a word about Shivaji or Shahji, for the excellent reason that his work was completed about 1600 A. D. What Mr. Rawlinson really means is Jonathan Scott's "History of the Deccan, miscalled Scott's *Ferishta*," (printed at Shrewsbury, 1794), which contains a long account of Shivaji and his descendants, translated from the Persian *Dilkasha* and there entitled "The Journal of a Roondelah officer.

Turning to the book itself, we meet with serious mistakes on almost every page. A few are noted below:

P. 18, l. 26. *Hala* the Andhra King has been confused with *Harsha*, the Emperor of N. India. P. 21, bottom, Mr. Rawlinson repeats the myth that the Bahmani dynasty was named after the former Brahman master of its founder. Evidently he has never heard of Major Worsley Haig's refutation of this story in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" and his "Historical Landmarks of the Deccan." P. 33, bottom, Mulla Ahmad is represented as going to the court of Shah Jahan. Khafi Khan is, no doubt, responsible for the error; the correct name, which is supplied by the Bijapur official history, *Basatin-i-salatin* being "Adil Shah" and not "Shah Jahan." When Mulla Ahmad did desert to the Mughals (1665), not Shah Jahan but Aurangzib was on the throne. P. 37, Shiva's officers never captured Mulla Ahmad himself, but only his daughter-in-law. Pp. 39-41, the correct dates of Shahji's arrest and release by the Bijapuris and the falsehood of the charge of "cowardly betrayal" brought against Baji Ghorpade in this connection, have been established by me in this Review, (July 1916, pp. 9-10.)

P. 45, Aurangzib became viceroy of the Deccan for a second time in 1653 and not in 1650. P. 46, l. 9, *Kalyan* should be *Kaliyani*; Bijapur fort was not really threatened by Aurangzib in 1657. P. 47, the Bijapur official history represents Afzal Khan's army as 10,000 troopers and not 5,700 men. P. 57, *note*, the ballads are right in calling the Brahman envoy Krishnaji Bhaskar, as all the Maratha records give him that name, while Gopinath is the mistake of Grant Duff. P. 54, Mr. Rawlinson seems to have changed his opinion about Shiva's innocence in the Afzal Khan affair, since writing his "Indian Historical Studies." There is no valid reason for holding that Dr. Fryer (who arrived at Bombay in Dec. 1673) "got his information from some one present on the spot," at Pratapggarh in 1659. The wild gossip of the bazar and the camp was more likely to reach the ears of the English doctor at far-off Surat.

P. 62, l. 11. Siddi Jauhar had rebelled against Bijapur much earlier (about 1659) and he died of disease, as the *Basatin-i-Salatin* records (pp. 353-364 of Ms.). P. 67 l. 7, Shaista Khan opened his campaign against Shiva in 1660 and not in 1663 (*vide* official history of Aurangzib's reign.) P. 72, an authentic account of Jai Singh's campaign against Shivaji, based on his despatches has been published in this Review July, 1907. P. 72, l. 22, "Shivaji determined to go to Delhi to interview the Emperor." This is incorrect, as the interview took place at Agra. This fact has been established from contemporary records in this Review (Aug. 1907, p. 153) and is also mentioned in Irvine's *Travels of Manucci*. Mr. Rawlinson is pleased to add the note, "this point is much disputed." No scholar who cares for accuracy any longer disputes it. P. 80, bottom, it was not a "marvel" that the ex-king of Kashghar should have had a golden bed, seeing that he had received 11 lakhs of Rupees from the hospitable Aurangzib. P. 81, Ali Adil Shah II. died on 24 Nov. 1672 (old style) and not on 15 December. P. 88, l. 6, Jai Singh's campaign against Shiva occupied only 3 months in 1665 and not three years, 1662-5.

The strong point of the book is its attention to topography and the bearing of geography on strategy. Chapter VIII., which reviews the character and achievements of Shiva, is an excellent sketch in 12 pages. As for the style, it is as impossible for Pro-

fessor Rawlinson to write a dull page as it, evidently, is for him to use scholarly accuracy or critical discrimination in dealing with an Indian subject.

Kipling no doubt sings of

"A land east of Suez,

Where there aint no ten commandments ;"

but that is no reason why Mr. Rawlinson should jettison the laws of historic evidence in the case of a hero living "east of Suez."

JADUNATH SARKAR.

HIGHER COMMERCIAL EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY

IT was claimed at one time that the introduction of English education in India meant the death-knell of what Macaulay called "Absurd History and absurd Metaphysics" and the opening out to the Hindu the rich treasures of English literature and learning. Whatever truth there may have been in these claims in the infancy of University education in India, we no longer regard the sole aim of University education to be the unfolding of western literature and learning before the speculative and philosophic intelligence of the east. We have learnt to look to the Universities not merely to enable our youths to comprehend the writings and ideas of European scholars and authors, but to understand and get a grip of the world in which they are born and in which they have to live. Higher education of any other kind does not deserve that name, it does not stimulate thinking and impart the quality of forming sound judgment, and in short, if it does not equip a man to go out into the world and to meet it with rectitude and strength and with a certain measure of success. University education in India has undoubtedly produced individuals who have in their own person realised these expectations preeminently, but taking the bulk it will be hardly a matter of dispute that these expectations from higher education in India have been very imperfectly realised. Not only, that, but shrewd observers may discern a progressive deterioration, which must be stayed by robust and unflinching measures, if we are not to lose entirely even the small and partial benefits that we realise from higher education in these days.

The thing is writ large on the very surface of the economic and social life of

this country so that he who runs may read. But testimony to bear out the above, if needed, is to be had in abundance. Only the other day, Sir George Barnes, Member for Commerce and Industry, said :

"I have always already felt the great necessity which exists, not only on economic grounds, but for reasons which touch closely on problems of national character and development, of securing for the people of the country a greater share in the exploitation of her natural resources and of adding to the limited and somewhat unsatisfactory avenues of employment for your young men a greater share in those afforded by commerce and industry. At present the educated young men of this country seem to seek employment almost exclusively in Government service, at the Bar, or Journalism, and these three channels of employment do not give sufficient scope for the young men of this country. I should like to see a large part of the stream turned in the direction of commerce and industry."

Similar views mainly with reference to the need for active scientific research were expressed almost at the same time by Sir Thomas Holland, Chairman of the Industrial Commission at Madras. These ideas were corroborated in the opening speech of His Excellency the Viceroy before the Legislative Council at Simla. His words were:

"I should like to impress this further fact on Indian parents. When they are planning the future of their sons they might well pause to consider whether instead of sending them to join the overstocked market of the legal and literary profession, it would not be better to turn their attention to the possibilities of employment in scientific agriculture. As the department expands, it will afford greater opportunities of advancement, and the man who elects this science may do well for himself and at the same time contribute to the prosperity of his country."

Whether the alternative suggested be commercial and industrial pursuits or close scientific research or probing into the possibilities of scientific agriculture, a note of disappointment with the present activities

in our University runs through all these. If the education at present imparted does not fit the young people out for anything but literary and legal careers, which have on all admissions become forbidding, something must be substituted. If there is such a great gulf between what is wanted in life and what is taught in our educational institutions, if the present day education does not bring—economically—harmony with the surroundings, and therefore a certain measure of success in them, it should be supplemented or supplanted by something that may set a man out with a more cheerful outlook, with better understanding of things and men he is going to meet in life. It follows that the education which we are imparting must be based on utilitarian grounds and if that is so, the reproach must be bravely faced and we should proceed to do something that will be more practical than the scheme devised by the early pioneers of education. We have had enough of the morbid self-glorification of seeking knowledge for its own sake and we as a poor country can no longer afford to offer our young men the literary oddities of the 17th century English authors or the varied fare given by English poets or items of that kind. The first important breach in the old system will have been made by the introduction of higher commercial education and it is perhaps just as well that instead of adopting a policy of violent reversal of the old educational order, we should attempt a new experiment on the small scale involved in the introduction of commercial education at the various seats of learning in India.

The unsatisfactory result from the education in vogue is not, however, the only ground for advocating Higher Commercial Education at our Universities. Even if we had an ideal system of education, the proposal for Commercial Education would still have to be considered on weighty economic grounds of its own. It is not perhaps generally realised that the consequences of so little part of the trade of India being in the hands of Indians themselves are very serious, resulting in a drain year by year which exceeds several times the much advertised "political drain" from this country. The reactions on the life of the people from extensive investments of foreign capital in India, from the so-called

development of the country, are also very imperfectly appreciated by the leaders of social thought. The growing problem of population with the concurrence of frequent famines and distress should also make us pause and think whether we can go on depending for ever on the bounty of nature in agriculture alone, even if it could be transformed by modern science. And if one considers how little of our much-vaunted agricultural prosperity due to the rise of our staple produce actually puts into the pockets of the people of this country, the urgency of taking a larger share of the vast trade of India in our hands would seem to be very great. The call for business ability also emerges from the ruins of many a concern which the new born spirit of Swadeshi enterprise brought into being, but which in most cases were sadly bungled by men endowed with more enthusiasm than the commonsense of business. And it is humiliating to remark that while the whole world has been fighting and covering itself with glory or riches, how little we in India have been able to make of the commercial and industrial opportunity offered by this war. The reason for this is not far to seek. The consumer of articles is not only at our door, but he is knocking insistently to be provided with things. In this country endowed with the greatest variety of soils and climatic conditions, there is not, nor will there ever be a dearth of raw materials of any kind that may be required. Besides, the accumulated wealth of this country, exaggerated perhaps by those, who from the West are casting a wistful glance towards it, is only partially and very imperfectly utilised in the economic activities of this nation. What was then wanting to enable us, if not to share a fraction of the vast wealth piled up by economically neutral nations like Japan and America during this war, at least to ward off the dumping invasions of Japan and to minister to our own needs. It was nothing but lack of initiative and business enterprise. Lest any one should be inclined to put this down as a permanent characteristic of the indolent East, let us hasten to assure them that all enterprise proceeds from knowledge and that the training and information which enable people of other countries to leave us behind in the race for business enterprise are not matters disposed of by Divine Providence,

but could be compassed by intelligent organisation and human efforts of our own.

In these days when economic ramifications are so wide-spread and so complex, the prosperity of a non-trading and purely agricultural community is rendered very risky indeed. We have perhaps still to realise the lesson involved in the presence of the Japanese cotton buyer buying for his principal on the spot in districts in the interior and away from the Port of Bombay. Nor do the people of Bengal seem to have grasped the full significance of theousting of the indigenous Bengalee agency, which used at one time to collect jute from the districts and to bring it down to Calcutta and to bale it and even to ship it abroad. The want of trading instincts may still cost Bengal very dear. In the meanwhile the Marwari who has replaced the Bengalee seems himself to be doomed because of his extreme backwardness and extremely conservative ways of doing business. Capable in normal times, he is taken by storm, when faced by a new situation and the special proclivity to panic shown by the Marwari community at the outset of the war was only an unhealthy symptom of the same fact. Endowed by nature and assisted by business tradition and environment in his early life, even a Marwari, who is a great asset of this country in spite of all that can be said against him, cannot raise great hopes in the minds of those who look a generation or two ahead, unless he alters his ways. Modern business involving powerful rivalry must be done by modern methods. And to do this even the Marwari, the much abused aristocrat of the business world, must avail himself of every new agency of improvement that we can devise. Higher commercial education at the Universities is one of them.

In measuring the progress of a community, the condition of one class must be considered by itself over a period of time. And the class that has preeminently a claim for our serious consideration is the middle class. They produce the true national type and they preserve and extend the culture of the race. Even in communities that had politically a more undisturbed and prosperous history, the middle class provided leaders of thought and activity. In India in all departments of life we have, since the beginning of the

British rule, drawn almost too exclusively on the middle class for men to lead us. The economic condition of this class in India presents facts that ought to cause considerable anxiety. The middle class did not come unscathed for the economic policy of the East India Company, from the early blunders regarding land revenue policy or from the severe action of the Industrial Revolution through which the country is passing. As a result there is evident among them even in normal times economic distress of an acute character. The prices of things have been going up and appearances have to be maintained. The avenues for employment are severely limited. The budgets of many middle class families in large towns would reveal the distressing fact of habitual malnutrition predisposing to many wasting diseases. The unemployment among socially respectable classes—known as the Bhadralog in Bengal—is appalling. It is most noticeable in Bengal where there is no relief in small trades and business such as is found in other parts of the country. These are the classes that have availed themselves most of University education. They are now finding out that the sum spent on the education of their children does not even return reasonable interest in the earnings which the young men receive. These in the case of a graduate are often lower than what a good mason or a carpenter gets. If the direct and indirect consequences of this state of affairs were known more widely than they are, remedies for it would have been devised long ago. It would not be difficult to trace the connection of this economic fact about the life of the middle class in India, with the special problems in reference to young men which have arisen in Bengal or with the general feeling of melancholy dissatisfaction which is to be noticed elsewhere. If the lot of the educated middle classes is to be improved, they should be made to look beyond government service and the legal profession to commercial and business activity. And as a contributory to this end, commercial education should be established at the Universities.

The idea that the University should attempt to teach Commerce has been pooked. No University can guarantee to turn out a full-fledged businessman. All that can be done and is to be attempted is

that every item of study should be selected and taught in such a manner as to make the recipient possess the maximum amount of information likely to prove of use to him, so that by theoretical knowledge supplemented by the illustrations placed before him or observed by him, he may be enabled to acquire the quality of distinguishing in business what is sound from what is hollow, and of forming judgment generally with regard to business matters. What he would get in this way would be adaptability and the quality of making the most of the opportunities offered by his environment in whatever position he may be placed. It is not intended that University Education would supplant the recognised road to business success, *viz.*, apprenticeship. Apprenticeship must remain, but the period of apprenticeship, the great trials and disappointments of apprenticeship, these would be very largely altered and instead of a man working by rule of thumb, the training at the University would produce a businessman with imagination and insight, knowing things in the world as they are and therefore enterprising.

Great men of business have no doubt been produced through the old system. But to argue on that account that systematized knowledge is of no value and to disparage the attempt to impart it in a readily accessible manner to a large number must be characterised as an unworthy attitude of mind in those incapable or unwilling to understand human progress. The old world with its many difficulties produced remarkable travellers but it has not been seriously suggested that for this reason means of communication should not be developed and when the progressively deteriorating material condition of a community requires urgent measures, we cannot afford the academic solace of showing our Jamshedji Tata or Rajendra Mookerjee produced without any careful collective forethought or plan. Let us remember that regular cultivation is more to be relied upon than collecting stray fruits however sweet the latter might be on some occasions. And the safest rule for the people of India to follow in this connection is what the wise man laid down: "What you want to see in the life of the people, put that first in their Schools."

It has been established that modern

business is a science by itself and is capable of being studied scientifically. There are people who believe that there is great cultural value in the study of modern commerce almost equal to the cultural advantage from the study of modern history or modern philosophy. And for Indian Universities to launch on this field will not be in any sense a leap in the dark. Advanced countries whose progress in other directions have been by no means contemptible have till now profited largely by the careful teaching of commerce at their Universities. America, Germany and Japan have been Pioneers of deliberate and well-planned commercial education in their seats of learning; and even in England, remarkable for great conservatism in many departments of life commercial education enjoys a growing popularity. The Universities in these countries have regarded commercial education as a legitimate field for their activity. They have placed it side by side with education in other branches of knowledge in an honourable position without suffering in their dignity or their usefulness.

Many reasons are assigned for the backwardness of this country. During Christmas a dozen platforms will ring with suggestions of all kinds. Official communiques, long departmental resolutions and occasional pronouncements from the highest officials inform us from time to time about the shortcomings of our economic life. If there was deep conviction behind the remedies suggested by popular and official oracles, we should expect them accompanied by some action. The question of putting our house in order in the way of reorganisation of the whole economic life of this country is a larger problem, but while we can, we might lay a few stones at the foundation. One of these rough and unattractive but very solid stones is the installation of Commercial Education at our Universities. The need for this is for reasons noted above very great indeed. Even in their character as consumers the whole community have an interest in low prices for the various commodities of commerce. So long as there is dearth of business ability, so long as only a few enterprising castes from the west of India engage in commerce and so long as the large bulk of it is handled by agencies which are not Indian at all, the community is robbed

in the way of enhanced prices from a million little openings. As one of the poorest people in the world, we should expend the money and the energy at our command with the greatest circumspection and even if we are to continue to waste in other directions, we should have at least those items in our system of education which we can well afford and which will not only repay what is spent on them but many hundred times over.

It is gratifying to find that a beginning in this direction has already been made in India and the University of Bombay has been working a scheme of commercial education for the last 3 years. The Universities of Madras and Calcutta are already feeling the first touch of those forces which are going ultimately to transform the educational system in this country and in response to it are proposing the establishment of Faculties of Commerce. What measure of popular

and official support their efforts will have remains still to be seen. If our Universities are going to be centres of life and not merely centres for the study of dead knowledge, if they are going to be contributaries to the life of the nation that is to come in future, if the education imparted at our Universities is to enable our youths to face the world with greater strength and greater knowledge of the problems which life has in store for them then they must read correctly the economic needs of the moment and must attempt to bring the system of education in harmony with those needs. And above all considerations, however mundane and uninteresting it may be, stands the problems of bread and butter, a deadful reality for everybody in this poor country.

M. SUBELAR.

University of Calcutta,
12th September, 1916.

GLEANINGS

Moving Pictures.

The moving picture is of British origin.

The so-called 'wheel of life,' a mechanical device, represented the movement of a galloping horse as early as 1833. The machine is described as one consisting of a hollow cylinder turning on a vertical axis and having its surface pierced with a number of slots. Around the interior was arranged a series of pictures representing parts of the figure intended to be seen in motion, and when the cylinder was rotated the observer, looking through the slots, experienced the illusion of seeing the object in motion.

Fifty-two years later Mr. Friese-Greene was engaged in his experiments. These were of quite a different character from the 'wheel of life' figures, for his pictures were projected on a screen.

The cinematograph was made possible, in 1890, by the invention of the celluloid roll film.

The whole universe, or as much of it as he can reach, is enlisted by the latter-day "movie" director as his ally, for no part of the world is free from his invasion if he sets out to find the necessary and proper background for his story. When a town does not exist he builds it for himself.

War-pictures, are faked. Clever mechanical devices, the unstinted use of electricity, spring bayonets, gun-powder-bladders, and underground explosives are used in the production of these war-pictures, which are so realistic that they seem to bear the earmarks of the French and Belgian trench and the Polish battle-field.

"Agricultural laborers, farmer's sons, and village

youths, drest in the uniforms of the British and German armies, are drilled in their new duties and initiated into the mysteries of disappearing bayonets, exploding fake shells, trench-warfare, and make believe 'gassing.' Stroll along a quiet, country foot-path bordering some rolling grassland sloping to the sea and you may come upon a horde of yelling men whose spiked helmets and wicked-looking bayonets glint in the sunshine as they charge toward you. If you take cover nimbly and watch, you will see they are rushing a trench filled with khaki-clad British soldiers. You shudder involuntarily as you see those glinting bayonets sinking into human flesh three or four inches, but you find later that the points are protected with little felt buttons and that they are attached to the barrel end of the rifle by a spring that allows them to retract several inches upon striking a solid substance.

"As the soldiers ford a stream in their mad charge, columns of water splash high into the air. After awhile you realise that these columns are caused by dropping shells from concealed artillery. You wonder how it is that all these country 'supers' are not maimed or even killed until you find out that the water-columns are caused by electrically exploded bladders filled with gunpowder and hidden beneath the surface of the stream. As the charging 'Germans' reach the opposite bank and make straight for the 'British' machine guns, terrible explosions occur. They are the shells still 'dropping' from the British artillery. The explosions are electrically controlled by a stage-director or producer, and are caused by

burying small cans of gunpowder here and there under the ground to be rushed. At the proper moment the fake mines are exploded by throwing a witch or pressing a button, thus sending clods of earth, a cloud of smoke, and a dummy figure or two into the air. All the vivid effects of a big shell bursting on the ground are thus obtained.

To give to the moving-picture patron an idea of the vast numbers of troops now in France, the producers used an ingenious leather-band machine, which, in conjunction with a broad window built into the scenery-wall, is all that is necessary. The spectators in the theater see women at the window waving out to the departing troops. The tops of rifles with bayonets fixed move past the window and bob up and down in a never-ending stream. Beneath the window, concealed from the spectators, an operator turns a leather band passing over two fly-wheels about twelve feet apart. Attached to the top of the band are rows of bayonets. As the handle is turned the bayonets move along with the realism of a marching regiment, rifles on shoulders, fastened, as they are, to the leather band, which can be moved at any speed.

"In 'close-up' pictures of big explosions, such as bridges, forts, and the like, it is not politic for the movie men to get too close; a chance projectile may come their way. To overcome this difficulty the camera is set up in some adjacent spot and focused upon the scene of the explosion. From a safe distance the operator controls his camera by electrical wires, the result being as satisfactory as if he had been on the brink of the scene himself.

"So excellent are the pictures of modern 'warfare' thus obtained by producers in rural Britain that the motion-picture-theater patrons cannot realize that motion-picture men are not allowed near the firing-line in the theaters of war and that the restrictions imposed on the producers prevent them from obtaining the real thing in France."

No less a psychologist than Prof. Hugo Munsterberg, of Harvard, tell us in an article entitled "Why We Go to the Movies," contributed to *The Cosmopolitan* (New York, December), that the moving-picture play of the future is to be a popular study in psychology. It is to specialize in emotion, feeling, imagination. It is to carry to perfection the sort of thing whose rude beginnings we witness on the screen when the great financier, sitting dreamily before his study-fire, sees in memory his past life in a mining-camp; or when the villain's hand is stayed by the phantom of his murdered wife, rising to confront him. He reminds us that if the "movie" is to develop into a new form of artistic expression, it must specialize, not in the things that can be done better, or even as well on the stage, but in things that may be seen on the screen while the "legitimate" drama is unable to show them at all. Foremost among these are psychological effects, and this is why he believes that in the field of the mind lies the future domain of the moving-picture play. Already it is tending in this direction.

Liquid Fire as a Weapon.

A contributor to *The Scientific American Supplement* describes the flame-throwing device as follows:

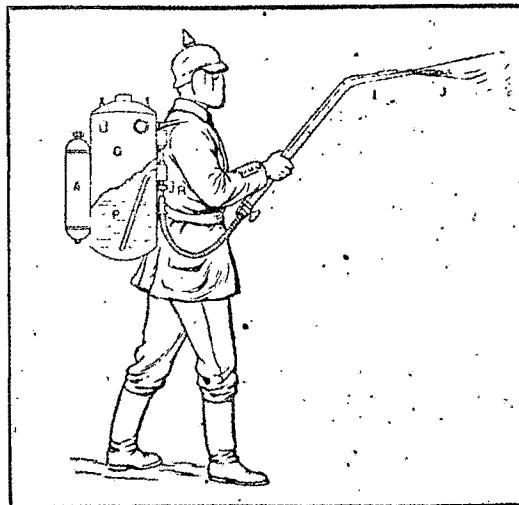
"Among the many scientific tools of destruction employed in the war, the so-called *Flammenwerfer* of the Germans—a more or less hoselike apparatus for hurling jets of flaming liquid—holds an important place, as much by virtue of the moral effect produced as by any material damage achieved, even tho the latter may be considerable. This idea of projecting

upon the adverse trenches and their occupants a rain of liquid fire was no sudden after-thought of the German mind. It was conceived, studied, and perfected for several years before the war.

"In the earliest models, the combustible liquid was propelled by a gas-condenser out of a portable or fixed reservoir, and was lighted by some automatic device as it escaped from the nozzle of the projecting instrument. Subsequent improvements have been made with the sole object of overcoming certain disadvantages inherent in this model.

"With the instrument described, the flaming jet can make its effects felt at a distance of forty or forty-five yards, but is not capable of exceeding that range effectively, because of the consumption of the liquid in transit. Further, with the main jet thus in ignition at the mouth of the apparatus, enough heat is given off to embarrass seriously the operator.

"These facts made clear the desirability of a method of ignition whereby the inflammable fluid would not begin to burn until it had almost, or quite, reached its objective. Not only would useless consumption of the fuel be thus avoided, but the effective range would be increased, and the effects of the instrument, at a given range, greatly heightened.



PORTABLE APPARATUS FOR PROJECTING FLAMES.

A. carbonic acid; G. gas; P. gasoline; R. valve; I, igniter for lighting the inflammable liquid; J. flame.

"To meet these demands, a double-barreled liquid-gun was devised, having the upper barrel much smaller than the lower, and pivoted so as to turn independently. The fluid is shot from the two barrels simultaneously, but only that from the upper one ignites automatically. This small, burning stream is so directed that it unites with the larger, non-burning one at any desired point, and then, of course, ignites the large jet. The small stream is then shut off, the large one continuing to flow. The flames do not spread backward along the jet toward the nozzle, but are carried forward to the target, and, striking the ground, form a veritable sheet of fire, which continues to ignite the fluid as fast and as long as it falls.

"Only at this one point is the large jet in contact

with the flame. All combustion, therefore, takes place at the spot where it will do the most good—or harm; and at that point a very severe conflagration takes place, much more severe than is possible when the combustible fluid wastes its substance upon the air between gun and target. It is especially to be noted that flexibility of fire is not sacrificed. By gradual change in the trajectory, the objective can be shifted without interrupting the continuity of the ignition; so that the field may be developed in any direction desired, and a rain of fire of any sort whatever produced. Further, instead of allowing the liquid to burst into flame at the moment of impact, it is often advantageous to let it flow for some time 'cold,' until the entire objective region is saturated, then, turning on the kindling jet, to produce a holocaust throughout that region.

"The method of expulsion of the jet from the apparatus, as well as means of combustion, has been greatly improved. In the earliest *Flammenwerfers* devised by the Germans, the inflammable liquid was driven from its reservoir by pressure of carbonic acid or other gas. But, on account of the extraordinary powers of absorption manifested toward all gases by the hydrocarbons best adapted for use as the basis of liquid fire, the best part of the expulsive gases was merely dissolved in the liquid. Not only did this cause a direct and serious diminution in pressure, but it led to mixing of liquid and gas; so that as the fluid issued from the nozzle it no longer exhibited the uniform and compact structure necessary for accurate aiming and efficient combustion, but was composed of a frothy, bubbling mixture of liquid and gas which, putting forth but feeble opposition to the atmospheric resistance, had its range materially shortened. All these difficulties are obviated by the substitution of a mechanical pump, or, if safety or convenience demand that the reservoir shall be at a considerable distance from the firing-line, several pumps in series as motive power in the expulsion of the liquid from the gun.

"The liquids most commonly employed in these *Flammenwerfers* are the low coal-tar oils resulting from the distillation of tar at a pressure of six atmospheres or more. The particular compound most used by the Germans is a mixture of gasoline and pitch. Under combustion this gives off a thick, grayish smoke, which not merely obscures the vision of those under fire, but has an intolerable odor."

Testing the Criminal's Mind.

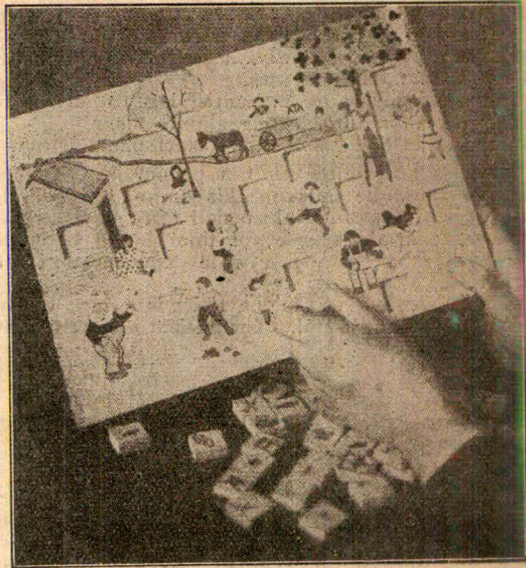
Says a contributor to *The Journal of Heredity* (Washington, June):

"There are still plenty of people to be found who think that, given a proper chance, every child will turn out well. If the child grows up to become a pickpocket, or sets fire to an orphan asylum, it is assumed that society has sinned against him, at some time or other, by depriving him of the proper environment. We are at least expected to accept the idea that criminals are men and women who have deliberately or unknowingly broken some man-made law, and who, if given a stiff enough jolt in the way of a fine or imprisonment, will be brought to their senses and led to see that it pays better to walk within the limits of the statutes therein made and provided.

"Such a view, more or less modified, still influences a large part of law-making and the execution of laws. That view is based principally on metaphysical doc-

trines and theories of 'natural rights' and the equality of man.

"The way of modern science is to test these time-hallowed theories by exact observation, by classifying and measuring the facts. Criminology has undergone a good deal of this process, and the first results were a wide swing of the pendulum in the other direction. Lombroso and others put forward the idea of the 'born criminal,' the man who was predestined to become a murderer, or a forger, or whatever the signs might indicate. This extreme view is now largely discredited, but students of the subject nevertheless generally recognize nowadays that many per-



THE HEALEY PICTURE PUZZLE.

The person examined must put in the board squares which will make the people pictured do suitable things, and thus, prove that he is able to observe and reason intelligently. Two boys in the middle of the picture, for instance, are evidently picking a football, and the square bearing a picture of a football should be put in the opening. If the person tested puts in a picture of a cart-wheel, or a pair of shears, it shows a lack of sense. Of course, the interpretation of the evidence furnished by such tests as this depends upon the previous experience of the individual examined.

sons are born with some inherent defect, which makes it impossible for them to be law-abiding citizens.

There is only one police department in the United States which maintains a laboratory for the examination of adult offenders, and that is New York, where since January, a well-equipped psychopathic department has been in operation.

"For measuring the mentality of the people who come to it, the psychopathic department uses thirty or more tests, picking out in each instance the ones which seem best adapted to the case. The tests are, for the most part, well known to those whose busi-

ness it is to handle such instruments. Simple questions are asked, and the subject's reasoning power and other abilities tested, not only by his answer, but by the time it takes him to evolve it.

"One of the tests used is the Trabue Language Scale D, which is given below. The subject is asked to write one appropriate word in each blank, and is given seven minutes for the task :

4. We are going.....school.
76. I.....to school each day.
11. The.....plays.....her dolls all day.
21. The rude child does not.....many friends.
33. Hard.....makes.....tired.
27. It is good to hear.....voice.....friend.
71. The happiest and.....contented man is the one.....lives a busy and useful.....
42. The best advice.....usually.....obtained.....one's parents.
51.things are.....satisfying to any ordinary.....than congenial friends.
84.a rule one.....association.....friends.

"It does not follow that a person is abnormal simply because he fails on this or any other single test. It is highly essential that all tests be interpreted, and, naturally, such evaluation should be made only by persons having a wide experience in these matters.

"The 'Opposites' test is one which is being widely recognized as very useful. The patient is given a list of words such as

good	outside	quick
tall	big	loud
white	light	happy
false	like	rich
sick	glad	thin
empty	war	friend

"He must write down as rapidly as possible the words which mean the exact opposite of each of these. A normal person can write them almost as rapidly as his hand can move the pencil; but a feeble-minded individual, even tho he has spent a number of years in school, becomes bewildered at such a task.

"In examining the higher levels of intelligence the manner in which the individual reacts to complicated directions is frequently suggestive.

"The useful 'form boards'.....are much employed; they require the person examined to fit blocks into their proper places in a frame. Some people insist on putting round pegs into square holes, and that in itself is significant.....

"Writing with the aid of a mirror gives an idea of the subject's ability to learn, and of his motor control. Memory, concentration, and other easily tested abilities are also observed."

Crime, says Dr. Bisch, the director of the laboratory, should never be considered apart from mentality. In addition to evidence of guilt, the New York Police Department now also furnishes certain facts regarding the mental responsibility of the offender. This is logical and is another proof of the practical value of psychology. If a man is feeble-minded at his fifth conviction, he was just as feeble-minded at his first conviction; it will pay the community, therefore, to examine, segregate, and properly treat prisoners before arraighning them, instead of waiting until they reach the court or penitentiary. The psychopathic laboratory is regarded by Dr. Bisch as a huge sieve, for the selective classification and disposition of the criminal population. It is not a sentimental undertaking—it is scientific, wise, and humane.

A "Thinking-Machine"

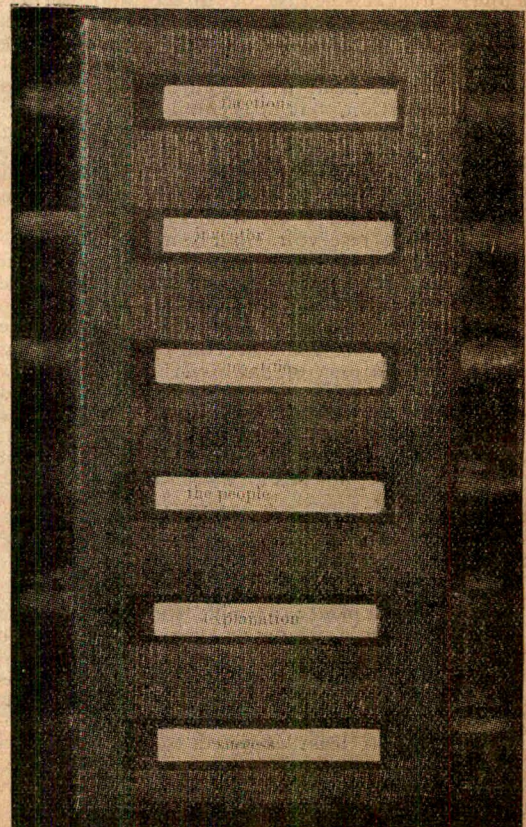
Says a writer in the "Export American Industries" (New York) :

"In the future, authors of moving-picture scenarios, stories, and plays may use their thumbs and fingers instead of their brains. The idea is the thing in story and play-writing, and the more novel the idea, the greater the success.

"With this thought in mind, a clever young man has invented what he calls a 'Thinking-Machine.' It took a smart Yankee boy to realise the wildest dreams of inventors except that dream of accomplishing perpetual motion.

"The thinking-machine is simplicity itself. Mr. Blanchard decided that there are never more than six situations to be comprehended in a well-rounded story or play. All the thoughts and actions, he says, can be reduced to a simple formula of words, and these words are mechanically drawn from his machine and arranged by it.

"The device is a pasteboard box, 3 by 6 inches and 2 inches deep, containing six printed paper rolls, each wound on a pair of spindles. The ends of the spindles extend through the box and are turned by hand. In the upper part of the box, above each paper roll, is a slot, in which appears one word after another as the roll is turned. On the six rolls are printed, respective-



IT THINKS OUT A PLOT FOR THE WRITER.

The machine invented by Mr. Blanchard which mechanically creates the skeleton of a story or motion-picture scenario.

ly, six remarkably grouped classifications of words. The rolls are arranged in such a manner that as they are turned a story is unfolded and recorded on the face of the box. There are 1,200 different words used, and the inventor says, considering the surprising number of synonyms in our language, these are sufficient to describe any action necessary.

"The effects wrought by a manipulation of this machine are truly wonderful. For instance, suppose you were a story- or scenario-writer and you got up this morning with a vacant head, but you had to 'put across' a story a day and you did not know what to write about. The little thinking-machine is brought from its closet and set up before you. You start to turn the top spindle and you come to the word

'BEAUTIFUL.'

"That's a good place to stop in, in the early morning under such circumstances. Then you give spindle No. 2 a few twists, and you come to the word

'CANDIDATE.'

"Now this makes sense, and starts the imagination. In these feminist days, you conjure up all sorts of thoughts about a beautiful candidate. It is now time to twist spindle No. 3, and presently there flash the words

'APPEALS TO,'

and you accept the situation because it is so perfectly natural for a beautiful candidate to be appealing.

"Turning spindle No. 4 through a maze of words, you will ultimately come to the line

'THE PEOPLE.'

"Your beautiful candidate is now appealing to the voters. You can't stop there, and you go on with spindle No. 5. Supposing you permit the spindle to stop at the word

'ADMIRATION.'

"It would be a very delicate and delightful situation for your beautiful candidate to be admired by the people to whom she is appealing, and if you will continue to turn the spindle No. 6 to its logical stopping-point, you will find there the happy climax word,

'ELECTION.'

"Here, then, is the idea for a scenario or story, fit for the embellishing pen of any fiction-writer. The idea is complete, and all that the tired author needs to do to win his daily stipend is fill in the gaps with descriptive words."

"In testing the machine, the inventor turned out the following story-skeletons in less time than the average author would take on a park bench in observation of the throng to dredge up from his mental depths an idea for one magazine yarn.

"Impudent—Player—Taunts—Umpire—Brawl—Expulsion.

"Literary—Adviser—Borrows—From—Author—Explanation—Restoration.

"Brilliant—Atheist—Corrupts—Clergyman—Change—Outcast.

"Parvenu—Backwoodsman—Disowns—Chum—Feud—Poisoned.

"Frisky—Bachelor—Compromises—Housemaid—Chivalry—Betrothal.

"Gullible—Banker—Consults—Humorist—Frank—Bankruptcy.

"Pibulous—Janitor—Encounters—Ghost—Hysteria—Vow.

"Reformed—Burglar—Visits—Banker—Envy—Booty.

"Repulsive—Pirate—Wrongs—Cannibal—Retaliation—Feast.

"Cynical—Foster-parent—Sells—Foundling—Conscience—Atonement.

"Enterprising—Publisher—Buys—Plagiarist—Cooperation—Profit.

"Indulgent—Warden—Entertains—Prisoner—Opportunity—Escape.

"Beautiful—Widow—Marries—President—Inspiration—Election.

"There is undeniably a great, wide field of opportunity, says the inventor, to reap a rich harvest for earnest endeavors for those who carry originality and individuality.



Mr. Arthur Blanchard, whose device was adopted by the Harvard University for teaching storywriting.

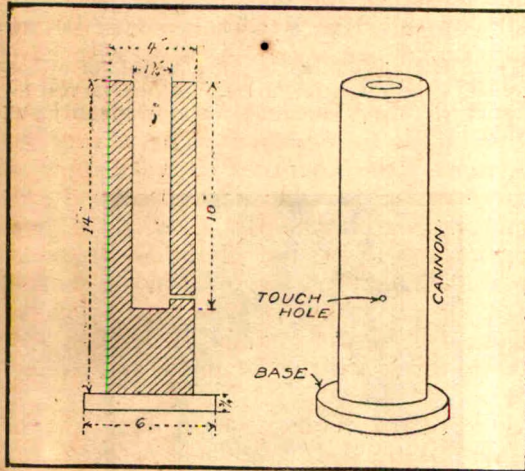
"The device has brevity and wit, telling the story with but six words. The inventor is the organizer of the play-writing course at Harvard University, where students are now thumbing spindles and fiction by the bushel. But the public will never dream that these works of art were born in the brain of a pasteboard-box."

Gunpowder as a Chimney-sweep.

Mr. S. R. Russell in an article entitled "Shooting Soot from Stacks," contributed to *The Du Pont Magazine* (Wilmington, Del.) tells us that in many industrial plants large smoke-stacks or

kiln-stacks frequently become clogged, and must be freed from soot in order to maintain draft. He advocates "shooting them up" in order to attain this result, and the method, tho violent, would appear to be effective and harmless. Writes Mr. Russell:

"A simple economical, and most efficient method to accomplish this is to shoot the stack with the 'Stack gun' and blasting-powder. This gun can be used in cleaning either lined or unlined stacks



THE STACK GUN.

Three or four shots from this gun will clean the soot out of a large factory-chimney, unless it is uncommonly dirty.

brick or steel, without any fear of injury to the stack or lining.

"The gun can be made out of an old piece of shafting about 4 inches in diameter and 14 inches to 16 inches long. Bore a hole 1 3/4 inches in diameter and 10 inches long in the center of the piece. Then bore a small horizontal hole 1/4 inch in diameter through the piece to the bottom of the center-bore. This hole serves as a touch-hole for inserting the fuse.

"The whole thing can be mounted on a pedestal about 6 inches in diameter so that it will stand in an upright position.

"The method of operation is as follows: Pour some FFF blasting-powder into the mouth of the cannon to about 2 inches from the top. Tamp to the collar with dry clay. A short piece of fuse is inserted in the touch-hole and in contact with the main powder-charge. Open the flue-door at the bottom of the stack, set the cannon on the bottom and in the center of the stack, light the fuse, and close the flue-door.

"The explosion shakes and loosens the soot adhering to the sides, causing it to fall to the bottom. It can then be removed through the flue-opening.

"A charge of 8 inches of FFF powder, 1 3/4 inches in diameter, is sufficient for a stack up to 100 feet high and 4 feet in diameter, or over. The number of shots necessary to clean a stack thoroughly depends upon its condition. Ordinarily, three or four shots will clean a stack, but if very dirty it may require more. The size of the charge and length of the cannon can be regulated to suit the height and diameter of the stack.

"There is no doubt about the efficiency of this 'gun' for cleaning smoke-stacks. One of the largest manufacturing concerns in the country has used this method for several years, without an accident or injury in any way to the stacks."

FORMS AND TYPES OF STATES IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M. A., B.L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

II.

THE *Aitareya-Brahmana* uses a series of terms some of which signify overlordship, and some other distinction in the form of government. At times a few of these may be used as mere complimentary epithets, but not always. They are *Rājya*, *Sāmrājya*, *Bhaujya*, *Svārājya*, *Vairājya*, and *Pārameshthya*¹. *Adhipatya*² (lit., supreme power), *Jānarājya*,³

Svāvasya,⁴ and *Ātishtha*⁵ are also found.

quoting 'Vājasaneyi-Samhitā, X, 9, 'Kāthaka-Samhitā,' XV, 7 and 'Maitrāyani-Samhitā II, 6, 9.

4 'Aitareya-Brahmana,' VIII, 6. It means, according to Sāyana, 'apāratantṛa' i. e. lit., 'absence of dependence on others.'

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (in the 'Modern Review,' 1913, p. 538) derives the name Surat (the modern town of Western India) from Svarāt (republic), which he says the 'Vrishni-Sangha' was, in that part of the country. But I think it is a mere phonetic resemblance, the word having real affinity with 'Surāshtra', the ancient name of the place, of which the present Surat was a town (or perhaps the capital). It is a well known fact that a town or a capital very often takes its name after the country in which it is located.

5 See 'infra.'

¹ 'Aitareya-Brahmana,' VIII, 12, 4, 5. Cf. 'Sankhayana-Srauta-Sutra' XVII, 16, 3.

² 'Panchavimsa-Brahmana,' XV, 3, 35; 'Chhāndogya-Upanishad,' V, 2, 6.

³ See Weber's 'Über den Rājasuya,' p. 31, f. n. 5

The explanation of the words given by Sāyana¹, the commentator, in connexion with a certain passage in the *Āitareya-Bṛāhmana*, is based more or less upon their literal meanings, and partake, to some extent, of a spiritual character akin to that of Śrīdharasvāmin's comment on a similar passage in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*². A subsequent passage of the aforesaid *Bṛāhmana*³ and Sāyana's comments thereon, give us more secular details. Indra, it is stated, was installed in the east by the

divine Vasus for *sāmraja*. Hence the several kings of the east are consecrated after the divine practice, and the people call them *Samrāt*. Next, He was consecrated in the south by the divine Rudras to *bhauja*, for which the sovereigns of the *Satvantis* in the south are consecrated after the divine practice and receive the title *Bhoja*. The divine Adityas installed Him in the west to ensure His *Svārāja*. Hence the sovereigns of the *Nichyas* and *Apichyas*⁴ in the west are similarly installed and denominated *Svarāt*. Afterwards, the Visvedevāh consecrated Him in the north to *vairāja*. That is why the sovereigns of the countries Uttara Kuru and Uttara Madra in the north, beyond the Himalayas, are similarly consecrated and termed *virāt*. Next, the divine *Sādhyas* and *Āptiyas* anointed Him for *rāja* in the central region, for which the kings of that region i.e. of Kuru and Pāṇchāla as well as of *Vasa* and *Usinara* are similarly anointed and called *Rāja*¹.

Some of the terms seen in the light of the later historical discoveries have been explained by Messrs Macdonell and Keith. *Svarāj*² (lit. self-ruler) probably stands 'for the republican form of Government of which traces are found in the Buddhist literature by Mr. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India* (p. 19).³ *Vairāja* (lit. absence of kings) also points perhaps to autonomous people like the *Arāshtrakas* (the kingless) signifying, as noticed before, the self-ruled communities.

THE GRADATION ACCORDING TO THE SUKRA-NITI.

In later times, both the terms *svarāt* and *virāt* are found to be used as signifying monarchies of a particular grade determined by their incomes. The *Sukra-Niti*⁴ gives the

1 'Āitareya-Bṛāhmana' with Sāyana's commentary (Bibl. Indica) vol. IV, p. 188. "Here 'rāja' 'desādhipatyam' (rule over a country); 'Sāmrajam' 'dharma-pālanam' (righteous government); 'bhaujam' 'bhoga samriddhih' (increase of enjoyment); 'svārjam' 'aparādhīnatvam' (absence of dependence on others); 'vairajyam' 'itarebhyo bhupatibhyo vaisishtyam' (enjoyment of more distinguished qualities than those possessed by other kings)." [See Weber's 'Über den Rājasuya,' pp. 111, 112; Goldstucker's 'Sanskrit-English Dictionary' under 'abhisheka'; Haug's translation of the 'Āitareya-Bṛāhmana'; Mitra's 'Indo-Aryans,' II, 47, and Colebrooke's 'Miscellaneous Essays,' I, 39 ff.] These terms, the commentary says, relate to this world while the following to the other world: 'pārameshthyam' 'prajāpatilokaprāptih' i. e. (attainment of the world of Prajāpati), *rājam* (obtaining dominion there), *mahārājam* (mighty rule), *svāvasyam* (independence) and 'ātishthatvam' (long residence)—these three also taking place in the other world. The 'Gopatha-Brahmana' [pt. I, v, para 8, pp. 77, 78 (Bibl. Indica)] says about Prajapati that he became 'Rājā' by 'Rājasuya,' 'Samrāt' by 'Vājapeya,' 'Svarāt' by 'Asva medha,' 'Virāt' by 'Purusa-medha' and 'Svarāt' by 'Sarvamedha.'

2 Śrīdharasvāmin's comment on 'Skanda' 10 ch. 83, slk. 41 attaches spiritual significance to many of the terms, as will be apparent from the following:—*Sāmrajam* 'sārvabhaumam padam' (position of an overlord); *svārjam* position of Indra; 'bhaujam' enjoyment of the previous two positions; 'virāt' possession of qualities such as 'anīmā' (i. e. the power of becoming as small as an atom) etc., 'pārameshthyam' position of Brahma; and so forth.

He further states that the four terms 'sāmraja,' 'bhauja,' 'svārāja' and 'vairāja' follow the order in which the four cardinal points are mentioned in the 'Vahvricha-brahmana,' viz. east, south, west and north, and are applied to the presiding deities thereof,—Indra, Yama, Varuna and Kuvera. (For the order of the directions, of 'Amarakosha'—"Indra vanhih pitri-pati nairrito varuno marut, Kuvera īśapatayo purvādīnam disām kramāt.") Indra is also mentioned as 'samrāt' and Varuna as 'Svarāt' in the 'Rig-Veda' (see VII, 82, 2). It is difficult to state whether the titles used in connection with the gods were subsequently applied to the sovereigns in the respective directions, or vice versa.

3 The 'Āitareya-Bṛāhmana' (Bibl. Indica) with Sāyana's comments, Vol. IV, pp. 230 ff. Weber 'Über den Rājasuya,' pp. 115, and f. n. 2.

1. Next follows Indra's consecration in the upper regions to the other-worldly positions called 'pārameshthyam,' 'mahārāja,' 'ādhipatya,' 'svāvasya,' 'ātishtha'. See Weber's 'Über den Rājasuya,' pp. 115, 116. Messrs Macdonell and Keith look upon the above epithets of sovereigns of the several regions as embodying probably a sound tradition. 'V. I.' II, 433.

2. 'Rig-Veda,' I, 36, 7; 51, 15; 61, 9 &c., (cf. gods). 'Atharva-Veda,' XVII, 1, 22; 'Taittirīya-Samhitā' II, 3, 6, 2; IV, 4, 81 &c.

3 'V. I.,' II, 494.

4 'Sukra-Niti' (Jivānanda's ed.) ch. I, slks. 184—187. Such classification of monarchs is also found in other late works like the 'Varadātantra' (2nd patala, quoted in the 'Sadbakalpadruma') where a *rāja* is said to have an income of a lac, 'samrāt,' 10 lacs, and a 'mahāsamarāt,' 100 lacs.

following ascending order of the monarchs based on their incomes in silver *karshas* :—

		Silver Karshas	
<i>Sāranta</i>	having	1	to 3 lacs
<i>Māṇḍalika</i>	"	4	" 10 "
<i>Rājā</i>	"	11	" 20 "
<i>Mahārāja</i>	"	21	" 50 "
<i>Śvarāt</i>	"	51	" 100 "
<i>Samrāt</i>	"	1	" 10 crores
<i>Virāt</i>	"	11	" 50 "
<i>Sārvabhauma</i>	"	51	crores or upwards.

THE AMARAKOSHA.

The *Amarakosha*¹ gives three significations of *Samrāt*: (1) the performer of the *rājisūya*, (2) the monarch exercising his control over a *mandala* ("circuit") consisting of twelve kings, and (3) the monarch who can have his mandates obeyed by the kings under his supremacy.

EPITHETS FOR PARAMOUNT SOVEREIGNTY.

We meet with other epithets such as *chakravartin*, *paramesavara*, *paramabhattachāraka*, *mahārājādhiraj*, *sārvabhauma*, *akhandabhūmipā*, *rājarāja*, *visvarāj*, *chaturantesa*, &c.² Monier Williams explains *chakravartin* as a "ruler, the wheels (*chakra*) of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction; emperor; sovereign of the world; ruler of a *chakra* i.e. country extending from sea to sea"³. It is also explained another way: "a discus (*chakra*), the sign of the god Vishnu

(Lakṣhādhīpatyam rājyam syat, Sāmrajyam dasalakṣake, Satalakṣe, mahesāni, Mahāsāmrajyam uchyate).

¹ Yenashtam rājasūyena māṇḍalasyesvarascha yath Sāsti yaschājñayā rājñāḥ samrādatha rājakam.

See 'Amarakosha' under 'Samrāt.'

The 'Śabdakalpadrūma' says in connexion with the above passage that a *Samrāt* is (I) a monarch who has performed the *rājasūya*; or (II) the ruler supreme over a 'mandala' of twelve kings; or (III) the sovereign who can command the kings under his supremacy as his officials. It also adds "as the opinion of others" who take it as (IV) a ruler whose sway extends over the earth from sea to sea.

² In the Buddhist literature, 'chakkavattī' is sometimes used in the sense of a universal monarch. See Childer's 'Pali Dictionary' quoting, 'Abhidhānapadīpikā', 335 and Turnour's 'Mahāwanso' 27. There are three sorts of 'chakkavattī' viz. 'chakkavābachakkavattī', 'Dīpachakkavattī' and 'padesachakkavattī', the first ruling over the four great continents, the second over one only, and the third over a portion of one.

³ Monier Williams' 'Sanskrit-English Dictionary.'

is to be found among the marks on the hands of all *chakravartins*; and such a ruler is one whose prowess cannot be withstood even by the gods"¹. Some of the other epithets such as *Paramabhattachāraka*², *Paramesvara*,³ *Mahārājādhiraja* are found in close connexion with one another in the inscriptions, and very elastic in their application⁴, the other titles in the above list being but synonyms of these. A distinction is however observed between the use of this set of titles with another comprising such terms as *Mahārāja*, *Bhattachāraka*, &c., found in use with the names of tributary kings⁵.

The Supreme rulers enumerated in the *Aitareya-Brahmana*⁶ are :—

NAMES OF PARAMOUNT SOVEREIGNS IN THE AITAREYA BRAHMANA

Supreme Ruler	Lineage	Consecrating Priest.
Janamejaya	son of Parikshit	Tura, son of Kavasha
Sāryāta	of the race of Manu	Chyavana, son of Bhṛigu

¹ H. H. Wilson's Translation of the 'Vishnu-Purāṇa' (Bk I, ch. XIII, verse 46) Vol. I, p. 183 and n. Dr Fleet adds ('Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum', Vol. III, p. 183 f. n. 4) that the word 'chakravartin' denotes a universal ruler and is one of the technical terms of "paramount sovereignty" though it is not so frequently used in the inscriptions as the others are. The expression "paramount sovereign" is used by him in the sense of "a sovereign supreme in his own dominion but not necessarily reigning over the whole of India" ('Ibid.' Index p. 332), from which it seems that it signifies nothing more than an independent sovereign as opposed to one whose control over his dominion is under a limitation, e. g., a feudatory king. Hence all the titles found in the 'Corpus' and described as implying paramount sovereignty may apply to any independent ruler ranging from a sovereign of the position of Samudra Gupta whose power and territory were imperial to one of a much lower rank, e.g., Sarvavarman, the Maukhari (Fleet, 'op. cit.' p. 221) who is called Mahārājādhirāja.

² I.e. "most worshipful one."

³ I.e. "Supreme lord."

⁴ See f.n. in connexion with 'Chakravartin.'

⁵ See Fleet, 'op. cit.'

Like the above titles we meet with others applied to the wives of the sovereigns, and indicative of the ranks they enjoyed by virtue of those of their husbands, e.g., 'Paramabhattachārīkī', 'Paramadevī', 'Bhattachārīkā' &c. 'Mahādevī' applies to the wife of a 'Mahārājādhirāj' as in the case of Kumāradevī (Fleet, 'op. cit.', p. 221), but the simple Devi serves the same purpose at a later period ('Ibid.', p. 232).

⁶ 'Aitareya-Brahmana', viii, 21—23 where the great unction ('mahābhisheka') is mentioned. Cf. Weber, 'Episches im vedischen Ritual', 8; 'Über den Rajasuya', pp. 117, 118, f.n.n. and Colebrook, 'Miscellaneous Essays', I, 39—43.

Satānika	son of Satrājita	Somasushman, grand-son of Vājaratna
Ambāshthya		Parvata and Nārada
Yudhāmsra-	grandson of	Parvata and Nārada
ushti	Ugrasena	
Visvakar-	son of Bhuvana	Kasyapa
man		
Sudāsa	son of Pijavana	Vasishtha
Marutta	son of Avikshit	Samavarta, son of
		Angirasa
Anga	son of Virochana	Udamaya, s n of Attri
Bharata	son of Duhshanta	Dirghatamas, son of
		Mamata
Durmukha,		Brihaduktha
king of		
Panchāla		
Atyarāti	son of Janantapa	son of Satyahavya
		sprung from the
		race of Vasishtha

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RAJASUYA

It is stated in the *Aitareya-Brahmana* that all the kings in the above list "subdued the earth" by virtue of the *rajasuya* (royal sacrifice) which they had performed. The performance of this sacrifice cannot however be always taken as a mark of paramount sovereignty; for it was a ceremony for the inauguration of a king and "a state ceremonial to which any petty ruler might fairly think himself entitled."¹ Dr. Mitra however states, "from its very nature, a ceremony like the *rajasuyā* could not be common anywhere or at any time, much less during the Hindu period when India was never held by a single monarch" basing his statement upon a passage from the *Taittiriya-Brahmana*—"r jā Svārājyakāmo r jasuyena yajeta" which he interprets as "none but a king who wishes to be a universal monarch exercising supremacy over a large number of princes can perform the sacrifice"². These differences may perhaps be reconciled by keeping in view that in later times the sacrifice lost its simplicity and changed into a complex state function performable by suzerains³.

The ceremony of the conquest of the four quarters forming part of the *rajasūya* was for

¹ See Eggeling (S.B.E.), vol. XLIV, Introduction, p. XV.

² See R. L. Mitra's 'Indo-Aryans' vol. II, pp. 2, 3, cf. 'J. A. O. S.', xiii, pp. 145, 146 (Hopkins). Dr. Mitra states that the rituals of the 'Aitareya-Brahmana' recommends three kinds of bathing; 1st called 'Abhisheka' for kings, 2nd 'Punarabhisheka' for superior kings, and 3rd 'Mahāabhisheka' for emperors. Indo-Aryans, Vol. II, pp. 46, 47.

³ Cf. V. S. Dalal's 'History of India' vol. I, pp. 131, 153.

conferring upon the king a prospective blessing, and did not imply at least in the earlier periods a condition precedent to the ceremonial¹.

THE *Vājapeya*.

The *Vājapeya*, a Soma sacrifice, was at one time of lesser importance than the *rajasūya* followed in the case of a king by the latter sacrifice, and in the case of a Brāhmana by the *Brihaspatisava* (i.e. festival for his appointment as a royal *purohita*)².

But the *Satapatha-Brāhmana*³ exalts the *Vājapeya* over the *rajasūya* maintaining that the latter confers on the sacrificer mere royal dignity, while the former overlordship.

THE *Asvamedha*.

The performance of the *asvamedha* (or horse-sacrifice) involved "an assertion of power and a display of political authority such as only a monarch of undisputed supremacy could have ventured upon without humiliation"⁴. In its earliest phase, however, it was very simple. The horse was let loose after some preliminary rituals to wander for some time, and, on return, was anointed and slaughtered⁵. Its complex formalities in its fully developed form were later accretions.

Prof. Eggeling remarks that as a rule the

¹ For the deviations of the 'rajasūya' in the epic and 'paurāṇika' periods from the Vedic type in regard to rituals, see Goldstucker's 'Sanskrit-English Dictionary' under 'Abhisheka.'

There is a sacrifice named 'Prithi-Sava' celebrated for the attainment of supremacy. It comprehends some of the rituals of the 'rajasūya' but lasts only about a day. [*Taittiriya-Brahmana*, Kānda 2, prapāthaka 7, Anuvaka 5 (vol. II, Bibl. Indica, pp. 315, 316 and 361, 362).]

² V. I., II, 256. See also Eggeling (S.B.E.) Vol. XLI pp. xxiv, xxv, quoting 'Taittiriya-Samhitā,' V, 6, 2, 1; 'Taittiriya-Brāhmana,' II, 7, 6, 1; 'Lātyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra,' viii, 11, 1 and 'Asvāīyana-Srauta-Sūtra,' ix, 9, 19.

³ V, 1, 1, ff.; 2, 1, 19; Cf. Kātyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra, XV, 1, 1-2 Weber, 'Über den Vājapeya,' interprets the situation differently from Eggeling; 'V. I., II, 256 and Eggeling (S. B. E.) vol. XLI, p. XXIV.

⁴ Eggeling (S. B. E.) vol. XLIV, Introduction, p. XV.

Cf. 'Taittiriya-Brāhmana,' III, 8, 9, 4; 'Apastamba-Srauta-Sūtra,' XX, 1, 1.

— "a king ruling the whole land ('sarvabhauma') may perform the 'asvamedha'; also one not ruling the whole land."

⁵ See Eggeling 'op. cit.,' and V. S. Dalal's 'History of India,' pp. 132, 133.

closely watched animal would not probably range very far from the place where sacrifice would be performed, and though the officers in charge were not allowed at any time to force it to retrace its steps, they could have had little difficulty in keeping it within a certain range of grazing. Not to take up the challenge implied in the progress of the horse was regarded as a mark of cowardice. In any case, a strong ruler who had already made his power felt amongst his neighbours would run little risk of having his horse kidnapped even if it had strayed beyond his dominions, while a weak prince might find it very difficult to keep it secure even within his own territory. ¹

THE LIST OF NAMES OF ASVAMEDHA-SACRIFICERS
IN THE SATAPATHA-BRAHMANA.

The list of performers of the horse-sacrifice given by the *Satapatha Brahmana* ² contains the following names :

1. Janamejaya Pārikshita having as his priest Indrota Daivāpa Saunaka ;
2. Bhīmasena
3. Ugrasena
4. Srutasena
5. Para Atnāra, the Kausalya king ;
6. Purukutsa, the Aikshvāku king ;
7. Marutta Avikshita, the Āyogava king ;
8. Kraivya, the Pāṇchāla king ;
9. Dhvasan Daitavana, the king of the Matsyas ;
10. Bharata Dauhsariti ;
11. Rishabha Yājñatura ;
12. Sātrāsāha, the Pāṇchāla king ;
13. Sātānika Sātrājita. ³

NAMES OF PARAMOUNT SOVEREIGNS IN THE
PURANAS.

I next proceed to enumerate from the *Purānas* and other Sanskrit works a few names associated either with extensive conquests or with the performance of sacrifices indicative of supreme political position.

We find Prithu in the *Agni-Purāna*,⁴

¹ See Eggeling, 'op. cit.' Introduction, xxviii, xxix, xxx.

² 'Satapatha-Brahmana,' xiii, 5.4, 1-19.

³ The list in the 'Sāṅkhayana-Srauta-Sutra' (XVI, 9) has Janamejaya, Ugrasena, Bhīmasena, Srutasena, Rishabha Yājñatura Vaideha, Alhāra, and Marutta Avikshita.

⁴ Vāṅlakhilyādīmunayo vyāsavālmiki-mukhyakāḥ, Prithurdilipo bharato dushmantah satrujīdvali. Agni-Purāna, ch. 219, slk. 50

as also in the *Bhāgavata*,¹ *Brahma*,² *Brahma-mānda*,³ and *Siva* ;⁴ Sagara in the *Vāyu*,⁵ *Vishnu*.⁶

Bhāgavata,¹ *Brahma*² and *Padma* ;³ Marutta in the *Markandeya*¹⁰ and *Padma* ;¹¹ Bharata, son of Dushmanta, in the *Vāyu*,¹² *Vishnu*,¹³ *Brahma*,¹⁴ and *Agni*¹⁵ ; Dushmanta

Mallah kakutsthaschānenā yuvanāsvo jayadrathah, Mādhātā muchukun lascha pāntu tvancha pururavāh.

'Ibid.' ch. 219, slk. 51.

These two couplets contain the following names :— Prithu, Dilipa, Bharata, Dushmanta, Satrujit, Vali, Malla, Kakutstha, Anenā, Yuvanāsva, Jayadratha, Mādhātā, Muchukunda and Pururavā. These names form part of the 'Mantras' recited at the coronation described in the 'Agni-Purāna.' The names are evidently those of renowned emperors invoked to bless the king who is being inaugurated.

1. Bhāgavata-Purāna, Skanda 4, ch. 21, slks. 9 and 10.

2. Brahma-Purāna, ch. 2, slk. 24.

3. Brahmanda-Purāna, ch. 69, slk. 3.

4. Chakravartī mahāvīryah prithu rājādhipo bhavat, Siva-Purāna (Dharma-samhitā), Ch. 24, slk. 65.

See also 'Ibid', slk. 66.

5. Sa dharmavijayī rājā vijitvemām vasundharām, Asvam vichārāyāmāsa vājimedhaya dīkshitah. Vāyu-Purāna, ch. 88, slk. 144.

6. Akhilabhumandalapatirattivīryaparakramo 'nekayajñakrida-rātipaksha-kshayakartā tavodare 'chakravartī' tishthati. Vishnu-Purāna Pt. IV, ch. 3.

7. Saha tenaiva sanjatah sagarakhyo mahāyasaḥ, Sagaraschakravartī sīt sāgaro yatsutaiḥ kritah. 'Bhāgavata-Purāna,' Skanda 9, ch. 8, slk. 42.

8. Jigaya prithivīm batvā talajanghan sahaibhāyan, Sakānām pahlavānām cha dharmam nirasada-chyutah, Kshatriyānām munisreshthāḥ paradanām cha dharmavit.

'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 8, slk. 32.

9. Manuscha sagaro rājā maruto nāhushātmanah, Ete te purvajāḥ sarve yajnam kritvā padam gataḥ. 'Padma-Purāna (pātala-khanda),' ch. 4, slk. 116.

10. Vubhuje prithivīm kritsnām marutta kshatriyar-shabhan.

See 'Markandeya-Purāna,' ch. 32, slk. 4.

11. See the quotation from the 'Padma-Purāna (pātala-khanda)' in connexion with Sagara.

12. Chakravartī tato jajne daushmantirnipasattamah. See 'Vāyu-Purāna,' ch. 99, slk. 133.

13. Dushmantāchakravartī bharato bhavat. Yannā-maheturdevaiḥ sloko giyate.

'Vishnu-Purāna,' Pt. 4, ch. 19, Para 2.

14. Chakravartī suto jajne dushmantasya mahātmanah, Sakuntalāyām bharato yasya nāmna tu bhāratah.

'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 13, slk. 57.

15. See the quotation from 'the Agni-Purāna' in connexion with Prithu.

n the *Agni*; ¹ Māndhātā in the *Bhāṣavata*, ² *Igni* ³ and *Brahma*, ⁴ with his father Yuvaśva in the *Agni*; ⁵ Muchukunda, son of Māndhātā, in the *Agni* ⁶ and *Bhāṣavata*; ⁷ Yayāti in the *Brahma*, ⁸ *Linga* ⁹ and *Padma*; ¹⁰ Purūravāh in the *Matsya*, ¹¹ *Agni*, ¹² *Mārkaṇḍeya*, ¹³ and *Brahma*; ¹⁴ Harischandra in the *Brahma* ¹⁵ and *Siva*, ¹⁶ while his great-grandson Vijaya in the former *Purāna*; ¹⁷ Kāṭtavīrya in the

Vāyu, ¹ *Skanda*, ² *Mārkaṇḍeya*, ³ *Linga* ⁴ and *Brahma*; ⁵

Chitraratha in the *Siva*, ⁶ Chandra in the *Vishnu*, ⁷ Vasumanā in the *Kurma*, ⁸ Maru in the *Padma*, ⁹ Bhima (a grandson of Purūravā) and Samika, a Bhoja sovereign, (son of Syāma), in the *Brahma*, ¹⁰ and Usanā in the *Vāyu* ¹¹ and *Linga* ¹²;

Malla, Kakutstha, Anenā, Jayadratha and others have already been referred to in the quotation from the *Agni-Purāna* in connexion with Prithu. The *Matsya-Purāna* ¹³

1 Ibid.

2 Yauvanāsvotthamāndhātā chakravarttyavanīm rabhuh, Saptadvīpavatīmekah saśasachyutatejasā. 'Bhāṣavata-Purāna,' skanda 9, ch. 6, slk. 34.

3 'Agni-Purāna,' loc. cit.

4 'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 7, slk. 92.

5 'Agni-Purāna,' loc. cit.

6 'Agni-Purāna,' loc. cit.

7 Nirjitya dikchakramabhutavīgraho, Varāsa-sthah samarajavandiah.

'Bhāṣavata-Purāna,' skanda 10, ch. 51, slk. 51.

Slokas 52 and 58 ('Ibid.') call him 'svarāt' and 'vabhauma.'

8 Saptadvīpam Yayatistu jivā prithvim sasāgarām, Vibhajya panchadhā rājyam putrāṇām nāḥushastadā.

'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 12, slk. 18.

9 Sa tena rathamukhyena Shanmāshenājayanmahīm.

Linga-Purāna (Pārva-Khanda), ch. 66, slk. 68.

10 See the quotation from the 'Padma-Purāna' (Pātākhandā, ch. 4, slk. 116 in connection with Sagara.

11 Asvamedhasatam sāgramakarod yah svatejasā, Pururavā iti khyāta sarvalokanamasakritah.

'Matsya-Purāna,' ch. 24, slk. 10.

imabachchhikhare ramye samrājya janāddanam, kaisvaryyamagādṛaja saptadvīpa-patistadā.

'Ibid.,' slk. 11.

2 See the quotation from the 'Agni-Purāna' in connection with Prithu.

3 Pururavasangmānam chakravartinamurjjitam, Janayamāsa tanayam yatra somasuto vudhah.

'Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna,' ch. 111, slk. 13.

4 Dese punyatame chaiva maharshibhirabhishtute, Rājyam sa karayamāsa prayage prithivīpatih.

'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 10, slk. 9.

Evamprabhāvo rājāsīd ulastu narasattamah

'Ibid.,' slk. 10.

5 Sa vai rāj harischandrastraisankava iti smritah, Abartta rajasuyasya samraditi visrutah.

'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 8, slk. 25.

6 The same verses as above occur in the 'Siva-Purāna' (Dharmasamhitā) ch. 61 slk. 21.

7 Vijayaschamunisreshthoschanchuputro vabhava ha Jeta sa sarvapṛithivīm vijayastena sa smritah.

'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 8, slk. 27.

1 Kritajātaschaturthabhuḥ kritavīryaḥ tatorjjurah, Jaino vāḥusahasrena saptadvīpeshvaro nripah.

'Vāyu-Purāna,' ch. 94, slk. 9.

2 Sa saptaratnavāḥ samrat chakravartī vabhava ha.

'Skanda-Purāna' (Prabhāsa-khanda) ch. 20, slk. 12.

3 Prithivyām sastradhṛinmānyastvāhamevārdhhi samyutah,

Tato bhaviṣhye nātmanam karishye papabhogginam

'Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna,' ch. 18, slk. 9.

4 Jaino bahusahasrena saptadvīpeshvarottamah.

'Linga-Purāna' (Pārva-khanda), ch. 68, slk. 9.

5 Yo'sau vāḥusahasrena saptadvīpeshvaro bhavati, Jigāya prithivīmeko rathenadityavarchchasa.

'Brahma-Purāna' ch. 13, slk. 16c.

Teneyam prithivisarvā saptadvīpā sapattana,

Sasāmudrā sanagara ugreṇa vidhinā jīta.

'Ibid.,' slk. 166.

Sa sarvaratnabhaḥ samrat chakravartī vabhava ha

'Ibid.,' slk. 175.

6 Vubhuje sakāṇ bhogaṇ saptadvīpavatīm mahīm, Samāruhya gatah so'pi surathastṛidasaḥ layam

'Siva-Purāna' ('Dharmasamhitā', Uttarabhāga, ch. 24 slk. 3.

7 Sa cha rajasuyamakarot. Tatprabhāvadatyutkṛti-
shādhīpatyādhishthātṛitvāchchainam mada āvi-
vesa.

'Vishnu-Purāna,' Pt. 4, ch. 6, para 6.

8 Ajayachchāsvamedhena satrunjivā dvijottamāḥ, See 'Kurma-Purāna' ch. 20, slk. 31.

9 See the quotation from the 'Padma-Purāna' (Pātākhandā) ch. 4, slk. 116 in connection with Sagara.

10 Amavasostu dayādo bhīmo rājātha rajarāt
Sṛīman bhīmasya dayādo rājāsīt kaṇchanaprabhāḥ

'Brahma-Purāna' ch. 10, slk. 13.

Syāmaputra samīkastu samīko rājyamāvahat,

Jugupsamāno bhojatvādrajasuyamavāpa sah.

'Ibid.,' ch. 14, slk. 33.

11 Usanā sa tu dharmatmā avāpya prithivīmimam,
Ajahāṣvamedhanam satamuttamadharmikah

'Vāyu-Purāna' ch. 95, slk. 23.

12 Usanāstasya tanayah samprāpya tu mahim imam,
Ajahāṣvamedhanam satamuttamadharmikah,

Linga-Purāna ('Pārva-Khanda'), ch. 68, slk. 26.

13 'Matsya-Purāna' ch. 47, slks. 55-57. See also 'Skanda-Purāna,' ('Prabhāsa-khanda') ch. 20, slks. 1, 2.

mentions some *asuras* such as Hiranyakasipu, Vali etc., as overlords, while the *Devī-Purāṇa*¹ describes the *daitya* named Ghora as an Ekarāt. Sasavindu, son of Chitraratha, became a Chakravartti according to the *Linga Purāṇa*.² Yudhishtira figures in the *Skanda-Purāṇa*³ as the performer of a *Rajasuya* and five *Asvamedha* sacrifices, and as the conqueror of a good many independent princes, while Dilīpa is mentioned in the *Agni*⁴ and *Pādma Purāṇas*⁵, as also in the *Mahābhārata*⁶ which enumerates a good many great kings of yore:—

NAMES OF PARAMOUNT SOVEREIGNS IN THE

Mahābhārata.

1. Marutta, son of Avikshita.
2. Suhotra, son of Atithi.
3. Vrihadratha, the king of the Angas.
4. Sivi, son of Ūsinara, who brought the whole earth under subjection.
5. Bharata, son of Dushmanta.
6. Rāma son of Dasaratha.
7. Bhagīratha, son of Sagara.
8. Dilīpa.
9. Māndhātā, son of Yuvanāśva, who subdued the whole earth extending from the place of sunrise to that of sunset.
10. Yayāti, son of Nahusha.
11. Amvarisha, son of Nābhāga, under whom were hundreds of tributary kings.
12. Sasavindu, son of Chitraratha.
13. Gaya, son of Amurttarayas.
14. Rantideva, son of Sankriti.
15. Sagara of the Ikshāku dynasty, during whose reign "there was but *his* umbrella opened on the whole earth."
16. Prithu, son of Vena.

1. 'Devī-Purāṇa,' ch. 2, slks. 39 ff.

2. Sasavindustu vai rāja anvayadvratamuttamam, Chakravartti mahāsattva mahāvīryyo bahuprajah. 'Linga-Purāṇa' (Purva-khanda) ch 68, slk. 25.

3. Rājasuyo makho yena ishtah sampurnadaksinah, Sarvaṇ bhūmipatin vīryyat samvidhaya kara-pradān.

'Skanda-Purāṇa' (Nagara-khanda), ch. 140, slk. 3. Asvamedhah kritah pancha tathā sampurnadaksinah, Bhṛamayitva hayam bhūmau paschat prapa sa sadgatim.

'Ibid.,' slk. 4. See also 'Ibid.,' ch. 21, slk. 51.

4. See the quotation from the 'Agni-Purāṇa' in connexion with Prithu.

5. 'Padma-Purāṇa' (Pātāla-khanda) ch. 4, slk.

114.

6. 'Śānti-Parva,' ch. 29.

NAMES OF PARAMOUNT SOVEREIGNS IN THE

Kautiliya.

The *Kautiliya*¹ mentions a few emperors who though *chaturants* lost their high positions through one or other of the vices. The list contains the following names:—

Dāndyakra-bhoja, Janamejaya, Aila, Rāvana, Dambhobhava, Vātāpi, Vaidehakarāla, Tāla-jangha, Ajavindu-sauvira, Duryodhana, Haihaya-Arjuna. Vrishni-Sangha (the autonomous community of the Vrishnis) is also mentioned. Jāmadagnya, Amvarisha and Nābhāga long "ruled the earth" through righteousness.

Of these, the first six and the last two as well as the Vrishni-Sangha are found in the *Kāmandakīya*² and *Sukra-Nīti*³.

EXAMPLE OF DIVISION OF SOVEREIGNTY BETWEEN THE KING AND THE PEOPLE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

According to Mr. Kanakasabhai, India has seen not merely pure democracies or pure monarchies but also constitutions in which there were hereditary monarchs, between whom and the subjects there were distinct organs to restrict the powers of the former, and act as buffers. In this arrangement, there was an organized institution of the state to voice for the people's views. We find examples of such an organization in each of the three kingdoms of Chera, Chola and Pandya of the extreme south about eighteen centuries ago. There the hereditary monarch along with the "Five Great Assemblies"⁴ consisting of the representatives of the people, priests, physicians, astrologers, and ministers respectively wielded the sovereign power, and not the monarch alone. The first council safeguarded the rights and privileges of the people, the second directed all religious ceremonies, and the third all matters affecting the health of the king and the public. The fourth like the Roman

1. 'Kautiliya,' Bk. I, p. 11. See also p. 338 for the extent of 'Chakravartti-kshetra.'

2. 'Kāmandakīya,' sarga 1, 54, 56, 57, 58.

3. It has the same verses as the 'Kāmandakīya.' See in this connexion Prof R. K. Mukerji's excellent work, the 'Fundamental Unity of India' (from Hindu Sources), which utilizes the lists of emperors from its special point of view.

4. 'The Tamils 1800 years Ago,' by V. Kanakasabhai, pp. 109, 110 quoting 'Chilapp-athikaram' II, 126; V, 157 and XXVI, 38; and 'Manimekhalai,' I. 17.

augurs fixed auspicious times for public ceremonies and predicted important events, while the fifth attended to the administration of justice, and collection and expenditure of revenue.¹ This system of government, there is

reason to believe, as Mr. Kanakasabhai says was not peculiar to the south but had its original in the Magadhan Empire of the North, from which the founders of the three kingdoms had formerly migrated.

1. Each council has a separate place in the

metropolis for the transaction of its business and for holding its meetings. '(Kanakasabhai, p. 110)

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Some Modern Ideas on Charity

is the theme on which Prof. M. Subedar writes thoughtfully in the pages of the *Social Service Quarterly* for July. A few sane ideas and methods of charitable relief have been set forth in the course of the article which should not fail to draw the serious attention of all interested in this very important and interesting phase of sociology.

The present day charity in India is unorganised and chaotic.

The aims of charity are perverted and its methods have become mischievous. Moulded as it is by traditions, there is little idea in the mind of the giver of gifts regarding his place in the great social machine. Nor does he think much of the true needs or the deserts of the man relieved. Anybody who will, can be a *sanyasin* by merely donning a coloured garment. Anybody can plead misfortune or feign infirmity. The indiscriminate and thoughtless charity of these days has called into existence a large parasitic class, who are often able but always unwilling to do any work. Those who are supported by charity live on the borderland between gentle society and the criminal classes. They are the great recruiting ground for juvenile crime and prostitution. They have rendered by their persistent entreaties the streets of big cities difficult to pass through for honest and decent people. The common beggar is the most efficient carrier of physical and moral taint which he very often breeds. The places of pilgrimage have become centres of vice and crime. The priests have multiplied in quantity and degenerated in quality. Whether the Brahmin is paid the donor's weight in gold or silver, or whether he has to be content with a more modest gift befitting the impoverished condition of his *yajman*, the claims of hereditary priesthood, no longer regarded as a legitimate share from the social income but looked upon as charity, represent some of the most uneconomically spent resources of the country. Apart from the waste, the demoralisation resulting from these conditions is enormous.

The giving of gifts is not an individual's affair. It has important social aspects.

No one should be allowed to ruin the lives of

others by giving charity thoughtlessly. The end of true charity is not only to relieve people effectively from their immediate trouble, but to set them on a way to lead an honest, self-respecting, and independent existence; not only to give men the pleasure which comes from the satisfaction of urgent primary wants, but to bring them 'kalyana' or true happiness which never comes to those who are dependent and who have not done honest work. The individual donor who gives in the conventional manner on conventional occasions has neither the time nor the ability to think out all this. It is for those that shape law and social opinion to decide when and how and how much an individual should give. Restricted benevolence which does not touch the social misery is as much a sign of moral decay as lavish and indiscriminate bounty, which while keeping alive the edge of charity, equally falls short of the objects and is a symptom of social ill-health.

The joint family system which secures great relief at present to a large number, who would otherwise be thrown on the charity of the community, is a doomed institution.

We should therefore prepare ourselves to meet these changes by adopting a sound system of charity. There should be registration of all charitable institutions and publicity for the work they do. We should have a Society for the Prevention of Mendicancy in India, which through law and opinion should make alms-giving obsolete. All *sadabratas* should be directed into socially useful channels. Above all, we should realise that charity is not an affair solely concerning the heart of the donor. It may be even better to knock the bottom out of the donor's pride by making him feel that what is given by him in charity is not always his own but what he has managed to steal from the community and that he shall restore it back not when it pleases him but when and how the community demands it.

"The cry for educational reform is not confined to India alone. Countries far more advanced have their educational defects and drawbacks, for which they are eagerly seeking remedies." This is what V.

Subramaniya Iyer says in the course of a short article entitled

Education East and West

contributed to the *Mysore Economical Journal* for July.

The writer is quite correct when he says that

the type of a University, especially in an old country, is to be determined not by the creative fancies of political theorists, but by the hard realities of various local conditions and other practical considerations, a fact which has been well put by the Central Provinces and Berar University Committee, in the words—"The University should grow naturally out of existing institutions rather than spring ready made from the brains of some University constructors."

Mr. Iyer then describes at some length the discussions going on in England for the introduction of more scientific teaching in the curriculum of the technical and other institutions. Turning from Europe to America one is struck by the growing importance of laboratory work there.

The days of those who say "This is what I *think*" are at an end, and of those who say 'this is what I *find and know*' are coming on. Still not a few of the Indian Educationists act in the belief that they have an instinctive genius for hitting upon the right remedies for India's Educational ills, without any of scientific enquiry. But in America we find ourselves in company with a different sort altogether. They are ever after experiments and results. Two valuable heads under which very useful information has been recently collected are:

- (1) Why children dropout of school early.
- (2) The ideals of Western children.

Unless a thorough enquiry is made under the former, no satisfactory scheme of universal or compulsory education, can be drawn up and no satisfactory curricula under modern conditions which are characterised by the socialistic and democratic tendencies can be formulated. The latter subject is of the greatest practical importance, in developing character which, as has been so often pointed out, is the highest object of education.

Tuberculosis and Social Reform

is the title of a very ably-written article contributed to the *Young Men of India* by Dr. Arthur Lankester and we commend it to the serious attention of the social reformer and the layman alike.

Civilization has doubtless given us many beautiful things but it has also brought evils in its train. The association between tuberculosis and what we may call the evils of civilization is very close indeed.

If civilization gives the palace and the beautiful suburb, it also brings the hovel and the slum. Warmth, fine clothing, and the other amenities of life, are purchased at the expense of the coal mine,

the factory and the weaving mill, and it is with this darker aspect of civilization that we find the disease of tuberculosis continually connected. Nowhere is this connection so obvious as in the numerous cases where savage races have been brought under the influences of "civilization" in a rapid and artificial manner, instead of the change being permitted to occur as a process of gradual, spontaneous development. It is tuberculosis which has been mainly responsible for the practical extinction of the Red Indian, the Maori of New Zealand, the aboriginal Australian, and many other savage races.

The deplorable state of things in Bombay and Calcutta which help the spread of tuberculosis is thus set forth by the writer:

In the Bombay *chawl*, the Calcutta *basti* hut, or the crowded dark houses of many an Indian city, we shall find everything that makes it easy for consumption to spread from man to man. We find dirty, airless rooms, opening by windows far too small upon side-streets, so narrow as to shut out all sunlight from the houses. We find inner rooms crowded with sleeping inmates at night-time, with windows or other apertures for ventilation either non-existent or entirely closed; and in most cases the relations of consumptive patients seem to be taking no precautions whatever to prevent the spread of infection. As we proceed with our inquiry, we shall find that it is amongst people whose constitutions are already weakly that cases of phthisis tend to be most frequent, and we shall realize that the conditions which are favourable to the spread of consumption are not limited to those which help the multiplication and distribution of the tubercle bacilli, but they include all factors which in any way tend to depress the vital powers and thus cause a predisposition to the disease.....

The selfishness of land-owners, who utilize every square foot of available area for rent-producing dwellings, crowding storey above storey where the pressure of population gives hope of their being occupied; of the supineness of Municipal Committees, who are too often slow to take advantage of opportunities for acquiring sites which might be opened out for public use; of the joint-family system, which frequently results in houses being divided and subdivided in order to meet the needs of a gradually increasing family group, until both ventilation and privacy become almost impossible.

The problems of town-planning and of city improvement schemes, the difficulty of opening out over-crowded slum areas without causing still further congestion of the neighbouring habitations, the problem of how to provide for the poorest of the people dwellings which are free from the most glaring hygienic defects, while at the same time providing a due return on the capital expended with a rental which does not place them beyond the reach of those for whom they are intended; these, and many other similar problems of social importance, are all found to have a close vital connection with the spread of tuberculosis.

Our countrymen who are zealous advocates of *purdah* and who stick to insensible old usages should take note of the following:

Here, in India, tens of thousands of the very women, who should be the leaders of society, examples in hygienic living to the less fortunate members

of their own sex, are compelled by their social code to forfeit the blessing of robust health, and at the same time to sacrifice boundless influence which they might be exerting for the good of their country. That the results, as far as the prevalence of consumption is concerned, of this social custom are fully as serious as might naturally have been expected, is proved by the vital statistics of many Indian cities, which show twice, or even three times, as many deaths from the disease amongst women as amongst men, in communities where *pardah* is strictly observed; whilst in *non pardah* communities under similar climatic and other conditions, the numbers may be equal for the sexes.

Upon those who favour the retention of the system of *pardah*, there lies a heavy burden of responsibility to use every possible effort to provide, for those who live in seclusion, such accommodation as to ventilation, open spaces, and the like, that they shall not be deprived of the blessings of fresh air and exercise.

In many parts of India one cause, which was very frequently mentioned by experienced Indian doctors and others, of the prevalence of consumption amongst young women, was that they have to endure the physical strains consequent upon marriage and maternity at an age when, as yet, their constitutions are not fully developed. The diminution of the power of resistance to disease thus coincides in too many cases with an exposure to conditions fraught with danger to any who are in the least degree predisposed to tuberculosis. The almost universal practice of excluding all fresh air from the lying in chamber results in a young girl being kept for days in an atmosphere insupportably close, and in which infective organisms must abound, just at the very crisis of her life when her vital powers are at their lowest. Out of sixty four women, whose deaths from consumption were recently reported in a certain city, in no less than twenty of the cases there was the clearest history of the disease commencing immediately after child-birth.

Harischandra and the Place of the Drama in Indian Life.

K. T. Paul writing on the above theme in the *Young Men of India* for August says :

Harischandra, the Surya Vamshi, the Raja Ad Raja of Ayodhya! He had gone from the throne to the Mayana, not like Nala in well deserved failure at gambling, not like many another in consequence of ill government or defeat in war, no even like Rama in momentary obedience to an uxorious father's wish, but step by step of longdrawn suffering, at every step, because he would not compromise principle for expediency. It is a great and thrilling message. The whole career a *vic dolorosa* in which the brave man, of his own will bore the cross on his shoulder right through even to the bitter end.

The tragedy of Hamlet is vacillation: the tragedy of Harischandra is the will that does execute. The tragedy of Macbeth is regnant passion: the tragedy of Harischandra is, in self-control. The tragedy of Lear is in consequence of misplaced doting affection: the tragedy of Harischandra, in his deliberate willingness to sacrifice home and family, the tender fibres in his manly heart only serving to make the tragic trebly bitter. The tragedy of Othello is in the inequality of the noble soul to the wiles of the wicked: Harischandra did not suffer by ignorance, his was a deliberate choosing of the tragic—for to choose the other was to choose the false. Harischandra is the tragedy of the adamant will, which would not deviate to the smallest degree from principle and duty, paying for consistency every price demanded. Nor does he juggle with his intellect and emotions, and soothe himself by interpreting the sacrifice of power and family as religious renunciation. His regal soul loves power, his manly heart cherishes affection to the last. His are deliberate sacrifices, which continue to rankle in his mind. It is the crown of thorns with none of the points blunted. Harischandra finds suffering the inevitable consequence of righteousness in a world of evil. It all comes to him in the pathway of daily task, and accumulates naturally and normally.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Shaikh M. H. Kidwai continuing his interesting series on *Woman Under Different Social and Religious Laws* writes about

Woman Under Christianity

in the August number of the *Islamic Review and Muslim India*.

To save any misunderstanding the

writer says the following at the very outset, and we thoroughly agree with him.

We believe that human nature, as animal nature is the same in the East and the West, the North and the South. The difference in latitude and longitude in colour or even in creed, does not change human nature. There are good men and women and bad men and women everywhere. Woman as a woman is virtue-loving, sentimental, affectionate, gentle, sympathetic all over the world, even when she is in

barbarous countries and under savage laws. Our respect and love for European woman, Christian woman, as a woman, i.e., when she is not unsexed, is great. We have no doubt that in a few respects the civilization that goes by the name of Western civilization is somewhat superior to that civilization which goes today under the name of Eastern civilization. In fact, we think that a union of the two civilizations, which can perhaps be quickened by intermarriages between the people under these two different civilizations, would evolve a very good civilization if it takes some of the good of the one and some of the good of the other to weaken the failings of the two.

Then the writer goes on to show "how Christianity, as a religion, a moral power, a social institution, has treated woman."

Christians do not recognize the immaculate conception of Lords Krishna and Buddha, but they feel proud of the immaculate conception of their "Saviour." Although they deny a father to their God or part of a God, they do not deny him a mother. And the major portion of them almost adore that mother too. Roman Catholics give a high place to the Virgin Mary in their pantheon of saints and gcods. Yet all the Christians, reformed or unreformed, Catholics or Protestants, have based the very foundation of their religion on the criminality of woman. They have not only accepted the Hebrew story of the "fall of Adam," but have gone so far as to weave a network of blasphemous superstition round about it: that Eve ate the forbidden fruit first, and then instigated Adam to do so, who out of his love for her complied with her wishes so that she might not suffer alone the punishment of a revengeful God; that God sent them both down on the earth and the curse of their sin became ineradicable, so much so that every man born of woman is born in sin and the whole humanity required a saviour to satisfy by his own blood the wrath of a relentless, unforgiving, vindictive God; that the saviour, although a part and parcel of God Himself, came in the human form on this earth, was born of the Virgin Mary, lived for a few years among the fishermen of Galilee, claimed to be the King of Jews who put him on the cross, although he himself made every human effort to save himself from that ignoble death which was inflicted upon thieves and murderers, and with which his gospel—the Old Testament, in which he implicitly believed, had threatened false prophets. Thus the whole fabric of Christianity rests upon the criminality of woman. Pious and saintly Christians like St. Antony, St. Bonaventure, St. Jerome, St. Gregory the Great, and St. Cyprian, all cursed woman, and showered such abuses upon the sex as "the organ of the devil," "the foundation of the arms of the devil," "a scorpion ever ready to sting," "the gate of the devil and the road of iniquity," "the poison of an asp, the malice of a dragon," and "the instrument which the devil uses to gain possession of our souls."

Up to this day, under the marriage law of the Christian Church, a woman, when getting married, has to pledge solemnly to obey her husband. Both in Great and Little Russia, even to-day, the ceremony of the bride taking off the bridegroom's boots for the first time is very important. In certain parts of Great Russia the old custom still clings, that as the bridegroom is about to take the bride from her house, her father takes a specially prepared whip, strikes his daughter gently with it, saying he has done it for the last time. He then presents the whip to the bridegroom.

Jesus said that he had come to fulfil the Law, so he accepted "Thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee" as the maxim of a married life for women. Jesus himself, it is said, was disrespectful to his own saintly mother, and addressed her in a way which would never be allowed in any respectable society to-day. St. Paul, to whom modern Christianity is much more indebted than it is to Jesus himself, and whose personality, too, is much more historical, dictates: "Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man;" and again: "Let the woman, learn in silence, with all subjection, for I suffer not a woman to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." Woman cannot touch the pulpit and the altar. In the Church of England, by law, she is in practice counted a thing unclean. The gulf between the sexes in non-Catholic churches is as wide as in the Catholic.

Because of woman's criminality and the transmitted guilt, even the new-born infant of a Christian himself is subject to condemnation to the eternal torture of undying fire, until baptism has united it to the Church, for although it had committed no sin by its own will, it had nevertheless by its carnal conception drawn with it the condemnation of original sin.

The charge sheet, according to Christianity, against her is as follows:—

- (1) That woman was the first to disobey God.
- (2) That woman prompted Adam to follow her in disobedience.
- (3) That woman was the cause of the fall of Adam.
- (4) That women's guilt has been transmitted to the whole of mankind, and every child is born in sin.
- (5) That owing to woman's crime all humanity except a number of Christians is condemned to eternal perdition.
- (6) That woman, even if she is a Christian, is responsible to see her own unbaptized infant going to eternal fire.
- (7) That God had to send Jesus to be sacrificed because of the first crime of woman, so she is responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus.
- (8) That those who believe that Jesus was more than human have every reason to curse woman more for having caused "the death of their Lord."

Sensitiveness versus Independence.

The following cuttings from an article appearing in the *Spectator* under the above heading would be found interesting:

One is apt at first sight to decide that what we usually call sensitiveness is a weakness, unfortunate in private, disastrous in public life. We doubt very much whether this generally received opinion is correct. A man indifferent to report has probably some great qualities, but serious defects not infrequently appertain to them. The sensitive man has, no doubt, some weakness in his character, but he may have powers which the man made of sterner stuff is without. He can accept suggestion, and appropriate not only in appearance but in reality the moral and mental inspirations of other men. He has more power of development than stiffer natures possess. He is subject to change—more often for better than for worse. Even among public men we should imagine that in a democratic country it is uncertain which

type is the more useful. A man sensitive to criticism is sure to study his critics, and is likely to have more intuitive knowledge of their mental processes than one for whom they do not exist. He is a better representative than a more naturally independent person can be, and representatives are quite as necessary as leaders. Also, he may have a stronger feeling for justice. Unless he is an ill-conditioned man, he will try not to give to the innocent the pain which he, being innocent, has received. He may try very hard to be just, even though he yields, when his resentment becomes excruciating, to the temptations of that malignant justice which we call revenge. On the other hand, the man who does not mind injustice will sometimes do injustice. Strong men are not always just men. In this respect they get far more credit than they deserve. Indomitable prejudice is a common corollary of strength. The man who is above resenting what is said of him is above revenging himself. He will not take offense, but he will not unseldom take the offensive, and that unjustly.

There are people who are absolutely indifferent to what even their friends say of them, because custom has made them content to be misunderstood. This very often happens where a particular member of a family is unlike all the rest. From his cradle he has learned not to expect sympathy. He may have been surrounded by love and be without the slightest bitterness, but he has learned to live alone, and to be tolerant of incomprehension. He does not think that any man's goodness or badness, ability or stupidity, depends upon the power to enter into his particular ideas. He would as soon have his mind to himself. He may even have come to value his mental solitude, and almost, if it were possible, to regard injustice as an extra lock upon the door of his castle. Complete reserve of this kind is rare, but it exists.

A few men and women who do demand sympathy, and do care about making a favorable impression, are too naturally exclusive to mind about public criticism in the least. They may belong to the great world, or they may be poor people living in the crowd, but their real life is among the few. Perhaps as many as half-a-dozen persons in the circle of their acquaintance are quite real to them—and to their criticism they may even be morbidly sensitive. As for the world, it lieth in artificiality, and its joys and its sorrows, its anger, its wit, and its hate, are counterfeited. This view of life proves a man to be ill-endowed with imagination, but that is what absolute indifference to criticism more often than not means. But sometimes it goes with a singleness of purpose, a penetration, an enthusiasm, and a courage which are greater things than that idolatrously worshiped gift.

Newton Anticipated by Muslims.

Al-Qidwai writing in the *Islamic Review and Muslim India* for August asserts that the principle of gravitation was discovered by the Muslims long before Newton. They had discovered both the spiritual gravitation and the physical gravitation. Even their philosophical poets discussed it which will be evidenced from the following few verses of the famous mystic poet Jalal-ud-din Rumi:

*Junla ajsai jahan zan hukme paish
Juft juft o ashigane juft khaish.*

It is owing to a law that all the components of the world
Are in pairs and couples, one loving and attracting the other.

*Hust her juzway ba alam juft khwah
Rast hamcho kahruba o berge kal.*

Every material body or part attracts the other in the world

Exactly as *kahruba* (amber) attracts a piece of straw.

*Asman goyad zamin o merhaba
Ba tu am choon ahan o ahanruba.*

The celestial bodies (sun and stars, etc.) greet the earth saying

We stand with you in the relation of magnet to iron (i. e. attracting each other).

*Guft sael choon bimund een khakdan
Dermiane een nuheete asman.*

Somebody asked how it is that this dusty earth remains

Suspended in the circumscribing atmosphere.

*Hamcho qandile moalag der hava
Ney ber asfal miravad ney ber 'ula.*

Like a round lantern floating in the air,
Neither it falls down nor goes upwards.

*An hakimash guft kes jazbe sama
As jehate shash bimund ander hava.*

The philosopher replied that it is because of the celestial gravitation

That the earth is suspended in the air from all the six directions.

*Choon zi magnatees qubah raikhtha
Dermian mund ahane awaikhtha.*

Just as in the centre of a hollow globe of magnet
If a piece of iron were put, it would remain floating.

Raffi—the Armenian National Writer.

The travails of unhappy Armenia have for long drawn the sympathy of the civilised world but very few people know the inner life of Armenia or the men of note she has produced.

In an informing article in the pages of the *Contemporary Review* Zabelle C. Boyajian tells the story of Raffi who, more than anybody else, reawakened the ideals of liberty and independence amongst his people.

We are told that

The whole of his literary work was one passionate cry for release from the terrible yoke that was weighing them down. In the remotest corners of Armenia, where his works were prohibited on pain of death, they were eagerly procured, read by torch-light in dark cellars, and passed on from house to house through secret passages. Armenia began to know herself.

Of the mass of novels, poems, and essays that he has left much is still unpublished. He was practically the founder of modern Armenian literature. The

Armenians possess a school of classical literature written in ancient Armenian—a language as different from the dialects spoken at the present day as from Italian.

Raffi formed a graceful and supple literary language out of the Armenian dialect spoken in the Caucasus. The pictures of Armenian life in his novels are drawn with truth and humour although they are rendered with a few simple strokes of the brush. They are fragrant with the scent of the mountain thyme and the odours of wet earth. But all this is made subservient to the main idea—that of liberty for his people.

The life-story of Raffi is thus set forth:

At the time of Raffi's birth, in 1837, Persian Armenia was so unsettled that it was impossible for the Armenians to export the produce of their lands themselves. The Persian merchants came once a year and bought up all the fruits of their labour at a nominal price. Raffi's grandfather was evidently a man of spirit, for he determined to take his goods through to Persia and sell them there himself. His caravans returned loaded with charcoal for burning in the newly-invented samovars, and at the bottom of each sack lay a handful of gold—the real guerdon which he was bringing back. So from his very earliest years Raffi was surrounded by the atmosphere of injustice and danger which is the lot of the Armenian peasant.

At the age of thirteen he was sent to the Russian Gymnasium at Tiflis, where he studied the Armenian classics. He wanted to become a doctor, but his father's affairs needed looking after, and he had to return home and attend to business. Living amongst his people, and seeing their sufferings, filled him with a desire to free them, a desire intensified by a journey into Turkish Armenia, where he visited the scenes of Armenian history, and met Muggeditch Khrimian, then a young monk at the convent of Varak, who was already working for the people by publishing an important newspaper and teaching them, amongst other things, modern methods of agriculture. Khrimian afterwards became the most beloved and influential Catholicos that the Armenian Church has ever had; and the friendship of the two young men lasted through life.

On his return to Persia Raffi wrote his novel 'Harem' which aroused the feelings of the Persians so much that he had to leave the country and go to Russia for safety. He settled in Tiflis where he spent the rest of his life in writing his novels and collaborating with Grigor Ardzrouni, the editor of the 'Mschak' (Labourer)—a paper which greatly assisted in forming the mentality of the younger generation.

Raffi died at the comparatively early age of fifty-one, and was mourned by the whole nation.

Intensely fond of Armenia as he was, Raffi was no lenient critic of his own people. The following taken from his historical novel *David Beg* is an instance in point:

—God knows that this nation deserves to have its throat cut, and I would do it myself if I could! I hate her, and yet I love her. She has been a wanton for nearly four thousand years. She was a slave to the passions of Assyria for centuries; during thousands of years she has thrown herself alternately into the arms of Greece, Rome, and Persia—even the black

Arab of the desert has touched her cheek with his thick lips. Which nation has she not been in love with, to whom was she not subjected? She gave herself to all, and was unfaithful to her own husband alone! And in spite of everything, I love this wanton, who has wasted herself through ages past, until there is nothing of her former beauty left. I love this skeleton—this envenomed body, contaminated, as it is, with a thousand diseases, and breathing death—diseases that she has contracted from the lovers she has exchanged for each other as one changes a shirt. I love her, but 'why' I do not know myself. I detest and loathe her but still I love her.

After centuries of inaction there is again a stir in the dead bones of Asia. Japan has already achieved great things and has found a place in the comity of the advanced nations of the world. Even in slothful China the young generation is no longer content to sit idle and let the grass grow under their feet. Their views on many a problem, on which they did not cast a thought up till recently, are undergoing considerable change. This is evidenced from a short article contributed to *China's Young Men* by Koo Ching Tjuan, a Chinese, on the

Moral Aspect of Physical Education.

The writer tells us that "it was regarded, in China, as beneath the dignity of scholars to engage in vigorous exercises, like running and jumping, which they thought were actions suited to naughty boys." But the writer holds that physical training and moral education must go side by side.

Bushido in Japan firmly grasped the moral ideals in bodily competition, and hence it fostered the spirit of daring and bearing, and above all it brought up the spirit of indifference to death, which pervaded the whole nation and laid the corner-stone of patriotism.

A close investigation into physical education reveals four fundamental characteristics, which are the essential foundations of a patriotic people.

First—Rectitude, or the absolute conformity to the rules of right principle or practice. Rectitude, I say, is the most cogent precept in physical education.

Second—courage, or the spirit of daring and bearing. Courage, in its real sense, means doing what is right. Confucius, in his *Analects*, defines courage by explaining what its negative side is. "Perceiving what is right," he says, "and doing it not, argues a lamentable lack of courage." So courage, in my opinion, is one of the most important requisites in physical education, as in everything else.

Third—Veracity, or truthfulness. Truth or falsehood in a man can best be detected in games. Modern educationists have made thorough use of games in the study of students psychologically.

Fourth—Loyalty. By loyalty we mean oneness of purpose. We mean a single aim at the progress

of an institution of which one is a member. We mean sacrifice for the welfare of the nation. In athletics we mean team spirit. Victory is often predicted for a certain team because the individual members are the best players. Those who make such predictions are ignorant as to what team work means. Hence, in group games, team spirit, or, more plainly, care for the team as a whole, is the essential factor in victory. On the degree of team spirit alone we may judge as to possible victory or defeat of a team. If the individuals of a team care more for their own accomplishments than they do for the team there would be discord, con-

fusion, chaos, the result of which would be defeat, shameful defeat.

Man's moral nature is nowhere more outwardly manifested than in games. There he involuntarily shows his moral nature, as if compelled to do so by some spiritual force. He cannot conceal it nor can he suppress it. If he be virtuous, his virtues will be noticed. If he be lacking in virtue, the want will also be noticed. Therefore, loyalty, as developed by long hours of practice, will be stronger and readier for emergency than the loyalty taught merely by words. Thus we see that loyalty is attained best through physical education.

IN JAPAN WITH MY MASTER

WE left San Francisco on the 20th March, 1915, by S. S. Nippon Maru bound for Japan. Sixty years ago the Japanese knew very little of navigation, but with their new spirit of enterprise and the encouragement they have received from their own Government they have almost succeeded in driving out of the Pacific all the rival shipping. The passenger service in the Pacific is now practically a monopoly of the Japanese. Their officers show great courtesy and every detail of a passenger's comfort is looked after with scrupulous care. In addition to commercial advantages this monopoly of navigation has given the Japanese political supremacy in the Pacific.

We arrived at Honolulu on the 26th March. This is in one of the Hawaiian Islands in the Pacific and is an important naval base of the United States. This island is elaborately defended by the latest methods of defence. There are several submarines in the harbour. On the day of our arrival there was a great disaster, one of the submarines had submerged itself for practice but it never rose again. Elaborate search was instituted but to no purpose.

Americans regard Honolulu as their most powerful naval base in the Pacific. A very large number of Japanese have, however, settled there, apparently for the purpose of trade. It is said that they are all trained military men and on the outbreak of any hostility between Japan and the United States it would be doubtful whether the Americans would be able to maintain their power against their Asiatic rivals.

Before reaching Honolulu my Master received a wireless message from the American University Club to give an address, but our stay in Honolulu was too short and the boat started the same evening for Yokohama.

Everyday we used to go up to see the chart of the previous day's run. The chart also gave the day of the week and the date. We had gone to bed on Friday the 2nd April and the next morning we found the calendar making Sunday the 4th April. There was thus an unaccountable vanishing of one whole day. We soon learnt that coming from the East we had just passed the 180° longitude. We have travelled round with the sun, which had lagged each day slightly behind. If the traveller circumnavigates the earth towards the East, he everyday meets the sun a little earlier. Hence there is a gain of a day. This loss or gain in the calendar at first appears very puzzling since at an identical moment to the East of a given mathematical line, it is Friday, whereas it is Sunday a few yards to the West of the line.

We were now nearing Japan; but something was causing us a vague and indefinite anxiety. We had hoped that my Master would be greatly benefited by the sea voyage but to our dismay we found him, for some unaccountable reason, getting more and more emaciated every day.

In alarm we consulted the ship's doctor, who regarded it as an effect of the sea voyage! We reached Yokohama on the 7th April; his condition became still more serious. We now realised that there had been some serious internal mischief since

the sudden suppression of his fever under medication at Harvard.

Fortunately we met with many friends, Indian, American and Japanese, who were eager to afford every possible help. It was arranged that the Emperor's physician should be consulted. He pronounced the illness to be very serious and thought that no relief could be expected from any medical treatment. At this juncture we had the good fortune of meeting Dr. Teusler, the celebrated American physician, Director of the International Hospital at Tokio. Dr. Teusler had followed my Master's work and was most anxious to offer his services. He regarded my Master's serious symptoms to be due to excessive mental strain and anxiety during the past year's lecture tour. In the case of any one else he would have felt hopeless, but since my Master had himself worked on fundamental reactions of life and of nervous reactions in general he would as a patient co-operate with his medical adviser. He drew out a scheme which was to be followed implicitly. The long course of lectures that had been arranged before the different Universities in Japan and various other engagements had to be cancelled with the exception of only two, and these only to be carried out after he had regained sufficient strength. For the present he would have to leave immediately for the sea-side sanitarium at Kamakura, where he would be completely cut off from the outside world and live in seclusion. The manager of the Hotel went out of his way and did everything possible for his comfort. Adjoining the Hotel was the long and beautiful sea-shore. Casting off all other thoughts from his mind he would take his walk gently along the beach and with a childlike enthusiasm he would gather specimens of marine life that used to be cast ashore by the tide. He now brought all the strength of his mind to cast off his illness, since he had much work yet to do in India.

WASEDA UNIVERSITY.

After three weeks' rest my master felt strong enough to give his lecture before the famous Waseda University on the 1st of May, 1915. The lecture hall was crowded with the most distinguished leaders of thought in Japan. The lecture and the demonstration were followed in breathless silence by the large audience. At the conclusion of the lecture, the President of the

University, Dr. Ukita, spoke in the most enthusiastic terms about the great message in science which had been sent to them from India. This was not the first occasion on which they had received messages of inspiration from that country. Many centuries ago Japan had been in close touch with India in her striving after intellectual and spiritual development.

RECEPTION BY MARQUIS TOKUGAWA.

On the 4th of May a reception was organised by Marquis Tokugawa at his residence at Tokio where my Master was received by the eminent professors of different Universities in Japan. We were greatly interested to meet these distinguished men, who are guiding the great educational movement of the country. The Japanese Government have for many years past been selecting the most promising students to obtain their post-graduate training at the most famous Universities in Europe and America. After they had distinguished themselves in these foreign Universities, they, on their return, are given professorships in their own University. The pay is very moderate, but it is the honour and dignity and the certainty of securing appointment in the University that have led the best students to devote themselves to the educational work. The success of her educational experiment is principally due to the continuity of policy that has been pursued in Japan. Even in Japan some of our Indian students,—by no means the best that India could send,—have won a very distinguished place in the University examinations; but we hear little of these students who had acquitted themselves with such credit in foreign countries. In America also we found that the Chinese were regarded as intellectually superior to the Japanese. But in China there is no continuity of policy, as in Japan, for utilising the services of their most distinguished students. Their strong sense of patriotism has also given a great impetus to the educational efforts of the Japanese. Every boy and girl in the school is taught the supreme duty of offering their lives for their country. Education is compulsory and it was a unique sight to see even the rickshaw-men scrambling for the latest edition of their newspapers to keep themselves abreast of the latest news. As an example of this I may describe a characteristic incident. Accompanied by two other

Indians I went to buy a few dwarf plants in a nursery. The woman in charge recognising us to be Indians began to speak enthusiastically about the discoveries of my Master, accounts of which she had read in the newspapers. When she learnt that I was his assistant, not only did she not accept payment for the plants but made a very liberal present of flowers!

We went to some of the Universities and scientific laboratories in Tokio. We were surprised to notice the great secrecy observed about the work that is being carried out in these laboratories. In India we are overzealous to show every stranger all our arts and crafts; we even organise exhibitions for the special benefit of foreigners so that they may find out without any difficulty our domestic articles and the process of their manufacture. The result is the complete suppression of our art products by cheap machine-made imitations. In Japan, however, things are quite different. Even in their Universities, which are supposed to be public, much formality has to be gone through. After a process of unlocking numerous doors we were led to see what was allowed to be seen. They are specially jealous in regard to the introduction of foreign manufactured articles, which are kept out of the country by heavy tariff. It is said that the only foreign articles they obtain are merely to serve as samples, which they reproduce with marvellous accuracy. In this even the trade-mark is not forgotten. We admired the beautiful posters of locally made Stephen's Ink which showed in a very realistic manner radiating streaks of blue black ink.

As far as natural resources go Japan is perhaps one of the poorest countries in the world. The arable land barely produces enough for the need of the growing population. The fisher folks ply their trade amid great danger and hardships. In spite of all their natural disadvantages, they have made themselves one of the great powers of the world. This is undoubtedly due to their frugality, endurance and their genius for details and, above all, their great love of their country. These find expression in their highly efficient and extended popular education. Whatever makes for the highest efficiency is taught to the boys and girls in the schools. From the look of the fields it would appear that the country could not be free from malaria. But the

lessons of hygiene and sanitation are so well taught and the civic responsibilities so well inculcated by the State that malaria is unknown in Japan. Even in remote villages every householder keeps his road front scrupulously clean.

Under pressure from the Western powers, Japan had to choose either to become modernised or lose her national existence. She followed modern methods, but soon excelled her Western preceptors. In the art of war, in statecraft, in espionage they have left some of the most up-to-date Western nations far behind. One great characteristic weakness of the Eastern nations is what is known as 'eye-same', which interferes with their promptly utilising some special advantages irrespective of other considerations. But the Japanese statesmen are far above such weaknesses. They are ready at any moment to discard useless and embarrassing obligations and enter into new ones for their own national advantage. Their ever-expanding military system has imposed on them an intolerable burden which cannot be borne by the people for long. The problem before the Japanese statesmen seems to be, therefore, to discover new spheres of influence and new places 'in the sun,' in China or elsewhere.

My Master's health was slowly improving but he was not yet quite strong enough to undertake the voyage homewards. And so under doctor's order we left for the Hill Sanitarium at Myanoshita for a further stay of a fortnight. This was a region of great volcanic activity, where the hot springs are supposed to possess great curative properties.

CHINA

On the 21st May we sailed for China. Our first port was Shanghai. This is a unique cosmopolitan city in the world. Every power worth a name has its own Government within the city. The many Chinese friends we made in America had arranged for us an extensive tour in China to visit the different Universities and the various historical places. But my Master was anxious to return home as soon as possible. At Shanghai, however, they organised a dinner in his honour where we met many leading Chinese gentlemen, among whom were a colleague of the ministry of the late President Yuan Shih Kai and Dr. Woo, the former Chinese am-

bassador at Washington. At that time there was great friction between China and Japan, Japan having made a series of demands which was most humiliating to the sovereignty of the Republic. The Chinese gentlemen, however, made light of the impending danger. They thought that China had a more perfect and ancient civilisation than the Japanese, who owed all their culture and civilisation to their Western neighbour. They had no doubt that the higher culture and civilisation of the Chinese would ultimately prevail. Instead of facing the problem of the present they thus benumb all their activity in dwelling merely on the glories of the dead past. Here we have the cause of the inefficiency of the Chinese in a nutshell. A highly cultured people, among whom were a very large number of young men, educated in the most up-to-date methods of the West, with newly awakened ideas of patriotism, are thus rendered powerless to resist the encroachment of a smaller nationality, more efficient and better organised.

From Shanghai we went to Honkong. Our next port was Singapore, whence we arranged to go to Java to visit the famous botanic gardens of Buitenzorg. These gardens possess the richest variety of flora in the world. The ability with which these are accumulated and displayed are unique. There is a special establishment at Chibodas for scientific investigations which is open to all nations of the world. Here we expected to meet many botanical investigators from all parts of the world and also to make a new collection of plants suitable for our own investigations. And the other place we wanted to visit in Java was the most famous temple of Borobudur.

On arriving at Singapore we found that the place was under martial law on account of the abortive rising of the Indian soldiers. The steamer for Batavia was to leave within an hour of our arrival at the harbour. And on account of the war, the steamer service between Singapore and Rangoon was very uncertain. In this dilemma we had to abandon our trip to Java and we took passage in the French steamer which sailed almost immediately for Colombo.

We were now rapidly nearing Colombo, which I had left fifteen months ago. In this short time great things have been accomplished against insuperable difficulties.

We travelled from Colombo to London, from London to Vienna and back thence across the Atlantic to New York, from Boston to Washington and from New York to Sanfrancisco, from there to Japan and China and back to Colombo. The length of the journey accomplished was over 26,000 miles. There was the added anxiety of personally carrying the delicate apparatus and our Indian plants, on whose well-being greatly depended the success of our scientific tour. Far more hopeless appeared the task at the beginning of our journey of converting the conservative leaders in science. There is a prevalent idea that in the realm of science there is always a keen desire for welcoming new truths. In reality things are quite different, for the leader of a particular branch of science occupies that position as the upholder of certain orthodox views, which, by the acceptance of new discoveries are liable to be completely subverted. Authoritative standard works, again, are in danger of becoming antiquated by the disturbing elements introduced by new facts and interpretations. It would thus be seen how new discoveries must inevitably rouse uncompromising opposition. When to this is added the further fact that the old views were challenged by a representative of a race better known for metaphysical subtleties than for power of accurate experimental investigation, then only would be realised the almost impossible task that lay before my Master. He had to look forward to no adventitious aid of any description from any direction but only uncompromising opposition. He went boldly to all the great centres which were opposed to his views and theories and by means of experimental demonstration of a convincing character succeeded in converting his opponents into enthusiastic supporters of his theories. He met all the leaders of thought of different nationalities of the world and won from them recognition of the very important service that his country is to render in the near future for the advancement of the world's knowledge. What was the other day regarded as impossible has now become a realised fact. In trying to get behind this great miracle the disciple realised that material advantages and favourable conditions are as nothing compared to the power of a consecrated life.

BASISWAR SEN.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus. Vol. XVII—Part I, Nos. 79—84. January to June 1916.

The Matsya Puranam Chapters 1—128. Translated by a Taluqdar of Oudh. Published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu, Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. XV+360+ cvi. Annual Subscription—Inland Rs. 12-12-0. Foreign £1.

In this part chapters 1—128 have been translated and to complete the dynastic records of the Kings of the Kali yuga chapters 271, 272 and 273 have also been given in this volume.

The Introduction has been written by Professor Lalit Mohan Kar Kavyatirtha M. A. According to him the Kurukshetra war was fought in 1922 B. C. He arrives at this date from the data given in the Matsya Purana.

"The greater part of the present volume is taken up with a description of Vratas or fasts, followed by feasts and gifts to the Brahmanas. They are of interest to the Hindu public. To the Non-Hindus they are of very slight importance" (Editor's Foreword).

The volume contains ten appendices. The first appendix is on the character and the origin of the Puranas and is written by that gifted writer, Mr. B. C. Mazumdar. The second appendix is on the date of the Mahabharat War and the writer is Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vasu Vidyarnava. In it he discusses the various views and arrives at the conclusion that the date of the war is 1922 B. C.

Appendix iii contains the translation of the chapters 271—273 which give an account of the Dynasties of the Kali Age after the war.

In Appendices iv—vii, genealogies of various dynasties have been given: Some of them are quotations from the Asiatic Researches.

Appendices vii and viii are on the Pauranic chronology and Geography and are written by Mr. Vasu.

In the Appendix x, he tries to fix the date of the Matsya Purana. He says:—"As the Chronology of the Matsya Purana does not go beyond the Andhra dynasty, so, in its present form, it cannot be posterior to the year 225 A. D., if that date be taken as the termination of the Andhra according to Mr. V. Smith. It would be 432 A. D. according to the Matsya Purana. It is, therefore, one of the oldest, if not the oldest of the Puranas. The Vayu, The Visnu, and other Puranas mention the Gupta and other dynasties that came into existence after the Andhras and so they, in their present form, are later than the Matsya.

Albiruni saw a manuscript of the Matsya Purana in his time, so it must have existed then."

According to him, "this Purana, in its original form, was recited on or about 1160 B. C."

These appendices are very learned and valuable and are indispensable to the students of the Puranas.

The second part of the book will be published in future but the first part is complete in itself.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus Vol. XVIII Part I (July 1916; No. 85). THE BRAHMOPANISHAD SARA SANGRAHA. Translated by Vidyatilaka. Published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Panini Office,

Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. X+80. Price Re. 1-1-0. Annual Subscription—Inland Rs. 12-12-0; Foreign £1.

The Brahmopanisat Sara-Sangraha-Dipika is a small collection of some Upanishad texts to which is attached a Sanskrit commentary by an anonymous author.

The book contains 150 quotations and 141 of these have been traced to their original sources. The remaining 9 quotations have not been identified. Of these, the first has been quoted by Sankara in his commentary on I. 2. 25 of the Vedanta Philosophy and by Ramanuja on the commentary on I. 2. 26. The 31st mantra has been taken from the Brahma Vinu Upanishad or Amrita Vinu Upanishad (12th mantra); the 33rd from Maitrayana (6. 18); the 45th from Narayana (13); the 104th from the Brahma Hridaya-Upanishad (39) and the 115th from the Brahma Vidya-Upanishad (12). In some of these mantras, a word or two have been changed. This may be due to different readings or due to the fact that the mantras have been quoted from memory.

The quotations are disproportionate. The Chandogya Upanishad has been altogether ignored and there are only two quotations from the Brihad aranyaka Upanishad. On the other hand 13 mantras have been taken from the Kaivalya, 12 from the Brahma Vinu and 9 from the Mahanarayan.

The book contains (i) A preface, (ii) An Introduction (8 pages), (iii) Sanskrit Texts of the Upanishads (iv) English translation of these texts, (v) Dipika in Sanskrit, (vi) An alphabetical Index of the Upanishad Texts.

MAHESH CHANDRA GHOSH

A GIST OF MR. TILAK'S GITA-RAHASYA OR KARMA YOGA-SHAstra (*The Hindu philosophy of life, Ethics and Religion*) by V. M. Joshi, M.A. Publishers: Dugvekar Brothers, Bibihatia, Benares City. Pp. 15+88 Price 8 Annas.

"All of us know that Mr. Tilak had to spend his days in seclusion at Mandalay from 1908 to 1914. During this period he wrote his new thesis, the *Gita Rahasya* or *Karmayoga-shastra* in Marathi, of which he has made a special study for these forty-three years..... Its English version, we hear, is to be made at no very distant date and it is already in process of being translated into all provincial languages of India. In the meanwhile the sooner the eminent thoughts of the great thinker are made known to our innumerable non-Marathi-knowing countrymen the better it will be for them." (Foreword)

And so Mr. Joshi of Poona has made an outline of the book which is presented to us in the little volume under notice. The book has been written well in appreciation of Mr. Tilak's work, briefly summarizing its contents, and giving suitable reply in the last two chapters to the unfavourable criticisms passed hitherto in western India both by the English-educated scholars like Dr. Bhandarkar and shastris or Sanskrit Pandits.

The secret (रहस्य) of the Gita according to Mr.

Tilak, as described in the Gist, is कर्मयोग known to be so considering the two cardinal, and yet very simple points, one of them being starting and the other concluding, viz. (1) Arjuna asked ought I to fight or to shirk fight? (2) and the response is that he was so persuaded to fight that he actually promised to do so. And consequently all the verses of the Gita are to be so interpreted that they can "mark some progress in the line."

It seems good and reasonable. But it is to be considered that whether in the Gita things relatively different from the *Karmayoga* are also explained to Arjuna, who is not to be regarded merely as one wanting to ascertain in the juncture that whether it is advisable to fight with those who are closely related to him for a transitory kingdom, but as one, who aspires after emancipation as his goal of life, but finding the way not very easy to decide, approaches a great person for his instruction. And accordingly the Instructor points out the way, *the only one way*,

the different parts of which are called कर्मयोग, भक्तियोग, and ज्ञानयोग and if one of these parts is not followed,

naturally the journey will be an incomplete one, and so a traveller cannot do without any one of them. Thus they have their own importance, and so if anybody discard one part of the way, laying every stress on the other so as to regard others as nothing, he would do it to no purpose.

And thus the promise of Arjuna in the end of the dialogue that he would do what Shrikrishna advised him (करिष्ये वचनं तव XVIII 73) refers not only to fighting or कर्मयोग but कर्मयोग, भक्तियोग and ज्ञानयोग

alike. It is what occurs to us and the readers are at liberty—to accept or reject—we need not say.

What is obscure to one is very clear to another. It entirely depends on individual intellectual capacity. Moreover, men naturally think differently and judge a thing from different standpoints. And it is impossible to stop it. And thus it is quite natural that the text of the Gita has so many commentaries, the number of which is increasing daily. And in almost all of them one finds something new in one or other way, and this adds to the knowledge of mankind. Let it be *Karmayoga* or something other which Gita teaches, it being the common point of dispute from time immemorial, but the importance of Mr. Tilak's work in other respects is a great one, as shows the gist under notice.

It is to the credit of Mr. Tilak that we now have the hopelessly lost verse of Ishvara-Krishna's *Sankhya-karika* which was originally composed in seventy verses of Arya (आद्यार्य) metre, but unfortunately one of them was lost. Even in the present editions of the oldest commentary on them by Gaudapada only sixty-nine verses are to be met with. Yet from the very commentary Mr. Tilak has succeeded in finding out the lost verse when reading the above commentary on the 61st verse which undoubtedly shows, another verse commented upon in it "and Mr. Tilak has synthetically reconstructed it as follows :—

कारणमीश्वरमेके, वृद्धते कालं परे स्वभावं वा ।

प्रजाः कथं निर्गुणतो यत्नं कालः स्वभावश्च ॥"

The reconstruction is very excellent so far as the

first, second, and the fourth *padas* of the verse are concerned, but according to the rule of Arya metre in which the whole work is composed the third *pada* cannot be admissible, for in Arya a जगण् or मध्यगुणश्च is not to be used, but the *pada* in question contains it (प्रजाः क). We, therefore, suggest a different reading like the following one, though we are not quite satisfied with it :—लोकः कथमगुणत् स्वात् ।

Those non-Marathi-knowing persons who desire to learn briefly and in a suitable way the contents of the work of one of the greatest thinkers of the present generation of Indian people should gratify their desire by going through the pages of Mr. Joshi's little volume, which contains also a short life and character sketch of the great Marhatta leader.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

A VEDIC GRAMMAR FOR STUDENTS by Arthur Anthony Macdonell, M.A., Ph.D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, Fellow of Balliol College; fellow of the British Academy; fellow of the Royal Danish Academy, including a Chapter on Syntax and three Appendices: List of Verbs, Metre, Accent. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, New York, Toronto, Melbourne and Bombay, Oxford University Press. Pp. xii + 508, Price 10s. 6d. net.

Professor Macdonell's name has been familiarized to every one of those who cherish any love in any way for Sanskrit literature by his works on Vedic subjects including the *History of Sanskrit Literature*. In 1910, his contribution on the form of the *Vedic Grammar* to Buhler's *Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research* was a brilliant one. It is a large volume of 486 pages closely printed in very small types containing matters written in that condensation which is one of the special features of the series. His work is, however, so extensive and detailed being rather a reference book for scholars, that general students can not be expected to master its contents thoroughly. This is what has persuaded the Professor to write again a book on the same subject by which he has really removed the want of a volume which has so long been desiderated.

The present work is not to be regarded as merely an abridgement of his large Vedic Grammar though it has to a great extent been based on it, but in fact is a supplement to it. Owing to the limitation imposed on account of its being a volume of *Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research* the author was obliged to exclude much matter from his large Vedic Grammar with which he has dealt in the present one, adding chapters on Outlines of Syntax, and Conjunctive and Adverbial Particles and an Appendix of alphabetically arranged forms of every verb given in the body, and describing also the Vedic matters. The general treatment of the subject is excellent and is what may naturally be expected from a savant of Professor Macdonell's rank.

In explaining Conjunctive and Adverbial Particles the author appears in some cases to have entirely ignored the significances handed down traditionally. For instance take the word कृविद् which is given in the Nighantu (III. 2. 1) as one of the synonyms for वृद्ध; and we do not find any fault with the meanings

based on it as explained by Indian commentators even in the passages quoted by Prof. Macdonell in support of his suggested meanings. तु has a number of meanings as given by him, and Sayana has also explained it by different words such as अद्यापि, इदानीम्, किञ्च, खलु, etc. Sometimes the (immediately, at once) latter takes it to mean त्विप्रम्, as in R. V., I. 145. 1 (p. 238), but the author does not speak anything of it.

In desideratives वीभत्सु (वीभत्सुः) is given in both the grammars of the author from the root √वाष्, but according to Panini (III. 1. 6) it is from √वष्, the actual derivative from the former being विवाषिषते as has also been noted by him as used in Brahmanas.

Considering the immense merit of the books these defects are very insignificant. So there is not an iota of doubt that the work will prove a great boon to students of the Vedic language.

Max Muller is said to have prophesied that he had no doubt that the time would come when no Indian unable to construe the Vedic hymns would call himself a Sanskrit scholar. It was forty years ago, but the time has not yet come in India. It is undoubtedly due to a considerable degree to the want of a practical Vedic Grammar. But Indians have now before them the required book and they should at once set to work. Let them write a similar book, having in view the requirements particularly of Indian students, first in Sanskrit and then render it into different vernaculars. They should no longer remain inactive in this branch of learning of which they are so much proud.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

BIBLE LESSONS FOR USE IN ZENANAS, by Edith M. Annett, price 5 as.

THE PROPHETIC GOSPEL, by L. P. Larsen, price 3 as.

Christian Literature Society for India.

Both these books are intended to assist teachers in Bible classes.

THE QURANIC DOCTRINE OF GOD, by W. R. W. Gardner, 5 as.

This is far above the usual level of missionary books and it would be well if all missionaries in India were to read it, so that they might avoid some of their irritating misrepresentations of Islam. Even Muslims may read this little book with profit for though they may not agree with everything in it they will find nothing unfair. There are numerous quotations from the Quran and they have been admirably chosen.

THE HOLY QURAN WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND EXPLANATORY NOTES PART I, *Anjuman-i-Taragqi-i-Islam, Qadian, Punjab, India. Rs. 2.*

The Translation and Notes are in accordance with the views held by the sect which believes Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian to be the promised Messiah. Sometimes the renderings differ from those generally accepted, but in all cases the differences are due to theological motives. The commentary is of hardly any value, but it contains a few interesting quota-

tions. The printing however deserves very high praise. This is, we think, the best printed Quran we have seen. All the verses are numbered. As there are to be thirty parts and each part costs Rs. 2 the price of the whole book will be prohibitive for most Muslims. The following extract will show the opinions of the sect: "We take this opportunity to convey to the world at large the glad tidings that the Blessed Messenger of the latter days, whose advent was foretold by almost all the great prophets of the world, made his appearance in due time, in the person of Hadrat Mirja Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian..... If we carefully consider the prophecies of these great prophets, we find that it was of one and not of different Messengers that these ancient sages of different nations spoke. All these prophecies pointed to the appearance of the Promised Teacher in the East. Isaiah said "Who has raised the righteous one in the East." Jesus likened his second advent to lightning that flashes from the East to the West; the Holy Prophet of Islam also pointed to the East. Nay he even named the very place where the promised Mahdi was to appear. He called it Kad'a, a name which is quite like the name Kadi or Kadian as the birth-place of Ahmad is called."

E. C.

KEIGWIN'S REBELLION, 1683-4, AN EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF BOMBAY, by Ray and Oliver Strachey. (*Oxford Hist. and Lit. Studies. No. 6, Clarendon Press, 1916*), xvi+184, 3 illus. and 2 maps. Price 7-6 net.

This history of "a unanimous and bloodless revolution by which Bombay island was lost to the Company for nearly a year," is one of the best fruits of the specialisation which has at last happily begun in the study of Indian history. For the history of the E. I. Co. the original materials are all preserved in England among the manuscripts of the India Office; and if a writer works in India alone, no amount of industry among the printed books and few MS. records at the Bombay Secretariat or Imperial Record Office, which are the only things available in India,—can atone for his lack of such primary sources of information. Messrs. Strachey have made the fullest use of "the rich mine in the India Office," viz., original correspondence, factory records, court Books, &c., and with the happiest results. Many current errors have been rectified, and many dark and neglected nooks of Bombay history lighted up. The first four chapters give us the most lucid, correct and fresh account of the early history of the English in Western India—their internal government, state of society, foreign relations, problems and policies,—as yet published.

Captain Keigwin's mutiny and usurpation of the government of Bombay in 1683-84, had its precedent in Sir Edward Winter's usurpation of the government of Madras (Sep. 1665—Aug. 1668.) Both were the work of the white troops in India, and proceeded from the same cause, viz. the belief of the malcontents that a policy of pure trade, a policy of peace with the country powers and retrenchment of civil and particularly military expenditure, was impossible and that "a forward policy to keep the natives in awe" was necessary. (Wilson's *Early Annals*, i. 39-40.) The abolition of the illegal gains of the English soldiers at Bombay, such as "false muster,"—led to Keigwin's outburst. We, therefore, see that the white officers who conspired to murder Clive for abolishing the "double batté" and

those who planned a mutiny against Lord Ripon for introducing the Ilbert Bill (*vide* Cartoon in *Punch*), merely represented a school of Anglo-Indian thought known from the very infancy of the British dominion in India.

We close this excellent book with our memories sadly going back to the late Dr. C. R. Wilson who utilised materials in India and England alike, with no less power of criticism and elucidation than the authors of the work under review, but whose *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, remains, alas! a fragment.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

I. THE VILLAGE GODS OF SOUTH INDIA: *by the Right Reverend Henry Whitehead, Bishop of Madras. Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 1.*

In this small book of 172 pages we have an account of the *grama-devatas* of southern India—the Tamil, Telugu and Canarese countries—and of the folklore connected with them. According to the author, 'this form of Hinduism...represents a pre-Aryan cult of the Dravidian peoples, more or less modified in various parts of southern India by Brahmanical influence.' Many of these village gods are of quite recent origin, e.g. Plague-acuma, the goddess of Plague, temples to whom have been built during the last ten years. The gods of higher Hinduism, Siva and Vishnu, represent world-forces, and are the outcome of philosophic reflection on the world as a whole. But the village deities symbolise only the facts of village life, and are related, not to great world forces, but to such simple facts as cholera, small pox and cattle disease. The infliction and removal of diseases is the special function of all these deities, whose name and number is legion, and who are usually females. The images or symbols by which they are represented are almost as diverse as their names. Their dwelling places, contrasted with the magnificent temples dedicated to Siva or Vishnu, express the meanness of a religion of fear. They are almost universally worshipped with animal sacrifices and Pujaris or ministrants are usually non-Brahmins, and sometimes even outcastes. Even where there is a Brahman Pujari, he never takes part in the animal sacrifices, and even so, is degraded by his connection with the shrine. The Indian villagers pass their lives in constant dread of the evil spirits by which they believe themselves to be surrounded, and the sole object of the worship, if such it may be called, where there is no idea of sin or repentance or gratitude or love or moral or spiritual blessings, is to avert their wrath. The religion of about 80 p. c. of the Hindu population in southern India being the worship of the village goddesses, it would be wrong to hold that the Hindus, as a body, are a race of philosophers. The worship of the *grama-devatas* is the religion of ignorant and uncivilised people, whose thoughts do not travel beyond their own surroundings and personal needs. "At the same time, it is also true that morally the Brahmanical system has sunk to lower depths than have been reached by the cruder religion of the village people. The worship of the village deities contains much that is physically repulsive...But still, it is also true that, setting aside a few local customs in the worship of the village deities, there is nothing in the system itself which is quite so morally degrading and repulsive as the Lingam worship of the savites, or the marriage of girls to the god and their consequent dedication to a life of prostitution among the Vaishnavites. If the wor-

ship of Siva and Vishnu has risen to greater heights, it has also sunk to lower moral depths than the less intellectual and less æsthetic worship of the *grama-devatas*." As for the origin of the worship, the people can afford but little help in explaining its significance, for whenever asked they come forward with the usual reply that it is 'mamul' or custom. Though propitiation seems to be the main idea of the cult at the present day, the author thinks that communion with the world-soul was the original idea. The main object of eating the flesh or drinking or smearing the blood of animals was to absorb this soul-stuff and appropriate the special virtue which belongs to the animal. The author speaks of the 'crude butchery and coarse bloodshed,' 'the wild orgiastic excitement', sometimes even the drunkenness and immorality, which prevail at the festivals, and 'witness to a low and unworthy conception of deity.' The village deity is 'the product of fear untouched by philosophic reflection.' "In the writings of Hindu philosophers and poets there are many noble and inspiring thoughts, but there is nothing in the vast jungle of beliefs and practices that have grown up during the course of ages around the worship of the village deities that the Christian could wish to preserve." Nevertheless, the 'worship of the village deities has maintained a silent protest on behalf of religious and social equality.' By investing non-Brahmins with priestly duties "it has had more influence than we imagine in keeping alive in the hearts of the depressed classes some slight feeling of self respect and a sense of their own worth in the community." "In the second place, deep down in the system, buried beneath a mass of traditional rites which have lost their meaning, there is still the instinctive craving of the human heart for communion with God...It certainly brings religion down into the everyday life of the people. The ordinary villager of southern India does nothing without offering prayer to the village deity, while the shrines and symbols that are scattered all over the countryside keep constantly before his mind the existence of a spiritual world."

It is in this attitude of the mind towards the spiritual world, fostered by the belief in the village deities, that the author sees 'a preparation for the Gospel.' 'The mental attitude of the ordinary villager is the very antithesis of materialism or agnosticism.' In other words, the Bishop of Madras would utilise the very religiosity of the Hindus, of which Hinduism boasts, for the spread of Christianity in the land. But on the reverend Bishop's own showing, this sense of dependence on the spiritual world is the product of gross and often morally reprehensible superstitions, and the latter can only be removed by the inoculation of a wholesome dose of unbelief. Therefore, if the spiritual sense of the masses of the Hindus is to be refined and elevated, this cannot be done by embracing the superstitions of Christianity, but by educating them in the higher tenets of their own philosophy, which is not untinctured with agnosticism as the author calls it, or rationalism as we should prefer to put it. The progress of the human mind from superstition does not lie through superstition into superstition, but through rationalism into enlightened spirituality. Incidentally, Hindus will note the value which the learned Bishop, unconsciously perhaps, puts on the deep religious feeling of the masses of the Hindus, and to what use he wants to put it. If Hindus would preserve their religion against the insidious attacks of Christianity, they must either remain satisfied with the popular supers-

titions and the present low level of rural life, or infuse among the people a healthy spirit of rationalism.

We cannot close this brief review without paying a compliment to these learned Christian writers, who show such a great improvement on their predecessors in the philosophical interpretation of Hindu cults and creeds. They proceed to their task with sympathy and knowledge, and what they say of Hinduism can no longer be brushed aside as shallow or prejudiced. There is much food for thought in these pages for every educated Hindu who is sincerely desirous of the welfare of his religion. As an honest and careful piece of research work and study the book deserves to be recommended to all who are interested in the future of Hinduism.

II. THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDIA : A CENSUS STUDY:—by P. K. Wattal M.A., Assistant Accountant General, Bombay, Bennet, Coleman & Co. Price Re. 1.

The author tries to prove that population in India is growing beyond the means of subsistence, and advocates an artificial limitation of births as the only practical remedy. He recognises that his suggestion is thoroughly unconventional, but he wishes it to be understood that "this essay should not be construed into an attack on the spiritual civilisation of the country or even indirectly into a glorification of the materialism of the West.....There is no greater curse to an individual than poverty—I say this with due respect to our spiritualism." The author declares that his suggestion should not be regarded as immoral. "The ultimate test of a moral or a non-moral act is...whether it does or does not conduce to the preservation of the race. Our existing social customs are more non-moral in this sense than any system of artificial limitation can possibly be." He notes and disposes of the other objections to the remedy advocated by him, but it is not these which will give his book the value it undoubtedly possesses. The merit of the essay lies in its able handling of certain census statistics, from which we cull a few. Early marriage is so universal among females that only 6 per cent of our women are unmarried at the reproductive age. In the district of Darbhanga, which we presume, is the headquarter of orthodoxy, as many as 58 p.c. of boys and 62 p.c. of the girls are married between the ages of 5 and 10. Though the birth-rate in India is higher in India, the fertility of women is not so high as in England. "Premature maternity tends to exhaust the frame and impair the capacity for further child-bearing rather than to add to the number of the population. The most prolific races in India...are those which are least addicted to child-marriage, viz, the Animists and the Mahomedans." The natural increase of population is often in inverse ratio to a high crude birth-rate, for in countries where the birth-rate is high the death rate is also high, and where the birth-rate is low, the death-rate is also low. In Asiatic countries, India has the highest birth-rate; its death-rate is also the highest. Japan has the lowest birth-rate; its death-rate is also the lowest. Thus our high birth-rate is no matter for congratulation; our death-rate being also high, our increase is much smaller than countries like England, Scotland and even Ireland. Herbert Spencer says: "Organisms multiply in inverse ratio to the dignity and worth of individual life." According to the writer, our high birth-rate is an indication of the primitive state of our society and

an evidence of civilisation of an unsophisticated type. "It is no sign of the exuberance of vital force either. Let us remember Herbert Spencer's dictum, 'every generative product is a deduction from parental life.' Fecundity must, therefore, affect longevity." The average expectation of life of a male in England is at birth double that of one in India, and in the case of a female, it is more than double. What is more alarming, the figures for the last three censuses show a progressive decline in vitality, whereas just the reverse is the case in England. "This is of course *a priori* to be expected. With the progress of medical science and sanitation and better conditions of living for the population as a whole, every stage upwards in civilisation must lessen the chances of death." Again, infantile mortality is very high—just double of what it is in England. Indeed, wherever there is a high birth-rate, the mortality among infants is also generally high. This is due to premature birth and debility at birth, which again is the result of early marriage. Everybody marries, whether fit or unfit, at the earliest possible age permitted by Nature. The number of female deaths at the reproductive ages is quite as serious. This is specially the case in Bengal, where child marriage is most common. Joseph Korosi of Hungary and Dr. Dunlop have shewn, by carefully prepared natality tables, that while a delay of three years in the consummation of marriage in the case of the wife reduces the average size of the family by approximately one child, it requires a delay of some forty years on the part of the husband to effect the same reduction. This shows that by delaying the marriage of boys without marrying our girls at a much later age than is customary we have begun at the wrong end. Our high death rate has had the effect of diminishing the respect and sanctity with which human life is regarded in civilised countries. The loss of an only child is missed keenly: but two or three are not missed in a family of eight or nine children. The writer then proceeds to discuss the problem of emigration as a remedy for overpopulation. On this point he has some very plainspoken truths to tell, which is no doubt very laudable for a Government servant. That the Indian labourer "does not move is really due to the fact that he is not welcomed as an immigrant anywhere either within or without the country, and in places where his labour is needed onerous restrictions are placed on his elementary rights as a citizen, so that he recoils from the prospect of working under those conditions." Mr. Wattal quotes Sir Henry Cotton and shows that the cry of the alleged scarcity of labour proceeds from interested parties who are not willing to pay living wages, and the paternal interest evinced by the planters for their labourers is really not any deeper in significance and more generous in motive than the care bestowed on the horse or any other instrument of production. The constant subdivision of holdings necessitated by the law of equal division of property among male heirs, and the multiplication of numbers, have increased the pressure on the soil to breaking point. The low density of population in certain parts of the country is due solely to the inhospitable character of the soil. As for Bengal, "with the exception of one or two districts, the province must wait either for the clearing up of the Sunderbans or the drainage of marshy tracts or for the disappearance of malarial fevers before it can furnish room for further considerable expansion" of population. Emigration has no promise for the overflow of the other provinces except in Assam, but there

Kala Azar and contract labour stand in the way. The outcasts of Madras used to emigrate largely to Burmah, but the Burmans are waking up from their indolence and sloth, and the Madras will soon lose his predominance in that quarter. The Indians are not wanted in the self-governing colonies, the chances of inter-provincial migration are not promising, and the pressure of population on the means of subsistence being already keen, our last hope lies in increasing the productivity of the soil by irrigation. Here the writer quotes largely from the report of the Irrigation Commission and other authoritative works, and comes to the conclusion that "there are certain very definite limitations on the usefulness and extension of irrigation which well-meaning enthusiasts are apt to ignore." The Irrigation Commission in its report declared that if the programme sketched by it be carried out by the year 1925, "the limits to the area which can be protected by State Irrigation works at a cost which will not be prohibitive will be within sight." The effects of canal, tank and well-irrigation are then discussed, and regarding the first, the author holds that "while affording immunity from famine to the tracts through which the canals pass they cause considerable injury by (1) depriving the riverain lands of the full benefits of river flooding (2) spreading malarial fever owing to the excessive moisture diffused round about and (3) causing a deterioration of the soil, experience having shown that the tendency on the canal-irrigated lands is for the outturn to diminish. From all these facts, the conclusion, according to the author, is irresistible that voluntary restraint in married life is the only remedy against the prevalence of such positive checks to over-population as famine, plague and malaria. The book is nicely printed at the Times Press, Bombay and amply repays perusal.

III—V. *Sir Sankaran Nair: Behramji M. Malabari: Sir Edwin Arnold. Natesan and Co, Madras, Price four annas each.*

These three booklets, the first two of which belong to the "Eminent Indians" series, and the last to the "Friends of India" series, are in the best style of Messrs. Natesan and Co's publications, and contain a mass of useful and interesting information. *Sir Sankaran Nair* is a living politician and administrator, *Malabari* was a social reformer of far-reaching influence, and *Arnold* was an interpreter of the East to the West in a far better and nobler sense than Kipling. Short accounts of their lives, activities and teachings, plentifully interspersed with quotations from their speeches and writings, are bound to prove useful for ready reference and instructive to the general reader. We are glad to find that these cheap publications are being appreciated in England, as we have had occasion to know from casual references. To us they are highly valuable.

POL.

BENGALI.

ASOKA ANUSHASAN, text, Sanskrit and Bengali translations, and notes, by Charu Chandra Basu and Lalit Mohan Kar, Pp. xxx+131, 6 illus. (Calcutta, 1915) Rs. 2.

It is difficult to imagine a more inconvenient arrangement of the matter than that adopted in this book. The texts of all the inscriptions are given first, then all the Sanskrit versions, then all the Bengali renderings, and lastly the notes. The reader who wants to study a particular inscription has to

keep his fingers in four different places in the volume. We beg pardon, it should be five places; for the plates are not given opposite the pages they refer to, but are scattered throughout the volume at the caprice of the binder. The proofs have been very carelessly read, while the minutest accuracy is necessary in a work of this sort with the least pretension to scholarship. The plate of the Rummini Dei inscription bears the direction "see page 80," whereas the subject is treated on pages 38, 49 and 88 only. The puzzling word *atha-bhagiye* in this edict, is rendered in Sanskrit as *artha-bhagi* (p. 49) and in Bengali as *ashta-bhagi* (p. 88). Evidently the Sanskrit form is due to a misprint, P. 129. *Bhabra* is given as *Bharta*. The geographical notes (pp. 126-130) are full of misprints, mistakes and obsolete information. No reason has been given for the editors' failure to supply Sanskrit versions of Rock Edicts 10-13 (p. 47), while the others are given.

The first and hitherto only version of Asoka's inscriptions in Bengali was issued about 30 years ago by Krishna Bihari Sen, on the basis of the antediluvian *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I. A new version, taking account of all our recent information on the subject, is highly to be desired. But Babu Charu Chandra Basu's work, though published in 1915 is about a decade behind modern research and altogether ignores the work lately done in elucidating the edicts, by contributors to the *Indian Antiquary*, the *J. R. A. S.* and other journals of learned societies. In addition to the Asoka bibliography given in V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd. ed., pp. 172-174, the following "Asoka Notes" have appeared in the *J. R. A. S.* April and July 1914 (Thomas), October 1914 (Hultzsch), Jan. 1915 (Thomas), July 1915 (Aiyangar),—while studies on the same subject by Charpentier, Aiyangar and Jayaswal have appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1915 and 1914. Vincent Smith, Dr. Thomas, Hultzsch and Fleet are not such names in the field of Indian research that Babu Charuchandra Basu can pass over their opinions in contemptuous silence. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain is not such an obscure body nor is its *Journal* so difficult to procure that a writer working in Calcutta can be excused for not consulting it. No great brain power is required for the work; only a little industry and the spirit of the fullest investigation of truth. But that industry and that scientific spirit have not been shown by the editors of the book under review.

We should be sorry if this book is regarded as an example of the way in which the latest school of historical students in Bengal do their work.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

HINDI.

OTHELLO by Pandit Govind Prasad Ghildyal, B. A. Printed and published by Vishwanath Sharma at the Lakshmi Narayan Press, Moradabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 168. Price—As. 8.

This is an almost literal translation of the drama of Shakespeare. The metrical portions have very infrequently been rendered into metre and the translation, though not of the very high order of similar translations of Shakespeare's dramas, is yet satisfactory. We wish to see all Shakespeare's dramas in Hindi, hitherto only a few being translated. The language of the translation in the drama under review is good on the whole. The author has followed the method of the annotators of English classics, in giving an introductory review of the drama; and

the book will prove perhaps most useful to English students studying the drama. There are printing errors in the book, but it is neatly bound.

SANSKRIT SAHITYA KA AITHASIK ANUSHILAN by *Indra Vaidalankar, Gurukul, Kangri and printed at the Gurukula Press, Kangri. Royal 8vo. pp. 64. Price—As. 6.*

This gives a historical sketch of the Sanskrit literature and points out the philological and other changes brought about in it through the influence of the different periods of Indian history. The examination of facts is fairly critical and we agree in the main with the views of the author. The language sustains the reputation of the author in his other publications. The printing and get-up are fair.

M. S.

MARATHI.

ARYANCHYA SANANCHI PRACHIN VA ARWACHIN ITIHASA or the ancient as well as modern history of the Aryan festivals by 'Rigvedi.' Publishers : Arya-dharmavicharak Mandal, Bombay. Price Re. 1-8-0. Pages 364.

In these days when a good deal of interest is created in the minds of young men in the history of their nation in its political, social, religious and other aspects, the publication of a work tracing the history of our festivals to their origin, noting the transformations they have undergone in the course of centuries, describing the present stage of growth or decadence and making useful suggestions to restore them to their pristine greatness or to adapt them so as to suit our present circumstances, must be considered very opportune. The variety and amount of information, the lucidity of the style, the nice way of presenting the subject matter so as to make it palatable, the balance of judgment discernible throughout the work, the breadth of view and the instruction and enlightenment it gives, are some of the most attractive features which ensure commendation and warm appreciation from the public, both of orthodox and reformed views. The book is undoubtedly a valuable addition to the existing Marathi literature.

BHUTACHA BAGULBOWA or the Fallacy of the Devil by *Mr. Ramkrishna B. Naik Mandrupkar. Pages 182. Price Re. 1-8. Published by the author himself at Bijapur.*

This is the third edition of Mr. Naik's brochure on the question of the existence of evil spirits. The author has considerably succeeded in his commendable attempt to dispel the widely prevalent, yet foolish and harmful notions about spirits. Mr. Naik has taken considerable pains in taking both a common-sense as well as a scientific view of the question of the existence of evil spirits and allied subjects, and though his attempt may not succeed in entirely removing the deep-rooted superstitions from the minds of the ignorant, it will surely set educated people a-thinking and carry conviction to those who have a reasoning turn of mind. It is necessary that some means should be devised to bring the book within the reach of the ignorant masses among whom peculiar notions about ghosts, goblins and apparitions are largely prevalent.

BHARAT-SEYAK—A monthly magazine edited by Mr. R. G. Pradhan B. A., L. L. B., and published

at Poona. Annual Subscription Rs. 2-8-0 including postage.

This is a high class magazine and embracing as it does all subjects of human interest peculiarly affecting the people of India, it should command respect and carry influence with the educated people. In the July issue of this periodical a prominent place is assigned to an article from the pen of Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe M. A. on the subject of compulsory education, which should attract attention and invite thoughtful consideration of educationists and educated parents, if for nothing else, at least for the peculiar view entertained by the writer that it is wrong to advocate the imparting of education to children through their mother-tongue, and that far more beneficial results are likely to accrue by making English, the medium of instruction even in Primary schools—a view not shared by the majority of educated Indians. We wish a long and prosperous career to this new venture.

V. G. APTE

GUJARATI.

JAGA VIKHYAT PURUSHO, PART III, by Ratna Sinh Dip Sinh Parmar, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound pp. 237. Price Re. 0-8-0. (1916).

This part of the famous men of the world series contains the lives of Demosthenes and Sir William Wallace. The first is a translation from Marathi, and the other of a Hindi version of a Bengali work by Babu Yogendranath Bandopadhyay.

ARTHASHASTRA NAN SIDDHANTO, PT. I, by Jeyisan L. Barbhaya. Printed at the Lady Northcote Orphanage K. N. Sailor Printing Press, Bombay. Paper cover. pp. 132. Price unpublished. (1916).

Gujarati Literature does not overflow with original works on Political Economy. In fact, the last book on the subject, and that too, a translation of Mrs. Fawcett's work was published years ago. Under the circumstances a really good book on the subject is a desideratum, but that can come only from the pen of a person who has saturated himself with, and made a serious study of it. The present writer has been "jack" of many, as appears from the way in which he describes himself as the author of books on widely differing matters. His title therefore to write on this highly scientific subject appears to be exiguous, and we really admire his temerity in trying to popularise Political Economy, by means of a book, which both in style and matter, cannot be characterised otherwise than as stilted. The very title of the book is found fault with, and certainly it errs in grammar: possibly that is a printer's error, but the start fairly represents what follows. At times one finds the writer arrogating to himself more than the honors of English text book writers, e.g., where he says that he has produced diagrams which would be found in no other work. We think the author knows fairly well that the book will not be found suitable for that class of people—the ordinary merchants—who are primarily meant to be benefited by it. The trumpet sound under which the writer of the foreword introduces the book makes us doubt the genuineness of the admiration under which he wrote its few lines.

Kheti & Sahakarya, a quarterly magazine: We do not review magazines.

(1) *Bharat Durdasha Darshana*, (2) *Bharat no ushat kal*.

These are two leaflets issued by a Society called *Shishu Mandal*. We cannot easily realise what *Shishus* (infants) have to do with these "high" subjects. We think the labor in writing them is lost, so far as "infants" are concerned.

The housefly. This is a small treatise written about the evils of the house fly by Dr. J. D. Munsiff for the Broach Sanitary Association, and reproduces well known facts.

History of Baroda. This history of Baroda and its Rulers is published by the State and is well written.

A COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF THE PURAN STORIES OF INDIA AND EUROPE, by J. P. Joshipura, M.A., printed at the *Lakshminivas Press, Baroda*. Thick Card-board, pp. 78. No Price. (1916).

The title of the book shows very well what it contains. The writer has been at great pains over the subject matter of his work, and furnishes not only interesting reading, but food for thought. To those who do not know much about the origin of our Puranic legends, there is much to learn here, and to those who know about them, there is an opportunity given for checking their inferences or conclusions.

K. M. J.

NOTES

Causes of National Strength.

In his book on *Physics and Politics* Walter Bagehot devotes his second essay to the discussion of the question why one nation is stronger than another. "The answer," he says, "is that there are very many advantages—some small and some great—every one of which tends to make the nation which has it superior to the nation which has it not; that many of these advantages can be imparted to subjugated races, or imitated by competing races; and that, though some of these advantages may be perishable or inimitable, yet, on the whole, the energy of civilisation grows by the coalescence of strengths and by the competition of strengths."

By far the greatest advantage is, in his opinion, the acquisition of the *legal fibre*; "a polity first—what sort of polity is immaterial; a law first—what kind of law is secondary; a person or set of persons to pay deference to—though who he is, or they are, by comparison scarcely signifies." This represents the first stage of civilisation. When a nation has got a fixed law or a custom, the second step which it has to make is the "getting out of a fixed law," "breaking the cake of custom," breaking through it and reaching something better. The reason why there have been so many arrested civilisations in the world is the inability to break through custom. For, as the author puts it, "one most important pre-requisite of a

prevailing nation is that it should have passed out of the first stage of civilisation into the second stage—out of the stage where permanence is most wanted into that where variability is most wanted; and you cannot comprehend why progress is so slow till you see how hard the most obstinate tendencies of human nature make that step to mankind."

"Of course the nation we are supposing must keep the virtues of its first stage as it passes into the after stage, else it will be trodden out; it will have lost the savage virtues in getting the beginning of the civilised virtues; and the savage virtues which tend to war are the daily bread of human nature."

The Political Advantage of Monotheism.

Bagehot has also discussed the kind of morals and the kind of religion which go to strengthen nations. He expresses the opinion that "Those kinds of morals and that kind of religion which tend to make the firmest and most effectual character are sure to prevail, all else being the same; and creeds or systems that conduce to a soft limp mind tend to perish, except some hard extrinsic force keep them alive. Thus Epicureanism never prospered at Rome, but Stoicism did; the stiff, serious character of the great prevailing nation was attracted by what seemed a confirming creed, and deterred by what looked like a relaxing creed. The inspiring doctrines fell upon the ardent character, and so confirmed its energy. Strong

beliefs win strong men, and then make them stronger. *Such is no doubt one cause why Monotheism tends to prevail over Polytheism; it produces a higher, steadier character, calmed and concentrated by a great single object; it is not confused by competing rites, or distracted by miscellaneous deities. Polytheism is religion in commission, and it is weak accordingly.* But it will be said the Jews, who were monotheist, were conquered by the Romans, who were polytheist. Yes, it must be answered, because the Romans had other gifts; they had a capacity for politics, a habit of discipline, and of these the Jews had not the least. The religious advantage was an advantage, but it was counter-weighed."

There are reasons for thinking that what Bagehot says is true. There is no flaw in the abstract reasoning; and history furnishes corroborating examples. One reason why the Musalmans were able to conquer India was undoubtedly their monotheistic faith and their consequent comparatively greater national or communal solidarity than that of the Hindus. In North-Western India the Sikhs prevailed for a time,—no doubt partly because of their energising and unifying monotheistic faith. The influence of an overmastering idea or the predominating worship of a dynamic god or goddess may also tend to make a nation strong for a time. For example, the "Maharashtra-Dharma" which the Saint Ramdas, spiritual preceptor of Sivaji, taught, combined with the worship of the goddess Bhavani and of Siva the destroyer, conduced to produce a firm, steady type of character which gave the Marathas ascendancy for some generations. When in Europe the Musalmans overran and conquered most of the southern and central countries, they were undoubtedly more monotheistic than the Christians. In the Christian cult of that age in the countries conquered Mary, Jesus, and numerous saints and saintesses, and their images, and the tombs, shrines and relics of holy persons had thrown God altogether into the background. In modern Europe, too, speaking generally, the most progressive nations are those which are least idolatrous or polytheistic, considering protestants and rationalists to be less polytheistic than Roman Catholics.

It may be said the Musalmans are more

monotheistic than Christians; why then are the former not a predominant people now? We may reply, in the words of Bagehot, that, the religious advantage of the Musalmans is an advantage, but it is counter-weighed. What these counter-weights are, it is not the object of this note to enumerate.

Our Average Income contrasted with Prisoners' Expenses.

Sir Robert Giffen (1837—1910) was a financial journalist, statistician and economist whose high authority and practical experience were universally recognized in Great Britain. He was chief statistical adviser to the British Government, president of the Statistical Society and a Fellow of the Royal Society. At the meeting of the British Association in 1903 he put forward estimates as to the aggregate income and wealth of the people of different parts of the British Empire. The aggregate annual income of India was put down at £600,000,000. As the population of India is in round numbers 300,000,000, the average annual income of Indians per head is £2 or Rs. 30. Similar estimates were made by Lord Cromer (then Major Baring) and by Lord Curzon. Probably all these estimates were based on the same data, furnished by the British bureaucracy in India. Indian statisticians and British statistical writers like Digby have not accepted these estimates as correct. They consider them far too optimistic. Let us, however, accept this official estimate as accurate. We should bear in mind that Rs. 30 is not the minimum annual income of Indians per head. It is only an average, which means that there are higher incomes as well as lower incomes, and the average represents a sort of mean. There are millions upon millions of Indians whose annual income is less than Rs. 30. There are again large numbers of persons who have no income at all,—who subsist on charity or by thieving. But let us take the annual income of Rs. 30 per head as the basis of the comparison with the expenses of prisoners which we are going to institute.

Jail regulations are in no country based on the idea that prisoners are to be supplied with comforts or luxuries. The idea everywhere is to supply them with the barest necessities of existence, so

that they may not die and may be able to preserve their health and do the tasks assigned to them. Let us now see whether it is possible for Indians outside jails to command those bare necessities of life which convicts in jails are supplied with. We shall not take into consideration all the expenses incurred by the jail department in connection with prisoners. We shall consider only three kinds of expenditure *viz.*, those on diet, bedding and clothing, and medical treatment. The following table is compiled from the Annual Reports of the Jail Department in four provinces for the year 1915.

SOME ITEMS OF JAIL EXPENDITURE PER CONVICT IN 1915.

Province.	Diet.	Bedding and Clothing.	Medical.	Total.
C. P. and Berar	31-4-9	4-2-11	2-1-4	37-9-0
U. P.	41-3-0	4-7-3	2-11-8	48-5-11
Bihar-Orissa	43-9-9	4-10-10	6-13-1	55-1-8
Bengal	47-7-0	6-2-3	7-10-10	61-4-1

In the Central Provinces and Berar the expenses were the lowest. But even there the total of only the three kinds of expenses considered amounted to Rs. 37-9-0, or Rs. 7-9 more than the average income of an Indian. - It will be seen that this income of Rs. 30 per annum would not be sufficient even for the diet-money of a prisoner in the Central Provinces and Berar, not to speak of the other Provinces, where the expenditure was higher. It may be argued that among the Indian population outside prisons are included large numbers of children, whose living expenses are less than those of adults, and that the jail average is mainly, though not entirely, for adults. But, speaking generally, growing children do not eat very much less than adults; and the totals for the four provinces mentioned in the table are more than our average income of Rs. 30 by Rs. 7-9-0, Rs. 18-5-11, Rs. 25-1-8, and Rs. 31-4-1 respectively. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the non-convict population of India has various items of expenditure in addition to those included in the table. They have to build and repair their hovels, huts or cottages, they have to incur expenses in connection with the confinement of the mothers, they have to or ought to educate their children, they have to perform the religious rites and celebrate the social functions in connection with births, initiations, marriages, deaths, &c., they have to take part in the

religious festivals of their respective sects, they have to visit places of pilgrimage, and they have also to incur travelling expenses in connection with other journeys undertaken for discharging domestic or social obligations.

How then do the hundreds of millions of indigent Indians make both ends meet? Well, the plain answer is, the ends do not meet, or rather they meet in the grave-yard or in the burning-ground.

But, it may be said, that this is mere poetizing, it is not a hard, matter-of-fact answer. Yes, it is poetry,—grim tragedy of a sort, if you like.

A hard, matter-of-fact answer may also be given. Rs. 30 represents the income, and the expenditure is much greater. Whence does the balance come from? Well, the balance need not come in at all. The patient population of India have discovered a way out of the difficulty. They meet the extra expenditure by starving or fasting, by wearing rags or going naked, by dwelling in hovels unfit for cattle or in no-houses at all under the open sky, by themselves and their children remaining illiterate, and, when they or their children fall ill, by not going in for any medical treatment at all. They are of necessity believers in the faith-cure. Some go on borrowing as long as they can. Families remain involved in debt from generation to generation. Some lead the lives of hangers-on on their near or distant relatives. The more enterprising among the needy have recourse to thieving. Those who are bolder still and unscrupulous resort to dacoities though all dacoits are not of this description.

From life-long semi-starvation to dacoity, all the evils mentioned above are social maladies that require a patient diagnosis and effective remedies. But the officers and imps of the C. I. D. are not the kind of doctors which society requires.

The Evils of Indigence.

Let us enumerate some of the evils of indigence. They are mal-nutrition, weakness, short lives, epidemics, premature deaths; nudity or semi-nudity, bad health, vice, crime, disease, death; want of shelter, exposure to sun, rain and other inclemencies of the weather, disease, death; ignorance, illiteracy, insanitation, shortened life, untimely death; superstition, emasculation, timidity or cowardice, fatalism, approxi-

mation to animal existence ; mendicancy, parasitism, and the consequent loss of self-respect and manliness.

Wherever there is the cowering servility of the indigent, there is also the corresponding bullying tyranny of the man dressed in a little brief authority, derived either from official position or from the possession of wealth. Thus are the wrongs of the weak and indigent avenged. Let all men who have to do with the poor beware of this nemesis. All wrongs rebound and hit back the wrong-doer by degrading him.

Income and Wealth of the British Empire.

We give below Sir Robert Giffen's estimates, of 1903, of the aggregate income per annum and wealth of some parts of the British Empire in millions of pounds sterling, with their population in 1911 in approximate millions.

AGGREGATE INCOME.		
Country	Income	Population
United Kingdom	1750	45
Canada	270	7
India	600	315
South Africa	100	6

In the above table the population figures are for 1911, whereas the estimates of income were made in 1903. In 1911 the income of other parts of the British Empire must have increased. We cannot say the same for India with certainty. Taking the figures as they are, the income of Indians is seen to be miserably small.

WEALTH.		
Country.	Wealth in millions £s.	Population in millions.
United Kingdom	15,000	45
Canada	1,350	7
India	3,000	315
South Africa	600	6

We very much doubt whether the wealth of India has been at all correctly estimated. Anglo-Indian officials are interested in presenting to the world a very rosy picture of India's financial position. Hence all official estimates of India's income and capital should be received with caution. But even if their accuracy be taken for granted, what a sorry figure India cuts ! The wealth of Britishers is £333 per head, of Canadians £193 per head and of South Africans £100 per head. But the wealth of Indians is about £9½ per head.

India's Poverty and Allied Problems.

The utter indigence of hundreds of millions of Indians is itself a great evil. It is nothing but unmitigated wretchedness to have to go without sufficient food, sufficient clothing and sufficient shelter. But our poverty gives rise to other problems and makes their solution difficult. There can be no progress in sanitation and education without adequate progressive expenditure. But where is the money to come from ? Poverty, again, cannot be removed, unless people have healthier and stronger bodies and more alert and enlightened minds.

Even with her present revenues much could be done for the good of India's children. But as the control of both income and expenditure is in foreign hands, the progress of India is not the sole or main consideration. The remedy, therefore, is Home Rule. But Home Rule, again, depends on the enlightenment of the masses. So let us resolve to make whatever progress we can in all directions. This does not mean that all problems are of equal importance ; it only means that they are interdependent. The attainment of Home Rule is unquestionably the most urgent and important political and economic problem before the country.

The Home Rule League.

A Home Rule League has been established in Madras, and more than thirty branches have been established all over the country. Home Rule literature is also in circulation. All this is good news and encouraging news. Well done, Madras.

What we do not like is the reappearance in another form of the old line of demarcation between "Moderates" and "Extremists." Moderates remain where they were, only "Extremists" flock round the new banner of Home Rule. This is much to be regretted. We think the political ideal of all earnest Indians is *in substance* the same, though the names given to it may not be the same. Why then divide ourselves along party lines ? We know even the old difference between Moderates and Extremists in Bengal was in the case of many men more personal than as regards questions of principle or political ideal. Are we never to be able to sink our personal differences ?

In Calcutta some thirty men met together and have formed themselves into a Home Rule League. No public notice of

the meeting seems to have been given; at least we saw none. No letters seem to have been issued to men likely to be interested in the matter; at least we received none. We write in the way we are doing, simply to say that Home Rule is not the hobby of a small clique, it is a question which has aroused the enthusiasm of the entire educated public, and that, therefore, the formation of a Home Rule League ought to have been considered a matter of sufficient importance to prevent its being done in the perfunctory manner in which it seems to have been done. There was nothing to conceal, nothing to be afraid of. Why then this want of publicity and this hurry?

The first use in India of the term "Home Rule."

The way in which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji used and explained the word *Swaraj* and demanded the thing for which it stands, in his presidential address at the Calcutta Congress of 1906, makes that term equivalent to Home Rule, though he did not use the latter expression.

There is not the least doubt that the person who has done more than anybody else to bring the problem of Indian Home Rule within the range of practical politics is Mrs. Annie Besant. So, it is not with a view to minimising her achievement that we point out the inaccuracy of her assertion in *New India* that "On September 14th, 1915, the first use, so far as we know, was made of the name Home Rule in Indian politics." The expression was used much earlier in this Review. In fact, we published an article under the heading "Home Rule for India" in June, 1907. It is a small matter, but it is good to be accurate in matters of history.

The Governor on Internments.

In one of his Dacca speeches H. E. the Governor said that an officer qualified to be a High Court Judge [why not an actual High Court Judge?] examines the evidence brought forward by the police against suspects, and persons are interned only after he has been satisfied. But we think it is still police evidence on which people are punished. It is only with the aid of the best counsel that sometimes persons accused of heinous crimes are able to prove that they are innocent and that

the evidence adduced against them is concocted. Seeing that counsel's help is so necessary for dispensing justice, and seeing that in important cases two or three judges sit together to try a case, we think there ought to be an advisory board to sift the evidence on which persons are interned. And there ought to be in these cases a Public Defender. A leading lawyer ought to be appointed to this post. The experiment has been tried with success in America. Public prosecutors are appointed practically to secure the conviction and punishment of the guilty. But the protection of the innocent is equally the duty of Government. On this ground we advocate the appointment of a Public Defender, who is to be Government servant bound to secrecy. No one should be interned in any unhealthy locality. Even in the healthiest of places, restrictions placed on freedom of movement and want of proper physical exercise, combined with mental disquiet and depression, injuriously affect the health of the persons detained. A person's place of detention should under no circumstances be more unhealthy than his usual place of abode and business. There should be frequent periodical medical examination of the interned.

Many bread-winners of families have been interned. Their allowances should be such as to enable them to maintain both themselves and their families.

The Indian Association on Internments.

In this connection, we fully endorse the representation on the policy and procedure of internments submitted to the Government of Bengal by Babu Surendranath Banerjea on behalf of the Indian Association. Recently scores of persons have been arrested and interned. Most of them are young men and students. Bengal is not in a state of siege; it is far removed from the theatre of war. Under the circumstances, we cannot but strongly protest against placing the province under a sort of martial law. The reign of the police informer and the spy should cease and the responsible high-placed servants of the Crown should assert themselves and act according to the principles of wise and far-seeing statesmanship. Lord Curzon's contempt for public opinion and consequent autocratic proceedings have been the root-cause of all the subsequent political troubles and unrest. If police informers

and spies, whose occupation depends on the continuance of the present state of things, are allowed to poison the minds of the highest officers in the land against the youth of Bengal, the latter must continue to be looked upon with suspicion and treated accordingly. There is a moral certainty that a considerable proportion, if not the majority, of the persons suspected are being treated unjustly. Injustice rankles in the minds of even those who may be considered weak and despicable, and no man can foresee and prevent the evil consequences of such embittered feelings. The mistake of Lord Curzon and his subordinates ought not to be repeated in a different form.

We write as we do because the ruined hopes and baffled lives of many promising high-souled young men grieve us sorely. We would fain see the country make rapid strides along the paths of peaceful progress and development.

We may incidentally notice the attempt made by certain Anglo-Indian journalists to belittle the representation of the Indian Association on the alleged ground of Babu Surendranath Banerjea's not being a representative of Bengal. And why? Because, forsooth, he was not elected a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. As if that Council is at all truly representative of the country, and as if the present-day law-makers of India are also its representative-makers. Babu Surendranath Banerjea possesses to-day as much representative character as he did before the days of the last election. It is true, he did not then and he does not now represent all sections of the educated public, but he does represent a large proportion of them.

Besides, the important point is purposefully ignored, that it is not Babu Surendranath who speaks in his individual capacity, but it is as a mouthpiece of the Indian Association that he speaks. And the Indian Association, though not fully representative of the entire educated public of Bengal, is more widely representative than any other association in the province.

Further Repressive Legislation Foreshadowed.

The following paragraph from the Bengal Police Administration Report for 1915 seems to foreshadow, at least to seek to prove the need of, further repressive legislation :—

SEDITIONOUS LITERATURE.

Increased activity in the circulation of seditious leaflets came to notice about June and continued throughout the year. Under the existing law, mere possession of seditious matter is not an offence and consequently there are no means of checking this serious evil at the fountain-head. It is only after seditious and inflammatory matter has been circulated and the mischief done, that the law can be put in motion. There is convincing evidence that the revolutionary party in Bengal depend largely upon seditious literature to recruit their ranks and several youths have confessed that they were drawn into the movement through reading the leaflets issued by the revolutionists. Penalising the possession of seditious matter may not be a complete cure for the evil but it will materially assist to check it.

The law of sedition in India is such that many classical works and others of undoubted authority and value may be brought under it; and the possession of these may be made penal under the new law indirectly demanded. And if there be an official demand, there will be an official supply. But where and when would the limit of repression be reached? Even at present during house-searches copies of the *Gita*, and some works of distinguished Bengali authors are, quite unwarrantably, seized by the police. Will and can Government prepare and circulate a complete *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, and issue up-to-date supplements daily or weekly?

The human heart is the real nursery and factory of all things good, bad and indifferent. That place cannot be searched by the police and the effects taken possession of and removed. Therefore, that alone would be a radical remedy for sedition which would prevent people from thinking and feeling seditiously. Can British statesmanship tackle this problem or can it not?

The Governor in Council has not either endorsed or disapproved of the Inspector-General's indirect suggestion contained in the paragraph quoted above.

In Praise of the Police.

The Bengal Police Administration Report for 1915 has this to say in praise of the Police Department :—

THE YEAR'S WORK.

The work of the past year furnishes a splendid record of self-sacrifice and unremitting labour. Undeterred alike by the threats of the anarchists or by the ill-natured and spiteful criticism which finds daily expression in the columns of the Bengali press, the officers of the department have continued the struggle against revolutionary crime with a courage and devotion which deserves the admiration and gratitude of all honest men. If ever the time arrives when a complete record can be published of the work of this

department since its inception it will be admitted that, in the European and Indian officers of the Intelligence Branch, Government has at its disposal a body of men second to none in loyalty, courage and devotion to duty.

We do not grudge the police this praise, which "the Governor in Council entirely endorses." Many men of the Department have certainly deserved it. But it is neither correct, nor dignified, nor statesmanlike, to characterise the criticism of the Bengali press as ill-natured and spiteful. The wearer alone knows where the shoe pinches. And the Bengali press represents those innocent people of Bengal who are inconvenienced by the Police shoe. Do His Excellency the Governor and members of his executive council know why the police are disliked and feared?

By the by, what has become of Mr. Gourlay's enquiry into the working of the police department? Did he submit any report? What was His Excellency's private secretary's verdict? If it was in favour of the police and if His Excellency has accepted it, the fact should be made known to the public. There is no reason why the high eulogy, if any, bestowed by Mr. Gourlay on the police should remain unpublished.

Government may also deign to consider why the Bengali press does not indulge in spiteful and ill-natured remarks on postmen, postmasters, munsifs, subordinate judges, deputy collectors, &c. Unquestionably a far larger number of persons have to deal and come into contact with these public servants than with policemen. The theory that we are spiteful can be supported only on the supposition that we are all would-be dacoits or criminals of that description, or are in sympathy with such persons, and we hate the police because they stand in the way of our or their giving effect to criminal intentions;—which is a highly complimentary hypothesis.

We know Government cannot do without the police. They are its eyes and hands. Let them be praised and rewarded. But why seek to stop our mouths? The only wise method of stopping criticism is to raise the efficiency and elevate the character of the police force. Any other method is unwise. Why are the London Police not criticised, though the highest ministers of the Crown in England are often subjected to abuse and virulent criticism by sections of the British press. Be-

cause the London Police are friends and servants of law-abiding citizens. Can the same thing be said of our police officials?

It should not be forgotten that improvement in the character and conduct of the police is due in no inconsiderable measure to criticism in the newspapers.

Emigration to Fiji.

We are glad to find that the assurance given by the Government of India during the viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge that the system of supplying indentured labour to Fiji would be abolished, has not allayed all the apprehensions of the leading Indians in Fiji. Those who profit by that system are wealthy, powerful and resourceful. They may yet succeed in getting a substitute for the indenture system which, while differing in name, would be the same in substance. One such system, that prevailing in the Federated Malay States, has already been proposed to be introduced; whereupon the leading Indians of Fiji have made a representation to Mr. E. Castaldi, Secretary to the Indian Immigration Committee, Suva, Fiji, which is dated July 15, 1916, a copy of which has been sent to us from that colony. It is printed below.

We have been made aware from newspaper reports, etc., of the questions that are exercising the mind of your committee regarding the future prosperity of this Colony, in which our countrymen are admittedly a most important factor.

2. As regards the proposal to substitute a system copied from the Federated Malay States, we beg most respectfully to submit that such a change would revive penalties similar to those already lately deleted from our existing indentured labour code. And the power that the employer would possess to place a labourer under arrest for real or imaginary impertinence or disobedience, etc., would lend itself to many abuses; also the power the magistrates would possess in the matter of the penalties for such offences might be abused. A glance at the March, April, and June, 1916, numbers of the "Indian Emigrant" published in Madras, would convince one that under this so-called free immigration there are great wrongs in the matter of the recommitment, stay at Depot, embarking and voyage.

3. In view of the foregoing we beg to suggest that the system outlined by Messrs. Andrews and Pearson in their admirable report deserves to be given the first place in your consideration.

4. We also submit that whatever system is finally decided upon, the code enacted concerning it must be translated into plain and intelligible Indian vernaculars, such as may be readily understood by intending emigrants, who should be each furnished with one copy of the tract gratis or at nominal cost.

5. Besides, we desire to recommend the necessity, from the point of view of improving labour conditions in all parts of the world and in justice to the risk

undertaken in modern manufactures, of having some legislation similar to the Employers' Liability Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act prevalent in England.

In conclusion we beg to record our heartiest gratitude for the scheme agreed upon, to secure regular and frequent steamship communication between Fiji and India at nominal rates of passage, which is a boon to the Colony, and to the Indian people in particular, the magnitude of which boon, it is scarcely possible to realise fully at this stage but which we feel sure will be the means of developing this beautiful country by leaps and bounds.

We think it is indispensably necessary to have a non-official Indian Emigration Committee here, with a whole-time secretary, to study all questions relating thereto as they arise, and to promptly take all such steps as may be necessary. The balance of the funds raised for helping the South African Indians may be partly or wholly utilised for this purpose. "The Indian Colonial Society" founded and organised by Mr. T. K. Swaminathan, Editor of *The Indian Emigrant*, may be able to do the kind of work that we have in view, if it receives the support that it ought to.

The watchfulness of our leading countrymen in Fiji is praiseworthy, and will, we hope, be kept up.

Habitation for the Hindu University.

It is now a question of months for the Hindu University to begin its work of teaching and of advancement of learning. As it is expected to be a home of Hindu culture the style of the buildings in which it is to be housed should surely receive attention. We are not in favour of spending money extravagantly on edifices and having little or not much left for the real work of educational institutions. But some Indian style of architecture, or a harmonious and artistic combination of several, may easily be adopted; for an Indian style is not necessarily very expensive. Mr. O. C. Gangoly, Vice-president of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, draws attention to this point in a letter contributed to a recent number of the *Central Hindu College Magazine*.

University Endowments and Patronage.

A rumour has reached our ears that a certain wealthy person has promised to donate Rs.150,000 to the Hindu University on the condition that a certain gentleman, whom he has named, is to be appointed to fill the chair to be created with the income of the endowment. We need not

ascertain whether the rumour is true or not. Nor need we discuss the fitness or a particular donor to select a professor or the qualifications of a particular nominee. We shall briefly discuss the general principle.

It will be conceded that, speaking generally, the senate or board of appointment of a University is more competent to choose professors than individual donors, though there is no doubt, for particular subjects there may be a few persons here and there more competent to select professors than any member of senate or board. For this reason it is best that donors should only make endowments and mention the objects for which they are to be utilized, and leave the choice of lecturers, professors, &c., to the university. So far as a university is concerned, we think it might be derogatory for it to accept donations on any condition like the one mentioned above. Nor would it, we think, add to the dignity or usefulness of a professor to be nominated by a donor. It might appear as if the donation was being made to induce the university to accept a professor who might not otherwise be thought the most competent.

Indentured Labour.

In the course of the speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on September 5 last, His Lordship made the following observations on the question of indentured emigration:—

One of the most important questions which is now occupying the attention of my Government and of the Provincial Governments whom we have addressed on the subject is that of a scheme to be substituted for indentured emigration as it is sometimes described. This is perhaps hardly a correct way of putting it, as it implies that we are trying to work out a scheme, for the purpose of supplying labour to the colonies whereas the scheme we are contemplating relates to a very different matter, viz., the control of the operations of persons so engaged. Labourers have a right to emigrate if they wish and it would be very unwise and very undesirable on our part to prevent them and we are therefore trying to devise arrangements which will secure that recruitment in this country is conducted under decent conditions, that a proper sex ratio will be maintained and that on arrival in the country of their destination they will be properly treated and allowed to engage themselves on terms at least as free as those obtaining at present in the Malay Peninsula where a labourer can leave his employer by giving a month's notice. These are the conditions which in our letter to the Local Governments w

explained are regarded by the Government of India as necessary for a satisfactory system of emigration. I think it will be clear to all who have studied the question that the Government of India would be departing gravely from its duty if it allowed emigrant labour to leave this country without proper protection and safeguards. There are a certain number of labourers, I believe a very small number, who emigrate as genuine free labourers, that is to say, unassisted by pecuniary help and uninvited by any interested agency. But if we confine ourselves to the abolition of our existing indentured emigration a position will arise in which the parties interested in procuring Indian labour will be free to induce labour to emigrate by pecuniary help under any conditions they like so long as the labourer does not go under indenture. The abuses likely to arise out of such a state of things would be very serious. I need only refer to the state of affairs which existed before the amendment of the Assam Labour and Emigration Act in connection with so-called free labour.

We do not think the Government of India are in a position to protect Indian laborers in British Colonies or foreign countries. Of course, emigration cannot and ought not to be entirely stopped. But whatever safeguards the Government of India may adopt, so long as Indians are not recognised in practice in their own country as "equal subjects of the king" and equal citizens of the British Empire, the lot of Indian labourers outside India cannot but approximate to that of slaves or semi-slaves. The only real and lasting remedy, therefore lies, (i) in the obtaining of Home Rule by Indians, so that they may be able to mete out to others the treatment they receive from them. The Colonists cannot treat us like men until and unless our political status is in fact, as it is in theory, exactly the same as theirs. (ii) The other line of development which will enable us to raise the status of our labourers is the industrial progress of the country, so that we may have a sufficient number of factories to absorb all the labour lying unemployed in India. There would not then be much inducement for the labouring class to go abroad in search of the means for a mere animal existence. Those who would venture abroad would be able to dictate their own terms. (iii) And this would be facilitated by universal education, which would so increase the fund of information of the masses and quicken their intelligence as to make it much more difficult than now for recruiting agents to deceive them.

The Viceroy speaks of maintaining a proper sex ratio. The very words used jar on our ears though His Excellency's intention was good. The coolies are human

beings. They are not cattle. So far as cattle are concerned, any male and any female may mate. But as regards human beings, there are religious, social, moral and caste reasons why such a state of things cannot be tolerated. In the case of married women, they should not be allowed to emigrate except with their husbands, and, if they have minor children, with these children also. Further details need not be entered into here. Suffice it to say that our human feelings and our national self-respect demand that in any steps that Government may take in this matter strict attention should be paid to family ties, social conventions and the rules of morality.

As regards His Excellency's reference to labor conditions in the Malay Peninsula the representation submitted by some leading Indians of Fiji, which is printed elsewhere, would go to show that there is no reason to think that the lot of Indian coolies in the Federated Malay States is all that can be desired.

The Bombay Chronicle writes as follows on the Viceroy's observations:—

His Excellency's reference to measures to be taken for regulating enemy trade after the war, and administrative measures consequential upon suggestions made in Council are satisfactory. We regret we cannot say the same of the Viceroy's frank statement as to the intentions of Government with regard to emigrant labour. As we understand the matter, the Government is engaged upon finding a substitute for the system of indentured labour. His Excellency says this is hardly a correct way of describing the attitude of Government. There is hardly much practical difference. Indentured labour was State-regulated, and what is proposed is a substitute of which the leading characteristic is to be "the control of the operations of the persons so engaged." Public opinion is decided on one point, and that is that there should be the freest emigration possible, that the labour should not be "engaged" in any sense contrary to the wishes and inclinations of the emigrants themselves, and that neither the Government here nor any Colonial authority, whether British or foreign, should have a hand in the regulation of Indian emigrant labour. What will be the effect of the action the Government of India contemplates? It will impose upon itself the double duty of regulating the conditions of recruitment here and the conditions of "labour elsewhere." The question is whether the Government will be able to devise machinery suitable for the performance of this double duty which will be even more onerous and vexatious outside India than it may be here. These, however, are points that may be reserved for further consideration. The transition from the system of indentured labour to regulated emigration and labour is not likely to be negotiated quite so easily as His Excellency imagines, and the proposals in this regard will have to be very carefully scrutinised and considered.

The Position of Indian Labourers in British Colonies.

Regarding the political status of Indian labourers who may choose to settle in a colony when the period of their indenture or contract is over, *The Bombay Chronicle* has some excellent remarks. Its extracts from the opinions of eminent British statesmen are particularly timely and valuable. Our contemporary says :—

We are far from being disposed to grant that the Government of India could undertake the regulation of recruitment here or the conditions of labour abroad without incurring a responsibility which may prove beyond its capacity. But even admitting this is possible, the further question remains whether the Government should stop here and not find a permanent solution of the problem on the lines indicated by older statesmen, like the late Lord Salisbury and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and even so recently as 1908, by Colonel Seely (then under-Secretary for the Colonies). These statesmen approached the consideration of the problem of Indian emigrant labour not exclusively from the point of view of regulation of recruitment or conditions of labour, but also from the other standpoint. It seems worthwhile drawing attention to the declarations of these statesmen. In 1875, the late Lord Salisbury, as Secretary of State for India, wrote to the Government of India :

"Above all things we must confidently expect as an indispensable condition of the proposed arrangement that the colonial laws and their administration will be such that Indian settlers, who have completed the terms of service to which they agreed as the return for the expense of bringing them to the Colonies will be in all respects free men, with privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the Colonies."

Had Lord Salisbury's warning been paid heed to, how much bitterness, racial antagonism and needless political conflict could have been avoided ! What has made the problem seemingly so hard of solution was the neglect to keep in view the "indisputable condition" insisted upon by Lord Salisbury over forty years ago. Then, as up till very recently, the policy of patching without plan and without thought of the morrow has been in high favour. If the Government of India lost sight of the only sound policy in the matter, an Imperial statesman of the standing and authority of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain did not.

Our Bombay contemporary then proceeds to quote what the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain said while addressing the Premiers of the self-governing colonies assembled at the first of the great Imperial Conferences :—

"We ask you also to bear in mind the traditions of the Empire, which makes no distinctions in favour of or against race or colour ; and to exclude by the reason of their colour, or by the reason of their race, all Her Majesty's Indian subjects, or even all Asiatics, would be an act so offensive to these peoples that it would be most painful, I am quite certain, to Her

Majesty to have to sanction it.....The United Kingdom owns as its brightest and greatest dependent that enormous Empire of India, with 300,000,000 subjects, who are as loyal to the Crown as you are yourselves, and among them there are hundreds and thousands of men who are every whit as civilised as we are ourselves ; who are, if that is anything, better born, in the sense that they have older traditions and older families who are men of wealth, men of cultivation, men of distinguished valour, men who have brought whole armies and placed them at the service of the queen, and have met times of great difficulty and trouble.....saved the Empire by their loyalty. I say, you, who have seen all this cannot be willing to put upon those men a slight which I think is absolutely unnecessary for your purpose, and which would be calculated to provoke ill-feeling, discontent, irritation, and would be most unpalatable to the feelings, not only of Her Majesty the Queen, but of all her people."

These, says the Bombay paper, are "Noble words, inspired by the truest Imperial comprehension, not only of the necessity of employing Indian labour for the natural resources of sub-tropical regions, but of the 'indisputable condition' upon which alone that labour can be recruited and employed."

For reasons we need not pause to consider, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's solemn warning was unheeded by the Premiers of the self-governing Colonies in 1897, as 22 years earlier Lord Salisbury's warning was unheeded by the Government of India itself. It is impossible, in the retrospect, to acquit the Government of India on the charge of continued neglect to safeguard the interests of Indian labour and far transcending in importance any temporary material interests, their political interests. In any view of the matter, it was the primary duty of the Government of India to have kept constantly in its own view, and to have kept constantly in the view of the Imperial Cabinet, the joint responsibility of the Imperial and Colonial Governments with regard to Indian labour. Whatever might have been the attitude of the Government of India, the principles enunciated by Lord Salisbury and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain were never lost sight of in England, by statesmen, in or out of office, occupying front rank.

The Bombay Chronicle then pointedly calls attention to "the striking utterance of Colonel Seeley in the House of Commons on July 31, 1908" :

"If persons are admitted (into British Colonies), they must be given civil rights. 'Free or not at all' seems to be the soundest principle for the British Empire.....If any one is admitted under the British Flag, he must be a potential citizen, and must, sooner or later, be given rights with all other men."

Our contemporary concludes its important observations with the following paragraph :

We have ventured to call attention to these utterances of responsible statesmen, for it seems to us above all things necessary that in any arrangements

that may be made, the conditions they have laid down should be insisted upon. We have re-read Lord Chelmsford's speech, and as his Excellency omits to make any reference to the rights and status of Indian labourers, it is necessary that his attention should be drawn to the omission. We know Lord Hardinge would have pressed this view: Lord Chelmsford can possibly do no less.

We are also certainly of opinion that no emigration of labour should any longer be allowed without seeing that the men and women going abroad receive the treatment and obtain the rights to which human beings and citizens of the British Empire are entitled.

Excellent principles have been so often enunciated and laid down by British sovereigns and statesmen in relation to India without their being followed in practice by those in actual charge of Indian affairs, that the mere formulation of a principle has long ceased to inspire any hope or enthusiasm. On the contrary it now often raises a cynical smile and the apprehension that the practice will be the exact opposite of the theory. Government ought to make the most strenuous efforts to put an end to such a state of things.

The Viceroy on Educational Development.

We cannot say that the Viceroy's pronouncement on educational development in his first council speech is likely to rouse enthusiasm.

He said:—

In the sphere of education the influence of the war has been very apparent. The Provincial Governments have, as the Council is aware, been forced by the financial situation to restrict their educational programmes and the Government of India for the same reason had been unable to assist them with increased grants. We have, however, brought under their consideration three classes of educational effort in which some progress may suitably be made when better times recur. We have in the first place consulted the Local Governments and the public on the lines which should be followed in the important matter of the development of female education, especially in its primary phases, one of the most important and most difficult of the problems which have to be faced in the near future and one which I could wish that we were better prepared to meet. We have also drawn attention to the claims on Government assistance possessed by institutions for the instruction of the blind and the deaf and dumb and lastly we have placed before the Provincial Governments the necessity of maintaining more systematic than at present for securing an adequate supply of properly trained teachers, perhaps the most vital requirements in our educational system to-day. Since we last met, moreover, two new Universities have come into existence—one at Benares and one at Mysore—and

much consideration has been given to the pending proposal for the institution of new Universities at certain other centres. The rules for the grant of scholarships in England have at the same time been consolidated and improved and we have had correspondence with the Secretary of State on certain aspects of the complaints which have from time to time been made regarding the facilities for Indian students in England. I was glad in connection with this question to be able lately to announce the constitution of a special delegation at Oxford and an intercollegiate Committee at Cambridge for the express purpose of meeting the needs of Indian students whose numbers at these two Universities are said to have trebled in the last ten years.

This does not raise any hope of any appreciable expansion or improvement in any direction, until "better times recur."

In this Review we have often said that there are things which can not brook any delay. Some of these are, feeding, medical treatment and education. The head of a household does not say to his hungry children: "Wait for your meals till better times come." Because by that time their souls might leave their bodies. So some sort of food has to be provided without delay. When the children fall ill, the parents do not say: "We will call in a doctor when we have some income;" for by that time some of the poor things may die or become invalids for life. When the little ones are old enough to begin learning the parents do not say: "We will send you to school next decade or the decade after next;" for by that time they may grow too old for learning, and so remain ignorant and inefficient throughout the whole course of their lives. *The most valuable assets of a nation are its children. It is the duty of the State to see that every one of them is properly fed, kept in good health and educated. A government which does not do this is guilty of neglecting one of its primary duties.* Generations of Indians have remained crippled for life for want of education.

The Viceroy's solicitude for the blind and the deaf and dumb is praiseworthy. But what about the millions of children who have eyes but are not enabled to see, have ears but have no opportunities to listen to what would truly make men of them, and have the power of speech but are not taught to speak as becomes free and enlightened human beings?

Trained teachers are very good things, but England and many other civilized countries have had schools with many

untrained teachers for generations, nay centuries. Even now there are many uncertificated teachers in England. The expansion of education ought not to wait for an adequate supply of certificated teachers. The two things should proceed *pari passu*. When there is famine and one has to feed a hungry populace, if expert cooks cannot be had in sufficient numbers, ordinary cooks are employed. There is knowledge-famine in India. If trained teachers cannot be had in abundance, untrained literate men and women who have some knowledge ought to be employed to teach classes according to their capacity.

As for the special delegation at Oxford and the inter-collegiate committee at Cambridge for Indian students, their constitution reminds us of the old dictum that presbyter was only priest writ large. These Oxford and Cambridge bodies are only the Indian Students' Department with changed names. It is not change of machinery that is needed; there should be a change of spirit. Why were there not a Colonial Students' Department? Why are there not delegations and inter-collegiate committees for colonial students? Our students are not babies, nor are they worse behaved than other classes of students. What we want is that large numbers of our students should have facilities, and better facilities, for education in the United Kingdom than at present. "Guardianship" and "supervision" are not required. These are rather looked upon with suspicion.

Report of the Public Services Commission.

The date of publication of the report of the Public Services Commission cannot make much substantial difference in the advantage or disadvantage which Indians may reap from its recommendations. What we are unable to understand is why at an earlier stage of the war the psychological moment for its publication was considered not to have come, and why now it is believed to have arrived. As to the anxiety said to be felt by some persons to avoid any controversy during the war, the less said the better.

We never expected any good to result from the labours of the Commission. Perhaps the additional disadvantage which would result to India from the publication of its report now, would be the possible use

that might be made of it in certain quarters to represent the demand for Home Rule as being not at all urgent. The recommendations of the Commission might be represented as a very great concession made to India, and it might be argued that Indians should first prove their fitness for these extraordinarily generous concessions before clamouring for more. Our political opponents are such past matters in exaggeration that they might even assert that Home Rule had for ever been made unnecessary and superfluous by the recommendations of the Commission!

Communal Representation in the U. P.

The position of the Hindus in the U. P. municipalities having been made quite satisfactory, to whom we need not say, attention has next to be bestowed on their position in the district boards. Musalmans abound in the towns and do not abound in the rural areas of those provinces; hence, quite logically, the Musalmans ought to have the same kind of position in both the municipalities and the district boards. Where the Musalman element is strong, well,—it ought to be stronger. Where it is not strong, well, should it not be made stronger? This is very much like the drinker's argument, which is in favour of your having a drop when you are hot, and also in favour of your having a drop when you feel cold.

We find that some Hindu candidates for municipal seats in some towns have withdrawn their candidature. This is undoubtedly a step in the right direction. It is certainly far better than quarrelling with our Musalman neighbours. The Hindu-Musalman problem, whatever its origin, is one on whose satisfactory solution the political progress of India depends to a very great extent. If the Hindus and the Musalmans were the only parties to it, its solution would not have been very difficult. But we have also to reckon with those men of British birth both here and in England who are opposed to our national solidarity and progress.

Collegiate Education in the U. P.

It is said the Benares Queen's College, which has a commodious building and an adequate staff, has only some 135 students, on its rolls, and still it refused admission to some 400 seekers of knowledge. What can be the reasons for thus shutting its

gates? Is the principal an absolute monarch, or is the director of public instruction an autocrat? The matter is of sufficient importance to be carried up to the highest authority in India and, if need be, in England. We are accustomed to the plea of want of money or of want of accommodation. But here is a case where money is spent and where there is plenty of accommodation; but there is some one, we do not know who, who says, "It is my will that no more boys should have collegiate education." It is the urgent duty of Government to find out this person and tell him that he is far too antiquated for the twentieth century, and unless he chooses to march with the times he must make room for a more progressive man.

Lord Carmichael's Successor.

It is rumoured that Sir Michael O'Dwyer is likely to succeed Lord Carmichael as Governor of Bengal. Governorships have been created, we suppose, on the principle that statesmen from England, with a fresh outlook, should come out to govern provinces; and that is a good principle. Members of the Civil Service have already acquired a monopoly of far too many offices. They ought not to be allowed to aspire to governorships. Independent Punjab opinion of Sir Michael is not at all favourable. He may have been able to crush disturbances with an iron hand *after* they had occurred and humiliated and ruined hundreds of persons belonging, for the most part, to a particular section of the community; but if the crushing be an argument in his favour, are not the previous unrest and wholesale raids and disturbances a much stronger argument against his capacity and statesmanship? Conditions here and in the Punjab are very different. Bengal certainly does not want a Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Sir S. P. Sinha.

We frankly confess we are unable to solve the mystery of Sir S. P. Sinha's accepting a membership of the Bengal Executive Council in succession to Nawab Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda. He had held a higher office before and resigned it of his own accord. The pecuniary sacrifice now to be made is much higher than that involved in his acceptance, years ago, of the office of Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. There is no glory in being the successor of

the Nawab Sahab, as the latter's position in the Vakil Bar was not superior to Sir Sinha's position among Barristers. If by becoming a member of the Executive Council one could render signal service to the country, we could understand the meaning of an incumbent's sacrifice. But there is no such possibility of national service. If there were, why did Sir S. P. Sinha resign his much higher office with its higher possibility of serving the Motherland? Should Sir S. P. Sinha be able to complete the full period of 5 years' service, he would have to forego the acquisition of at least 10 lakhs of rupees. Should the service of the nation be his object, he could better render it by devoting this amount to the welfare of the country as a non-official.

There is, moreover, some disservice done to the country in a person of Sir Sinha's position accepting such office. It amounts to a practical admission that any Government post is good enough for any Indian. When Englishmen come out from England as High Court Judges or Chief Justices, or as Law Members, or as Commerce Members, they are pecuniarily gainers thereby, which shows that these Englishmen were not front rank men in their professions "at home." But when Indians are to be appointed, they must be front rank men, they must make heavy sacrifices; which means that race counts for much, not capacity as measured by the earning power, or position in one's profession. Really we do not appreciate the fun of asking an Indian to accept a salary which is one-fourth of his income, nor understand the mystery of his accepting the offer. Some men in England, no doubt, have to make great sacrifices in order to become cabinet ministers; but that is no parallel. Will Sir S. P. Sinha possess one-tenth of the power for good possessed by a cabinet minister?

Famine in Bankura.

Help continues to be given to the famine-stricken people of Bankura, and will have to be given for some weeks more, probably till the end of this month. In the coming cold season, the indigent will require clothes, and huts will also have to be repaired. Good use can still be made of contributions coming in.

Floods and the Cyclone.

Floods and the cyclone have done great damage in Bihar, the U. P. and

Bengal. The only redeeming feature is the efforts of public-spirited persons in all provinces, particularly of the student population, to relieve the sufferings of the inhabitants of the tracts affected. May our young men, when they grow older, have the tender, feeling hearts, and the strong active hands they now have.

Yellow Men as the Coming Race.

The September number of the *Japan Magazine* contains the following note with the heading "*Chance for Orientals*":—

CHANCE FOR ORIENTALS

The *Chuwu* thinks the regime of the white races is waning and the day of the yellow man is fast approaching. Though the white races have seized and held most of the choice places of the earth, they have not really possessed all of them, owing to their inability to endure the more tropical climates. Success, to be real and permanent, must be something more than commercial; the conqueror must be able to live and be healthy in his new possession, or he does not really own it. It is little consolation to be victorious politically if one is a failure physiologically. The regime of the white man will ultimately be limited to temperate zones. Outside of these he is like a fish out of water. In such places as North Australia, Egypt, Hongkong, Singapore, India, Penang, the white man is doomed, as well as in a large portion of South America. In all these places the white man will ultimately be obliged to give way to his darker brother, who can better endure the climate. Let the yellow races, therefore, realize before it is too late, the opportunity that awaits them; let them know their latent power and feel that their day is coming. It is not necessary forever to go on submitting to the white man and worshipping at his feet. There is no physiological foundation for his political and commercial superiority and present supremacy. Heaven has endowed the yellow man with the capacity, and given him the right, to live and prosper where the white man cannot exist.

This bit of writing is no doubt significant and has its lesson for Japan's allies and enemies. But is the yellow man only oriental? What is the place and what the future of the non-yellow oriental? Is he to be the slave of the yellow man?

Qualifications of Dependent Races.

The *Philippine Review* has the following about the character qualifications of dependent races:—

Is it now the most appropriate time to judge as to the character qualifications of the Filipino people? Or is it not rather too early and, therefore, unfair to judge them while they are still in a dependent state?

This is propounded because of the following alleged statement of Mr. Hendrick Colijn, Dutch ex-minister of war, who is said to have spent twenty years in the Orient:

"Filipino native government would be a failure, not because the natives lack education, but because they lack character."

We have to thank him for this acknowledgement of our cultural status.

Indeed, the fact that he (Mr. Colijn) spent fully twenty years in the Orient should have qualified him splendidly to judge orientals.

However, even granting that he acted in the best of faith, we doubt if he ever could have become, or can ever be, a good judge of orientals, specially if he, at no time, was ever really free from western prejudices against orientals.

Dependent peoples are always looked upon by westerners as short of qualifications; and, whatever their actual merits may be, they (their merits) are lost sight of under cover of such *advisably* pre-ailing belief that *they* (said people) *are short of qualifications*.

Their failures are magnified, and their successes minimized. Their failures are theirs, and their successes not theirs, and *the latter are necessarily the work of their masters*.

The mistakes of independent peoples are not mistakes to them; but the same mistakes, if made by dependent peoples even in the *minimum* degree, are considered *mistakes in the maximum degree*, deserving the most spiteful condemnation,—the result of their alleged lack of qualifications, character or what not.

Besides, dependent peoples are not in a position to act for themselves; for others act for them—those who, for one reason or another, in one way or another, have assumed responsibility for their tutelage—and are always discriminated against, and subject to the pleasure of their masters, whose convenience must obtain.

On the other hand, an independent people are free from outside prejudices, none cares to waste time searching for their virtues and vices, and they are *per se* considered as fully qualified people, particularly if before and behind them big modern guns can deafeningly roar defensively and offensively.

"If America Sets the Example."

The same review has also the following note:—

"If America sets the example," says Mr. Colijn, "of giving independence to her Asiatic possessions, the nationalists in other European colonies would at once begin to chafe under their own restrictions, and there might be a good deal of trouble in more places than one."

As a distinguished Filipino has said, it is easy to copy what others have already done; what is really difficult is to make a new path.

Naturally, if it is desired to keep the so-called *European Colonies* in the East in a permanently unchanged state of ignorance and servitude, then it is to the interests of European colonizers to prevent America from going any further in her noble purposes with the Philippines.

However, America fought for her own freedom and for the liberation of slaves on her own soil, and cannot, for obvious reasons, follow the path of the others.

And if she sets the example, and sets it for the better, should it not, in the end, result in a greater good to mankind?

Exploitation of a people by a stronger people is but the application of the old theory of greed that

has blocked the progress of dependent peoples. It has checked the proper development of dependent countries quite completely. For, on the one hand, the greed and energies of the dominant race are alone not enough to cope with the vitalities of the *conquered* soil, and, on the other, the abased spirit of the *enslaved* is hardly available for the task.

But free these countries, give them a chance to live their own way, and they will be better units of mankind, and their usefulness will be greater. For all will have the greatest of all inducements: the revered idea of their beloved country.

Then the world's wealth will be greater, a better, more unselfish feeling will prevail, and peace and friendship will be truer.

But the time will come when colonies will cease to be, when the *conquerors* themselves will find their situation untenable. For this is the work of education, the blessings of which are now eagerly sought for by the colonies themselves.

And education cannot be denied, and, however slow and loath the *masters* may be to give it, it has to be given. Otherwise, the people themselves will provide for it. And it is now no longer impossible so to do.

It is a cold fact, and Java itself shows no exception to this.

Bengalis and Soldiership.

Some of our Anglo-Indian journalistic patrons and destiny-makers have expressed the opinion that Bengalis never were soldiers. It is not at all necessary to convince these creatures that Bengalis were and can again be soldiers. It is necessary to convince only ourselves and our self-respecting and sane countrymen on the evidence of historical and contemporary facts that Bengal was and is not devoid of men possessed of physical strength and courage. These facts have been repeatedly mentioned in many journals including ours. Let that suffice.

If some Bengalis are now again going to fight, it is not at all due to the conversion of the Anglo-Indian journalistic arbiters of our destiny, but because of that necessity which rules the destinies of all empires and nations.

Bengal is not famous for its breeds of cattle and of sheep. The only lower animal which is its special product and to which it has given its name is the Royal Bengal Tiger. There is a village god, worshipped in Bengal, Dakkhin Ray, who has the tiger as his *vahan* "or conveyance." The climate, physical features, flora and fauna of Bengal have not prevented this animal from flourishing in its forests. We suppose, therefore, the material environment is not absolutely unfavorable to the birth and growth of soldiers in our province. Bengal can and does produce

men possessed of strength, agility and fearlessness, which are some of the characteristics of the Royal Bengal Tiger. One has to find them out and produce the mental and moral atmosphere which encourages manliness and impels men to become soldiers. Perhaps it is necessary also to destroy malaria and chronic semi-starvation.

Higher Commercial Education.

The questions as to whether we should have a college of commerce in Calcutta and whether the Calcutta University should have a degree in commerce, ought to be answered in the affirmative. Many modern Universities teach commerce and confer a degree in that subject. In India the University of Bombay has already followed in the wake of modern western Universities. Bengal is backward in commerce, and that makes the case for higher education in commerce all the stronger. From the days of Dwarakanath Tagore, Ramgopal Ghosh, and others, some Bengalis have always shown their aptitude for mercantile business. There will, therefore, not be wanting a sufficient number of young intelligent Bengalis to avail themselves of commercial education. No doubt, commercial education is vocational education. But education in pedagogy, law, medicine and engineering is also bread-and-butter education. Therefore, there need not be any apprehension of loss of dignity on the part of the University in going in for commercial education. And the degree is required for giving those who have received a commercial training, the stamp of the University, so that they may have a status and market value equal to those of other graduates of the same standing.

It may be said that it is only experience which can make a *pucca* or perfect man of business. But does the University turn out skilled and expert teachers, lawyers, doctors and engineers? The followers of these professions become gradually skilled with growing experience. The colleges give only the preliminary knowledge and training. Such also would be the case with commercial education.

The courses for a commercial degree of some modern universities show that the subjects are such as would give sufficient intellectual training to entitle the

students to receive the hall mark of the university.

The subject of higher commercial education has been very convincingly dealt with in a memorandum prepared by Prof. M. Subedar and in a note written by Dr. Sarvadhikary, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

Patna University Bill

We have not before us the full text of the speech delivered by Sir C. Sankaran Nair in introducing the Patna University Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council. From the brief reports published in two of the morning papers we learn that

The first senate and the syndicate will be constituted by the Act itself. The next and the ensuing senate will consist of not less than 40 and not more than 60 persons. The senate will include certain ex-officio Fellows, 4 Fellows elected by the faculties, 8 Fellows elected by certain classes of Fellows according to the regulations framed for that purpose. The senate is only to be a deliberative body. Its resolutions are not binding on the syndicate. The senate differs in this respect from the senate constituted under the Universities Act of 1904 which has the power of making regulations providing for the courses of study to be followed and the conditions to be complied with by candidates for the university examinations and also for the conditions to be complied with by schools desiring recognition for the purpose of sending up pupils for the matriculation examination. The ensuing syndicates will consist of 16 members some of them ex-officio. The Chancellor shall nominate 4 persons and 9 persons are to be elected by the senate. The syndicate will have control of all matters concerning education. Under the Indian Universities Act now in force the executive government of the University is vested in the syndicate while under the bill a full time vice-chancellor is to be the principal executive officer of the University. All matters relating to the administration of the University rules to regulate the admission of educational institutions to the privileges of the University and the withdrawal of such privileges, rules about the admission of students to the University and their examinations also will be provided for by the regulations. The first regulations are to be framed by the local Government. Such regulations may be modified and new additional regulations may be framed by the senate with the sanction of Government. No college will be affiliated without the consent of the syndicate, the senate and the local Government. As to disaffiliation on the other hand the local Government alone might do it after considering the opinion of the syndicate and the senate.

The constitution and powers of the senate are not satisfactory from the people's point of view. Nothing is said as to the proportion and number of the ex-officio fellows. Sixty is too small a number to represent the three provinces of Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur. But as the

senate is only to be a deliberative body, whose resolutions are not to be binding on the syndicate, the smaller the number of men whose time and energy are to be wasted in mere deliberation and speech-making, the better. The senate ought to have the power of initiative and of revising, altering and annulling what the syndicate may do. From the people's point of view there is no reason why the Patna senate should not have all the powers which the senates of the older Universities possess under the Universities Act of 1904. No necessity has arisen for out-Curzonizing the Curzonian Act.

We are not told how many members of the syndicate will be ex-officio. From the details furnished, it is to be feared that the syndicate will be an official-ridden body.

"No College will be affiliated without the consent of the syndicate, the senate, and the local Government. As to disaffiliation, on the other hand, the local Government alone might do it after considering the opinion of the syndicate and the senate." Or, in other words, the work and process of destroying existing colleges, when thought necessary, is to be a more summary and expeditious affair than the work and process of bringing new colleges into existence! This is typical of the attitude of the re-actionaries towards higher education. It is a pity that Sir Sankaran Nair has to pilot such a measure through.

The position of and courses of study in the existing colleges will be affected in the following way :—

The committee were of opinion that the Diamond Jubilee College at Monghyr under private management was a small and weak institution and the Government agreed with the committee that we would not be justified in spending the very considerable amount that would be required to equip and maintain it efficiently. It has not been therefore proposed to include it in the new university.

As to the courses of study it is intended that the university is to undertake the whole of the science teaching of the university colleges at Patna, law teaching, and the honours B. A. and the post-graduate work in arts subjects. Provision is to be made for a system of inter-collegiate lectures in the B. A. pass and so far as is possible in the junior classes at Patna, but the external colleges will teach arts subjects only up to the pass B. A. and to the Intermediate Science subjects. As exceptions to the above the Cuttack College will provide teaching for honours B. A. and the pass B. Sc. and the Bihar National College will provide teaching for the pass B. Sc.

So out of *only seven arts and science colleges* for a population of nearly 34½ millions, one is not to be included in the new university; which means that it will be extinguished. So the new university will begin, not with increasing the facilities for education, but the reverse. There will be a little diminution of facilities in another direction. At present St. Columba's College in Hazaribagh teaches the honours course in English for the B.A. degree. It seems it must cease to do so when the Patna University comes into existence. Why should not there be a fully equipped State College in the healthy sub-province of Chota Nagpur? Why should all post-graduate teaching be confined to Patna? We cannot say the Patna University is going to make Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur educationally more advanced than they are at present.

It seems there is to be no engineering college, and no medical college. The spirit of modern civilization may be found in the other faculties of a university, but its body, without which it must be evanescent, has to be furnished by the faculty of engineering, in the shape of good buildings, roads, bridges, canals, drains, waterworks, railways, chemical, sugar, and other factories, engine workshops, mines, electrical power-houses and electrical lighting and other arrangements, &c. How is the province going to be modernised without engineers? No province in India turns out an adequate number of engineers to supply its own demands. From where is B.-O.-Ch. going to import her engineers? From outside India? But are they not too costly?

As for education in medicine and surgery, is B.-O.-Ch. a paradise where there are no diseases and untimely deaths? Patna University is not going to have a medical college,—a strange thing for a modern university in the twentieth century. No province turns out a sufficient number of doctors for its own needs. Where is the "new" province going to place its order for doctors?

"Indian Autonomy."

In reviewing Mrs. Besant's book "India—a Nation," *The Review of Reviews* writes:—

Mrs. Besant has recently thrown herself heart and soul into the movement to obtain Home Rule for India, for which purpose she founded some time

ago a league, an auxiliary branch of which has just been started in London. She presents, in her new book, a convincing argument for giving India self-government within the Empire. She says that India is poor and finds it hard to pay for the expensive administration that has been superimposed upon her, especially in view of the facts that the highest posts are monopolised by foreigners, Indian industries are not protected from ruinous competition, and the people are left illiterate. She maintains that the one way India can be made contented and prosperous is to let Indians work out their own destiny. Indians, in her opinion, are fully competent to govern themselves. Mrs. Besant would make the Presidencies and Provinces autonomous and incorporate them and the Indian States in a federation linked up with the British Empire. Her scheme deserves sympathetic consideration.

The gifted writer controverts the theory that Indians are a congeries of peoples, and establishes the connection between the political and religious movements of India—a connection frequently ignored. Pride in the Indian culture, she says, has infused a new life into Indians, and no development that is not along national lines can do permanent good to the people. Mrs. Besant pleads that if India is to be a source of strength to the Empire she must be allowed to express herself.

Rammohun the Nation-maker.

On the 27th of September, 1833, Raja Rammohun Roy breathed his last in Bristol. On the 27th of the last month his death anniversary was celebrated in many towns all over India. The full significance of his life and personality ought to be a matter for serious study to Indians.

It is now established that though the sciences are many, Science is one. Similarly, though there are many religions, Religion is one. In modern India, Raja Rammohun Roy was the first to realise this unity, not in theory alone, but in practice as well. In his age his was the most catholic heart and the most unprejudiced and clear-sighted spiritual vision.

The realisation of another unity first found concrete expression in his life. It is known that he was the pioneer, in the British period of Indian history, in the fields of religious, social, educational, political and economic reform and reconstruction. But what is much more necessary to understand and remember is that he reduced to practice his belief that *Reform is one* and that therefore the different kinds of reform are interdependent. His faith in the one God could not but lead him to believe that as Religion, Society, Politics, and Economics, all alike are governed by Him, no one can be a true reformer in one field who is opposed to reform in any other field.

Rammohun's gift to the nation, then, consists of the three Unities,—One God, One Religion, One Reform. The acceptance of his Monotheism in this comprehensive sense cannot but make his nation strong. This will be understood from our note on what Bagehot says on the national value of Monotheism.

The Press Deputation.

The Press Deputation which is to wait upon the Viceroy ought to have included at least one Musalman representative, as the Musalman Press has suffered heavily from the working of the Press Act. But perhaps no Musalman journalist offered himself on account of the conditions imposed on the deputation.

The representation to be submitted to the Viceroy should be circulated among the members of the Press Association early enough to enable them to offer criticisms and suggestions for a final revision before submission.

Big Donation to Calcutta University.

MR. A. C. EDWARDS' GIFT OF RS. 2 LAKHS.

It is understood that Mr. A. C. Edwards, late of the Indian Educational Service and Officiating Principal of Presidency College, Calcutta, has made a donation of two lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University.

Mr. Edwards in thus practically acknowledging what he and Great Britain owe to India has given proof of a liberal mind and has earned our sincere thanks.

Sanskrit in Japan.

In no land outside of India has Sanskrit been cultivated so long and nowhere is it now so widely taught as in Japan, says the "*Herald of Asia*." Exactly when it began to be studied, it is impossible to say. It may, however, be stated in a general way that it came to Japan with the religion of Buddha early in the 6th century. History tells us that about the middle of the 7th century there were a few Japanese priests studying Sanskrit at the Buddhist Translation Institute in China under the well-known traveller and scholar Hiuen Tsang and his disciples.

But the serious and extensive study of Sanskrit among the Japanese dates from the arrival in Japan of two Indian Buddhists, Bodhisena and Fattriet, in the year

735. They had been staying in the capital of China for some time, when they fell in with the members of a periodical diplomatic mission from Japan, in whose train they crossed over to that country.

IMPETUS TO STUDY.

The presence of these Indians gave such impetus to the study of Sanskrit, that there began to rise a school of investigators some of whom rose to high positions in the Buddhist hierarchy not only of Japan but of China. It is, for instance, recorded in history that a Japanese priest named Reisen went to China in the retinue of Koko Daishi in 805, and being a competent Sanskrit scholar he was in course of time appointed Director of the Buddhist Translation Institute. In collaboration with an Indian priest, Prajna by name, he completed the translation of a Buddhist sutra which is known as Shinchi Kwangyo and still remains a standard work in its field. Reisen spent the rest of his life in China, honoured and respected by all sections of the community. He was by no means the only Japanese scholar of Sanskrit who worked and died in China. Several others did the same. One of these was Kongo, who, starting from China in 814, visited India, and after a short sojourn returned to China, doubtless laden with much valuable information.

Another Japanese visitor to India in those early days was no less a personage than Prince Takaoka, heir-apparent to the Emperor Saga. He was not, however, destined to go beyond Laos in Cochin-China, where, sad to relate, he fell ill and died with his devout scheme unfulfilled.

SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS.

Since the advent of Sanskrit in Japan down to the end of the Tokugawa period, an interval of about twelve hundred years, it is computed that that country produced more than three hundred Sanskrit scholars worthy of the name. They undoubtedly wrote much on Sanskrit grammar and other subjects. Much has, however, been lost through war and other causes, and about 150 volumes represent the whole amount of the fruits of their scholarship now extant. Besides, there have been preserved a large mass of Sanskrit manuscripts, documents, and tablets, originally brought from India direct, or through China. They are all of value as

specimens of Indian palæography, while some are of still greater scientific importance.

Among those belonging to the latter category, are the famous palm leaf manuscripts of the Horyuji Temple, edited and published by Max Muller at Oxford, which are the oldest writings of the kind now extant in any country. Quite recently a palm leaf belonging to the same age (the 5th century) was discovered at the Chion-in, Kyoto. There are preserved other old materials of scarcely less importance at temples like the Horyuji, Kokiji and Kairyu-ji, in Yamato; the Miidera and Saikyoji, in Omi; and those at Koyasan. The Japanese store of ancient Indian manuscripts and documents has recently been considerably augmented by the collections brought home by Dr. Junjiro Takakusu and Reverend Ekai Kawaguchi. All these materials are now being examined and studied under the supervision of Dr. Takakusu, the acknowledged doyen of Sanskrit scholars in Japan. The results of his labours, we learn, will be shortly given to the public.

SANSKRIT PROFESSORS.

The new era of learning ushered in by the Restoration of 1868, naturally revived interest in the study of Sanskrit. Recognizing the importance of the modern method of critical study, a number of promising young men have been sent to various European universities during the past forty years. As a result there is now in Japan a group of very able Sanskritists of European training. To mention some of them, there are Dr. Bunyu Nanjo, of the Higashi Hongwanji; Professor Dr. Junjiro Takakusu, Dr. Wogihara, and Professor Dr. Anesaki, of the Tokio Imperial University; Dr. Sakaki, of the

Kyoto Imperial University; Dr. Watanabe, of the Jodo Sect. Of these, Dr. Wogihara and Dr. Watanabe studied at Strasburg under Professor Leumann, while the others mostly studied at Oxford under Max Muller. Sanskrit is taught at the two Imperial Universities of Tokio and Kyoto and at seven of the colleges maintained by various denominations of Buddhism. The number of students now attending the Sanskrit classes at the Imperial Universities is about sixty altogether, while at the Buddhist institutions they are numbered by the hundred.

JAPAN AND INDIA.

The increased study of Sanskrit and Indian thought in Japan cannot fail to have far-reaching influence upon the mental and spiritual life of the Japanese. Through the difficult and complicated structure of Sanskrit they are introduced to a world of thought and feelings peculiarly congenial to their spirit; at every step of their hard won advance they recognize familiar shapes of old friends. All this shows how deep is their past spiritual indebtedness to India and how closely they are allied to the people of this country in all the essentials of inner life. The inevitable result of the increasing dissemination of a knowledge of Sanskrit among them ought to deepen the community of sentiment and sympathy between the peoples of India and Japan to their natural benefit.

We think our Sanskritists should open communication with Japanese Sanskritists, and fac-similes of all old Sanskrit manuscripts, documents and tablets should be obtained for our principal public, University and College libraries. The Hindu University should pay particular attention to this matter.



DOMESTIC FELICITY
From a Burmese Painting.

W. RAY & SONS, CALCUTTA.

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MY REMINISCENCES

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(35) *Rajendra Lala Mitra.*

IT was about this time that my brother Jyotirindra had the idea of founding a Literary Academy by bringing together all the men of letters of repute. To compile authoritative technical terms for the Bengali language and in other ways to assist in its growth was to be its object—therein differing but little from the lines on which the modern *Sahitya Parisat*, Academy of Literature, has taken shape.

Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra took up the idea of this Academy with enthusiasm, and he was eventually its president for the short time it lasted. When I went to invite Pandit Vidyasagar to join it, he gave a hearing to my explanation of its objects and the names of the proposed members and then said: "My advice to you is to leave us out—you will never accomplish anything with big-wigs; they can never be got to agree with one another," with which he refused to come in. Bankim Babu became a member, but I cannot say that he took much interest in the work.

To be plain, so long as this Academy lived, Rajendra Lala Mitra did everything singlehanded. We began with Geographical terms. The draft list was made out by Dr. Rajendra Lala himself and was printed and circulated for the suggestions of the members. We had also an idea of transliterating in Bengali the name of each foreign country as pronounced by itself.

Pandit Vidyasagar's prophecy was fulfilled. It did not prove possible to get the big-wigs to do anything. And the academy withered away shortly after sprouting. But Rajendra Lala Mitra was an all-round expert and was an academy

in himself. My labours in this cause were more than repaid by the privilege of his acquaintance. I have met many Bengali men of letters in my time, but none who left the impression of such brilliance.

I used to go and see him in the office of the Court of Wards in Maniktala. I would go in the mornings and always find him busy with his studies, and with the inconsiderateness of youth I felt no hesitation in disturbing him. But I have never seen him the least bit put out on that account. As soon as he saw me he would put aside his work and begin to talk to me. It is a matter of common knowledge that he was somewhat hard of hearing, so he hardly ever gave me occasion to put him any question. He would take up some broad subject and talk away upon it, and it was the attraction of these discourses which drew me there. Converse with no other person ever gave me such a wealth of suggestive ideas on so many different subjects. I would listen enraptured.

I think he was a member of the Text-book Committee and every book he received for approval, he read through and annotated in pencil. On some occasions he would select one of these books for the text of a discourse on the construction of the Bengali Language in particular or Philology in general, which were of the greatest benefit to me. There were few subjects which he had not studied and anything he had studied he could clearly expound.

If we had not relied on the other members of the academy we had tried to found, but left everything to Dr. Rajendra Lala, the present *Sahitya Parisat* would have doubtless found the matters it is now occupied

with left in a much more advanced state by that one man alone.

Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra was not only a profound scholar, but he had likewise a striking personality which shone through his features. Full of fire as he was in his public life, he could also unbend graciously so as to talk on the most difficult subjects to a stripling like myself without any trace of a patronising tone. I even took advantage of his condescension to the extent of getting a contribution, *Yama's Dog*, from him for the *Bharati*. There were other great contemporaries of his with whom I would not have ventured to take such liberties, nor would I have met with the like response if I had.

And yet when he was on the war-path his opponents on the Municipal Corporation or the Senate of the University were mortally afraid of him. In those days Kristo Das Pal was the tactful politician, and Rajendra Lala Mitra the valiant fighter.

For the purpose of the Asiatic Society's publications and researches, he had to employ a number of Sanskrit Pandits to do the mechanical work for him. I remember how this gave certain envious and mean-minded detractors the opportunity of saying that everything was really done by these Pandits, while Rajendra Lala fraudulently appropriated all the credit. Even today we very often find the tools arrogating to themselves the lion's share of the achievement, imagining the wielder to be a mere ornamental figure-head. If the poor pen had a mind it would as certainly have bemoaned the unfairness of its getting all the stain and the writer all the glory.

It is curious that this extraordinary man should have got no recognition from his countrymen even after his death. One of the reasons may be that the national mourning for Vidyasagar, whose death followed shortly after, left no room for a recognition of the other bereavement. Another reason may be that, his main contributions being outside the pale of Bengali literature, he had been unable to reach the heart of the people.

(36) Karwar.

Our Sudder Street party next transferred itself to Karwar on the west sea-coast. Karwar is the head-quarters of the Karara district in the southern portion of the Bombay presidency. It is the tract of

the Malaya Hills of Sanscrit literature where grow the cardamum creeper and the sandal tree. My second brother was then Judge there.

The little harbour ringed round with hills is so secluded that it has nothing of the aspect of a port about it. Its crescent shaped beach throws out its arms to the shoreless open sea like the very image of an eager striving to embrace the infinite. The edge of the broad sandy beach is fringed with a forest of casuarinas broken at one end by the *Kalanadi* river which here flows into the sea after passing through a gorge flanked by rows of hills on either side.

I remember how one moonlit-evening we went up this river in a little boat. We stopped at one of Sivaji's old hill forts, and stepping ashore found our way into the clean-swept little yard of a peasant's home. We sat on a spot where the moonbeams fell glancing off the outer enclosure, and there dined off the eatables we had brought with us. On our way back we let the boat glide down the river. The night brooded over the motionless hills and forests, and on the silent flowing stream of this little *Kalanadi*, throwing over all its moonlight spell. It took us a good long time to reach the mouth of the river, so, instead of returning by sea, we got off the boat there and walked back home over the sands of the beach. It was then far into the night, the sea was without a ripple, even the ever-troubled murmur of the casuarinas was at rest. The shadow of the fringe of trees along the vast expanse of sand hung motionless along its border, and the ring of blue-grey hills around the horizon slept calmly beneath the sky.

Through the deep silence of this illimitable whiteness we few human creatures walked along with our shadows, without a word. When we reached home my sleep had lost itself in something still deeper. The poem which I then wrote is inextricably mingled with that night on the distant seashore. I do not know how it will appeal to the reader apart from the memories with which it is entwined. This doubt led to its being left out of Mohit Babu's edition of my works. I trust that a place given to it among my reminiscences may not be deemed unfitting.

Let me sink down, losing myself in the depth of
midnight.
Let the earth leave her hold of me, let her free me
from her obstacle of dust.

Keep your watch from afar, O stars, drunk though
 you be with moonlight,
 and let the horizon hold its wings still around me.
 Let there be no song, no word, no sound, no touch
 nor sleep, nor awakement,—
 but only the moonlight like a swoon of ecstasy over
 the sky and my being.
 The world seems to me like a ship with its countless
 pilgrims,
 Vanishing in the far-away blue of the sky, its sailors'
 song becoming fainter and fainter in the air,
 While I sink in the bosom of the endless night,
 fading away from myself, dwindling into a poem.

It is necessary to remark here that merely because something has been written when feelings are brimming over, it is not therefore necessarily good. Such is rather a time when the utterance is thick with emotion. Just as it does not do to have the writer entirely removed from the feeling to which he is giving expression, so also it does not conduce to the truest poetry to have him too close to it. Memory is the brush which can best lay on the true poetic colour. Nearness has too much of the compelling about it and the imagination is not sufficiently free unless it can get away from its influence. Not only in poetry, but in all art, the mind of the artist must attain a certain degree of aloofness—the creator within man must be allowed the sole control. If the subject matter gets the better of the creation, the result is a mere replica of the event, not a reflection of it through the artist's mind.

(37) *Nature's Revenge.*

Here in Karwar I wrote the *Prakritir Pratishodha*, *Nature's Revenge*, a dramatic poem. The Hero was a sanyasi (hermit) who had been striving to gain a victory over nature by cutting away the bonds of all desires and affections and thus to arrive at a true and profound knowledge of Self. A little girl, however, brought him back from his communion with the infinite to the world and into the bondage of human affection. On so coming back the sanyasi realised that the great is to be found in the small, the infinite within the bounds of form, and the eternal freedom of the soul in love. It is only in the light of love that all limits are merged in the limitless.

The sea beach of Karwar is certainly a fit place in which to realise that the beauty of Nature is not a mirage of the imagination, but reflects the joy of the infinite and thus draws us to lose ourselves in it. Where the universe is expressing itself in

the magic of its laws it may not be strange if we miss its infinitude, but where the heart gets into immediate touch with immensity in the beauty of the meanest of things, is any room left for agreement?

Nature took the sanyasi to the presence of the infinite enthroned on the finite, by the path-way of the heart. In the *Nature's Revenge* there were shown on the one side the wayfarers and the villagers, content with their home-made triviality and unconscious of anything beyond; and on the other the Sanyasi busy casting away his all, and himself, into the self-evolved infinite of his imagination. When love bridged the gulf between the two and the hermit and the house-holder met, the seeming triviality of the finite and the seeming emptiness of the infinite alike disappeared.

This was to put in a slightly different form the story of my own experience of the entrancing ray of light which found its way into the depths of the cave into which I had retired away from all touch with the outer world and made me more fully one with nature again. This *Nature's Revenge* may be looked upon as an introduction to the whole of my future literary work; or rather this has been the subject on which all my writings have dwelt,—the joy of attaining the infinite within the finite.

On our way back from Karwar I wrote some songs for the *Nature's Revenge* on board ship; the first one filled me with a great gladness as I sang and wrote it sitting on the deck.

Mother, leave your darling boy to us,
 And let us take him to the field where we graze
 our cattle.*

The sun has risen, the buds have opened
 the cowherd boys are going to the pasture
 and they would not have the sun-light
 the flowers and their play in the grazing
 grounds empty. They want their *Shyām*
 (Krishna) to be with them there, in the
 midst of all these, they want to see the

* This is addressed to Yashoda, mother of Krishna, by his playmates. Yashoda would dress up her darling every morning in his yellow garment with a peacock plume in his hair. But it came to the point she was nervous about allowing him young as he was, to join the other cowherd boys at the pasturage. So it often required a great deal of persuasion before they would be allowed to take charge of him. This is part of the Vaishnava parallel of the child aspect of Krishna's play with the world.
 —Tr.

Infinite in all its carefully adorned loveliness; they have turned out so early because they want to join in its glad some play, in the midst of these woods and fields—not to admire from a distance, nor in the majesty of power. Their equipment is of the slightest. A simple yellow garment and a garland of wild flowers are all the ornaments they require. For where joy reigns on every side, to hunt for it arduously, or amidst pomp and circumstance, is to lose it.

Shortly after my return from Karwar, I was married. I was then 22 years of age.

(38) *Pictures and Songs.*

Chhabi O Gan, Pictures and Songs, was the title of a book of poems most of which were written at this time.

We were then living in a house with a garden in Lower Circular Road. Adjoining it on the South was a large Busti.* I would often sit near a window and watch the sights of this populous little settlement. I loved to see them at their work and play and rest, and in their multifarious goings and comings. To me it was all like a living story.

A faculty of many-sightedness possessed me at this time. Each little separate picture I ringed round with the light of my imagination and the joy of my heart, every one of them, moreover, being variously coloured by a pathos of their own. The pleasure of thus separately making off each picture was much the same as that of painting it, both being the outcome of the desire to see with the mind what the eye sees and with the eye what the mind imagines. Had I been a painter with the brush I would doubtless have tried to keep permanent record of the visions and creations of that period when my mind was so alertly responsive. But that instrument was not available to me. What I had were only words and rhythms, and even with these I had not yet learnt to draw firm strokes, and the colours went beyond the margins. Still, like young

folk with their first paint-box, I spent the livelong day painting away with the many-coloured fancies of my new-born youth. If these pictures are now viewed in the lights of that twenty-second year of my life, some features may be discerned even through their crude drawing and blurred colouring.

I have said that the first book of my literary life came to an end with the *Morning Songs*. The same subject was then continued under a different rendering. Many a page at the outset of this book, I am sure, is of no value. In the process of making a new beginning much in the way of superfluous preliminary has to be gone through. Had these been leaves of trees they would have duly dropped off. Unfortunately leaves of books continue to stick fast even when they are no longer wanted. The feature of these poems was the closeness of attention devoted even to trifling things. *Pictures and Songs* seized every opportunity of giving value to these by colouring them with feelings straight from the heart. Or, rather, that was not it. When the string of the mind is properly attuned to the universe, then at each point the universal song can awaken its sympathetic vibrations. It was because of this music roused within, that nothing then felt trivial to the writer. Whatever my eyes fell upon found a response within me. Like children who can play with sand, or stones or shells, or whatever they can get,—for the spirit of play is within them,—so also we, when filled with the song of youth, become aware that the harp of the universe has its variously tuned strings everywhere stretched, and as the nearest may serve as well as any other for our accompaniment, there is no need to seek afar.

(39) *An intervening period.*

Between the *Pictures and Songs* and the *Sharps and Flats*, a child's magazine called the *Balaka* sprang up and ended its brief days like an annual plant. My second sister-in-law felt the want of an illustrated magazine for children. Her idea was that the young people of the family would contribute to it; but as she felt that that alone would not be enough, she took up the editorship herself and asked me to help with contributions. After one or two numbers of the *Balaka* had come out I happened to go on a visit to Rajnarayan Babu at Deoghar. On the return journey the train was crowded and as there was an unshad-

* A Busti is an area thickly packed with shabby tiled huts with narrow pathways running through, and connecting it with the main street. These are inhabited by domestic servants, the poorer class of artisans and the like. Such settlements were formerly scattered throughout the town even in the best localities, but are now gradually disappearing from the latter. —Tr.

ed light just over the only berth I could get, I could not sleep. I thought I might as well take this opportunity of thinking out a story for the *Balaka*. In spite of my efforts to get hold of the story it eluded me, but sleep came to the rescue instead. I saw in a dream the stone steps of a temple stained with the blood of victims of the sacrifice; a little girl standing there with her father asking him in piteous accents: "Father, what is this, why all this blood?" and the father inwardly moved trying with a show of gruffness to quiet her questioning. As I awoke I felt I had got my story. I have many more such dream-given stories and other writings as well. This dream episode I worked into the annals of King Gobinda Manikya of Tipperah and made out of it a little serial story, *Rajarshi*, for the *Balaka*.

Those were days of utter freedom from care. Nothing in particular seemed to be anxious to express itself through my life or writings. I had not yet joined the throng of travellers on the path of life, but was a mere spectator from my road-side window. Many a person hied by on many an errand as I gazed on, and every now and then Spring or Autumn, or the Rains would enter unasked and stay with me for a while.

But I had not only to do with the seasons; there were men of all kinds of curious types who, floating about like boats adrift from their anchorage, occasionally invaded my little room. Some of them sought to further their own ends, at the cost of my inexperience, with many an extraordinary device. But they need not have taken any extraordinary pains to get the better of me. I was then entirely unsophisticated, my own wants were few, and I was not at all clever in distinguishing between good and bad faith. I have often gone on imagining that I was assisting with their school fees students to whom fees were as superfluous as their unread books.

Once a long-haired youth brought me a letter from an imaginary sister in which she asked to take under my protection this brother of hers who was suffering from the tyranny of a step-mother as imaginary as herself. The brother was not imaginary, that was evident enough. But his sister's letter was as unnecessary for me as expert marksmanship to bring down a bird which cannot fly.

Another young fellow came and informed me that he was studying for the B. A., but could not go up for his examination as he was afflicted with some brain trouble. I felt concerned, but being far from proficient in medical science, or in any other science, I was at a loss what advice to give him. But he went on to explain that he had seen in a dream that my wife had been his mother in a former birth, and that if he could but drink some water which has touched her feet he would get cured. "Perhaps you don't believe in such things," he concluded with a smile. My belief, I said, did not matter, but if he thought he could get cured he was welcome, with which I procured him a phial of water which was supposed to have touched my wife's feet. He felt immensely better, he said. In the natural course of evolution from water he came to solid food; then he took up his quarters in a corner of my room and began to hold smoking parties with his friends, till I had to take refuge in flight from the smoke-laden room. He gradually proved beyond doubt that his brain might have been diseased, but it certainly was not weak.

After this experience it took no end of proof before I could bring myself to put my trust in children of previous birth. My reputation must have spread, for I next received a letter from a daughter. Here, however, I gently but firmly drew the line.

All this time my friendship with Babu Srish Chandra Mazumdar ripened apace. Every evening he and Priya Babu would come to this little room of mine and we would discuss literature and music far into the night. Sometimes a whole day would be spent in the same way. The fact is my self had not yet been moulded and nourished into a strong and definite personality and so my life drifted along, light and easy, like an autumn cloud.

(40) Bankim Chandra.

This was the time when my acquaintance with Bankim Babu began. My first sight of him was a matter of long ago. The old students of Calcutta University had then started an annual reunion, of which Babu Chandranath Basu was the leading spirit. Perhaps he entertained a hope that at some future time I might acquire the right to be one of them; anyhow I was asked to read a poem on the occasion.

Chandranath Babu was then quite a young man. I remember he had translated some martial German poem into English which he proposed to recite himself on the day and came to rehearse it to us, full of enthusiasm. That a warrior poet's ode to his beloved sword should at one time have been his favourite poem will convince the reader that even Chandranath Babu was once young and moreover those times were indeed peculiar.

While wandering about in the crush, at the Student's Reunion, I suddenly came across a figure which at once struck me as distinguished beyond that of all the others, and who could not have possibly been lost in any crowd. The features of that tall fair personage shone with such a striking radiance that I could not contain my curiosity about him,—he was the only one there whose name I felt concerned to know that day. When I learnt he was Bankim Babu, I marvelled all the more. It seemed to me such a wonderful coincidence that his appearance should be as distinguished as his writings. His sharp aquiline nose, his compressed lips, and his keen glance, all betokened immense power. With his arms folded across his breast he seemed to walk as one apart, towering above the ordinary throng—this is what struck me most about him. Not only that he looked an intellectual giant, but he had on his forehead the mark of a true prince among men.

One little incident which occurred at this gathering remains indelibly impressed on my mind. In one of the rooms a Pandit was reciting some Sanskrit verses of his own composition and explaining them in Bengali to the audience. One of the allusions was not exactly coarse, but somewhat vulgar. As the Pandit was proceeding to expound this, Bankim Babu covering his face with his hands hurried out of the room. I was near the door and can still see before me that shrinking, retreating figure.

After that I had a longing to see him, but could not get an opportunity. At last one day, when he was Deputy Magistrate of Howrah, I made bold to call on him. We met, and I tried my best to make conversation. But I somehow felt greatly abashed while returning home, as if I had acted like a new and bumptious youth in thus thrusting myself upon him unasked or uninvited.

Shortly after, as I added to my years, I attained a place as the youngest of the literary men of the time; but what was to be my position in order of merit was not even then settled. The little reputation I had acquired was mixed with plenty of doubt and not a little condescension. It was then the fashion in Bengal to assign to each man of letters a place in comparison with a supposed compeer in the West. Thus one was the Byron of Bengal, another the Emerson, and so forth. I began to be styled by some the Bengal Shelley. This was insulting to Shelley and only likely to get me laughed at.

My recognised cognomen was the *Lisping Poet*.

My attainments were few, my knowledge of life meagre, and both in my poetry and my prose the sentiment exceeded the substance. So that there was nothing there on which any one could have based his praise with any degree of confidence. My dress and behaviour were of the same anomalous description. I wore my hair long and indulged probably in an ultra-poetical refinement of manner. In a word I was eccentric and could not fit myself into everyday life like the ordinary man.

At this time Babu Akshay Sarkar had started his monthly review the *Nabajiban*, *New Life*, to which I used occasionally to contribute. Bankim Babu had just closed the chapter of his Editorship of the *Bangadarsan*, *The Mirror of Bengal*, and was busy with religious discussions, for which purpose he had started the monthly *Prachar*, *The Preacher*. To this also I contributed a song or two and an effusive appreciation of Vaishnava lyrics.

From now I began to meet Bankim Babu constantly. He was then living in Bhabani Dutt's Street. I used to visit him frequently it is true, but there was not much conversation. I was then of the age to listen, not to talk. I fervently wished we could warm up into some discussion, but my diffidence got the better of my conversational powers. Some days Sanjib Babu, one of Bankim's brothers, would be there reclining on his bolster. The sight would gladden me, for he was a genial soul. He delighted in talking and it was a delight to listen to his talk. Those who have read his prose writings must have noticed how gaily and airily it flows on like the sprightliest of conversation. Very few have this gift of

conversation and fewer still the art of translating it into writing.

This was the time when Pandit Sashadhar rose into prominence. Of him I first heard from Bankim Babu. If I remember right Bankim Babu was also responsible for introducing him to the public. The curious attempt made by Hindu orthodoxy to revive its prestige with the help of Western science soon spread all over the country. Theosophy for some time previously had been preparing the ground for such a movement. Not that Bankim Babu ever thoroughly identified himself with this cult. No shadow of Sashadhar was cast on his exposition of Hinduism as it found expression in the *Prachar*—that was impossible.

I was then coming out of the seclusion of my corner, as my contribution to these

controversies will show. Some of these were satirical verses, some farcical plays, others letters to newspapers. I thus came down into the arena from the regions of sentiment and began to spar in right earnest.

In the heat of the fight I happened to fall foul of Bankim Babu. The history of this remains recorded in the *Prachar* and *Bharati* of those days and need not be repeated here. At the close of this period of antagonism Bankim Babu wrote me a letter which I have unfortunately lost. Had it been here, the reader would have seen with what consummate generosity Bankim Babu had taken the sting out of that unfortunate episode.

Translated by

SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE IMMEMORIAL CONCERT OF ASIA

BY PROF. BENOYKUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

AN idea of Asiatic Unity is evident from the Japanese word *San-goku*, which is a common term embracing the three peoples,—the Chinese, the Hindus, the Japanese. Such a phrase as “so and so is *San-goku* ichi, i. e., the first in the three regions” is very common in Japan. It indicates the consciousness of a common standard of merit and efficiency as governing the three peoples. *San-goku* may be thus taken to be the Asiatic equivalent of what in modern times is known as the “Concert of Europe.”

(a) THE WORLD-TOURISTS OF MEDIAEVAL ASIA.

We may look upon Hsien Tshang as the great embodiment of the idea of the concert of Asia. The six hundred years that had elapsed between Mingti's dream and this Chinese scholar-saint's pilgrimage to India had led up to this conception which on Japanese soil became crystallised as *San-goku*.

The period of so-called anarchy in China was a great period in her religious history, both Taoist and Confucian as well as

Buddhist. It was marked also by the travels of Kumarajiva the Indian and Fa-hien the Chinese. The consciousness of a common world of life and thought was greatly promoted by the journeyings to and fro of men like these. The number of such travellers during the four centuries was not insignificant. The following list is taken from Beal's account in his *Buddhist Literature in China* compiled from Chinese sources.

Wei Dynasty (A. D. 220-60)

(1) Dharmakala, an Indian. (2) Kong-Sang-Ea, a man of India. (3) Tant-ti, a Parthian. (4) Pih-zer, a man of the Western countries (India). (5) An-fa-lhen.

Wu Dynasty (A. D. 222-64)

(1) Chi-hien, a Hun. (2) Wei-chi-lan, an Indian. (3) Chu-liu-yen, a fellow-traveller of the last. (4) Kong-sang-ui, a man of Samarcand. (5) Chi-Kiang, a man of the west.

Western Tsin Dynasty (A. D. 265-318)

(1) Dharmaraksha, a Hun. (2) Kiang-liang-lu-chi, a man of the west. (3) An-fa-Kin, a Parthian. (4) Won-lo-yan-che, a man of Khoten. (5) Chu-shu-lan, a man of the west. (6) Pih-fa-tsu of Kong-nia (Within the River). (7) Chi-fa-to. (8) Shih-tao-ch. (9) Fa-lih.

Eastern Tsin (Capital Kien Kang)

(1) Pi-si-li-mih-to-lo (Srimitra), a man of the western countries. (2) Chi-to-lin. (3) Chu-tan-won-lan (Dharmananda), a man of the western world. (4) Kiu-tan-sang-kia-ti-po (Gotamasangha Deva) a man of Cophene (Kabul). (5) Kia-lan-to-kia (Kaludaka) a man of the west. (6) Kang-tao. (7) Fo-to-po-to-lo (Buddhabhadra), a man of Kapilavastu and a descendant of Amritodana Raja (the uncle of Sakya-muni). (8) Tan-ma-pi. (9) Pi-mo-lo-cha (Vimalaksha), a man of Cophene. (10) Fa-hien. (11) Chi-ma-te, a western man. (12) Nanda, a man of the west. (13) Chu-fa-lih, a man of the west. (14) Kao-Kung. (15) Shih-lung-kung. (16) Shih-fa-yung. (17) Tan-mo-chi. (18) Shih-hwei-shang. (19) Kiu-mo-lo-to (Kumara-bodhi), a western man. (20) Sang-kia-po-ching, a Cophene (Kabul) man. (21) Tan-mo-ping, an Indian. (22) Dharmananda, a Turk (?).

Yaou Tsin Period (Capital Changan)

(1) Chu-fo-nien. (2) Tan-mo-ye-she (Dharmayasa), a Cophene man. (3) Kumarajiva, originally a man of India but afterwards of Karashar. (4) Fo-to-ye-she, a Cophene man. (5) Fo-ye-to-lo (Punyatara), a Cophene man. (6) Fakin. (7) Shih-tan-hioh. (8) Kih-kia-ye (Kakaya), a man of the west.

Northern Liang (Capital Ku-tsang)

(1) Shih-tao-kung. (2) Fa-Chung, a man of Turfan. (3) Sang-kia-to, a man of the west. (4) Tan-mo-tsien (Dharmakshya), a man of mid-India. (5) Buddhavarma, a man of the west (A.D. 450). (6) Shih-chi-mang.

Sung Dynasty (Capital Kien Kang)

(1) Buddhajiva, a man of Cophene. (2) Tan-mo-mi-to (Dharmamitra), a Cophene man. (3) Kalayasa, a western. (4) I-yeh-po-to (Iswara), a man of the west. (5) Sheh-chi-yan. (6) Gunavarma, a man of Cophene (A.D. 440). (7) Gunabhadra, a man of mid-India (A.D. 436). (8) Dharmavira (A.D. 420-53). (9) Chu-fa-chuen, an Indian (A.D. 465).

Tsi Dynasty (Capital Kien Kang)

(1) Tan-mo-kia-to-ye-she (Dharmajatasas), a man of India. (2) Mo-ho-shing (Mahayana), from the west (A.D. 490). (3) Sanghabhadra, from the west (A.D. 489). (4) Dharmamati, a man of the west (A.D. 49). (5) Gunavati, a man of India (A.D. 493).

Southern Wei Dynasty.
(Capital Loyang)

(1) Dharmaruchi of South India (A.D. 504), (2) Bodhiruchi of North India (A.D. 508), (3) Le-na-mo-ti (Retnamati) of mid-India (A.D. 508), (4) Buddhāsanda, of North India (A.D. 525).

Liang Dynasty.
(Capital, Kien Kang)

(1) Mandala of Cambodia (A.D. 504), (2) Sanghavarma (of Cambodia 502), (3) Paramita (of Ujjein, A.D. 549).

Eastern Wei Dynasty.
(Capital Keng Nieh)

Gotamaprajnaruchi (of South India, born in Benares; A.D. 542).

Tsi Dynasty.
(Capital Nieh)

Nalandayasas (of North India, 569).

Chen Dynasty.
(Capital Nieh)

The son of the King of the country of Ujjein named Upasena.

Chow Dynasty.
(Capital Changan)

(1) Jnanabhadra (A.D. 560), (2) Jnanayasas from Magadha (A.D. 572), (3) Yasakuta, a man from Udyana (A.D. 578), (4) Jnanakuta from Gandhara (A.D. 588), (5) Dharmaprajna (583), (6) Vinataruchi (of Udyana, 583), (7) Dharmagupta (S. India, 591.)

The list is not exhaustive. Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, the Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan* may be referred to.

These are the names of scholars, lay as well as clerical, and Chinese as well as foreign, who settled in various parts of China to translate and propagate Indian thought during the four hundred years between Han and Tang Dynasties. It is, therefore, natural that when the great Renaissance commenced under the unified rule of the mighty Tangs all this literature should have become the food of the master-minds of China. They got used to thinking not in terms of China alone but of the great western land of the Hindus as well. And when the great Hiuen Tshang, "the Max Muller of his day," came back to his people, the conception of the Indo-Chinese world as a single unit became, as it were, a first postulate with them.

Hiuen Tshang came back in A.D. 645, and It-sing, another equally famous pilgrim, went out on a tour in 671 which lasted for 24 years. His diary has been translated by Dr. Takakusu: *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*. In it we get an account of no less than sixty Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India in the latter half of the 7th century. It is thus not difficult to see why the Tang epoch of Chinese history was a great age for the unity of Asia.

(b) SINO-INDIC, SINO-ISLAMIC AND SINO-JAPANESE SEA-BORNE TRADE.

It was not only an age of foreign travel but an epoch of brisk foreign commerce as well with every people in Asia. In fact, the journeyings of those Asia-trotters were made possible through the establishment of well-laid-out routes between country and country. The routes were both overland and maritime.

It is needless to observe that the "Asia-sense" was promoted not only through the culture-missionaries, truth-seekers and religious pilgrims, but also through the commercial agents, brokers, sailors and speculative adventurers.

The sea-trade of the Asiatic peoples was, of course, facilitated by their shipping and navigation. Mookerji's *History of Indian Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times* throws a flood of light on this aspect of the question during the period under survey. During the Tang age the command of the Indian Ocean was maintained by the powerful fleet of the Chola Emperors in Southern India.

The shipping was international. Both the Arabs on the West and the Chinese on the East were equally adept in using the highway of the seas. The following is taken from Hirth and Rockhill's *Chau Ju-kua*:

"The pilgrim Fa Hien, the first Chinese who has left a record of a voyage from India to China (A.D. 413), came from Tamlook at the mouth of the Ganges to Ceylon to sail for Sumatra, and when in Ceylon he noted the signs of wealth of the 'Sa-po traders' on the island, and it does not seem unlikely that these foreigners were Arabs from Hadramant and Oman coasts."

It is to be noted that Fa-Hien's fellow-passengers from Java to Canton were *Po-lo-mon* or Brahmans.

Further, Cosmas in the sixth century says of Ceylon:

"The Island being, as it is, in a central position, is much frequented by ships from all parts of India from Persia and Ethiopia, and it likewise sends out many of its own. And from the remotest countries, I mean Tzinista (China) and other trading places, while at the same time exporting its own produce in both directions."

The present position of Ceylon as the great port of call for world's shipping has thus been a historic one, coming down from the age when the Asiatic waters were navigated by their natural masters.

A history of Chinese maritime activity would show that the Celestial enterprise in navigation probably manifested itself a little later than that of the Arabs and Hindus. According to Hirth and Rockhill—

"Notwithstanding the lack of enterprise on the part of the Chinese in the first centuries of the Christian era, commerce by sea with south-eastern Asia and the countries lying to the west was steadily increasing through the continued energy and enterprise of the Arabs and the Indians."

But the sea-voyages of the Chinese

became considerable under the Tang. It-sing mentions 60 Chinese pilgrims who in the latter part of the seventh century made the journey to India. Of these 22 travelled overland and 37 took the sea-route. The following itinerary is described in the Introduction to *Chau-Ju-kua*:

"* The port of embarkation being Canton, whence the travellers made for western Java or more usually Palembang in Sumatra. Here they changed ships and taking a course along the northern coast of Sumatra and by the Nio-bar Islands, came to Ceylon, where they usually took ship for Tamlook at the mouth of the Ganges and thence reached the holy places of India by land. The voyage took about three months, one month from Canton to Palembang, one to the northwest point of Sumatra and one to Ceylon; it was always made with the northeast monsoon in winter, and the return voyage to China in summer,—from April to October—with the southwest monsoon."

The "Asia-sense" of the Chinese, so far as it was developed through international commerce, was steadily on the increase during the 8th and 9th centuries, may have been a little retarded owing to the disorder following the fall of the Tangs but revived in the 10th century "when they carried on direct trade with the Arabs, the Malay peninsula, Tongking, Siam, Java, western Sumatra, western Borneo and certain of the Philippine Islands." The more important ports like Canton and Tsuan-chou near Amoy began to have prosperous settlements of permanent Hindu and especially Moslem residents. The importance of Islam in Chinese life during the 9th and subsequent centuries would be evident from the following statement: "From Chinese sources we learn that ** at Tsuan-chou, Hang-chou and elsewhere, the Moslems had their *kadi* and their *sheikhs*, their mosques and their bazars." The institution of the Inspectorate of Maritime Trade at Canton, Kangshih (the capital), Tsuan-chou, Hang-chou and Minchou, also indicates the larger social life of the Celestials.

Chau-Ju-Kua was the Inspector of Foreign Trade at Tsuan-chou in Fukien in the latter part of the 12th century. His *Chu-fan-chi* or 'Description of the Barbarous Peoples' tells of what the Chinese at the beginning of the 12th century knew of the foreign countries, peoples and products of Eastern and

* It need be remarked incidentally that the Capital Singanfu received during this age Christian and Zoroastrian exiles who fled from their West Asian homes to escape the persecution of the Islamites.

Southern Asia, Africa and Europe. It precedes by about a century the account given by Marco Polo of Venice (1260) and "fills a gap in our knowledge of China's relations with the outside world extending from the Arab writers of the ninth and tenth centuries to the days of the great Venetian traveller." The English translation of this work by Hirth and Rockhill published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Petrograd, is of inestimable value to students of international commerce in Mediæval Asia.

When Japan entered upon the scene the Indo-Chinese world was expanded by the addition of a third member. The triple alliance of culture thus effected was the *San-goku*. Every Japanese thought in terms of the three regions, not of his native land alone. It was not enough, according to their conception, for any person to attain the highest position only in Japan. The most ambitious among them must have his worth recognised by China and India too. An international or Asiatic standard of science or *Vidyas* governed the aspiration of all Japan. *San-goku* is thus a suggestive technical term contributed by the Japanese to the literature of world's international science.

It has to be observed that, culturally speaking, the heart of this Concert of Asia was Hindusthan, *Tienchu* or *Tenjiku*, i. e. Heaven; but geographically, the heart was China. This "middle kingdom" may or may not be the middle of the whole world as the Chinese have believed it to be; but it was surely the middle or centre of *San-goku*. The Chinese received Hindusthan into their midst and then passed it forward to the Land of the Rising Sun. The first process was Indo-Chinese, and the second Sino-Japanese. It is doubtful if there was much direct Indo-Japanese intercourse. The Japanese depended for their Hinduism principally on their neighbours.

We know definitely that cotton was introduced into Japan from India. Prof. Takakusu in his paper on 'What Japan Owes to India' in the Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association (1910), states that cotton was introduced into Japan through the Indians who were unfortunately carried over to that country by the "black current." The following is taken from Moorerji's *Indian Shipping*:

"The eighth volume of the *Nihon-ko-ki* records how, in July 799 a foreigner was washed ashore in a little

boat somewhere on the southern coast of Mikawa province in Japan. He confessed himself to be a man from *Tenjiku*, as India was then called in Japan. Among the effects was found something like grass seeds, which proved to be no other than some seeds of the cotton-plant. Again, it is written in the 199th chapter of *Ruiju-kokushi* (another official record) that a man from Kuen-lum was cast upon Japanese shores in April 800, and that the cotton seeds he had brought with him were sown in the provinces of Kii, Awa, Sanuki, Iyo, Tosa and Kyushu."

We hear also of Brahman Bishops coming to Japan from countries other than China. But probably there are few evidences to connect them with India. They may have been Hindus from Annam, Cambodia or Indo-China. The principal reservoir of Indianism for Japan always remained China.

It is for this reason that we find innumerable materials for the history of India in China and Chinese literature; and materials for Chinese history in the Japanese and Chinese literature of Japan. The Island Empire thus happens to be the repository or museum of the Indo-Chinese world. It is perfectly natural, therefore, that *San-goku*, the technical term comprehending the three countries, should exist in the Japanese currency of thought.

THE "GREAT POWERS" OF *San-goku*.

The political history of China during this period falls into two divisions.

1. The Tang Dynasty ruled from A.D. 618 to 905. Tai Tsung (627-50) is the most illustrious Emperor of this dynasty and is one of the Chinese Napoleons. He was the patron of Hiuen Tshang.

2. The Sung Dynasty ruled over the whole Empire from A.D. 960 to 1127. In 1128 the northern half down to the Yangtse was conquered by the Tartars, who established their capital near the site of modern Peking. The Sung Dynasty continued to rule the southern half of China down to 1279 with capital first at Nanking, then at Hangchow.

The political strength and military achievements of the Tangs could not be maintained by the Suangs. But the people of China carried forward the intellectual and spiritual development of the 7th and 8th centuries down to the end of the period. So that the whole age was one of continuous cultural growth and expansion. In fact, the most brilliant era of Chinese literature, art and philosophy coincided with the last days of the Sung.

The important landmarks in the

political history of Japan are indicated below :

1. From A.D. 552 to 710 the centre of government and culture was in the province of Asuka. This is, practically speaking, chronologically the first period of Japanese history. The most illustrious name is that of Prince Shotoku Taishi (A.D. 573-621), who was regent for the reigning Queen Suiko. During this period the scholar Dosho is said to have come to China in 653 to study Hinduism with Hiuen Tshang after his return from India in 645. Thus the conception of *San-goku* was forced upon Japan in her very infancy.

2. The Nara Period (from 710 to 794) was synchronous with the period of Tang strength in China. The capital was removed to Nara near Osaka.

3. The Kyoto Period (782-1192) came down to the dismemberment of Chinese Empire under the weaker Sungs. The capital was transferred from Nara to Kyoto, which remained the Imperial seat till the beginning of the new era in the middle of the 19th century. Kyoto is thus the Delhi of the Japanese. During this period the famous scholar-saint Kobo Daishi visited China (804-806) and came back to his native land to establish the Indo-Chinese culture on a thoroughly national basis.

4. The Nara and Kyoto periods are sometimes called the Fujiwara period because at both these centres the Fujiwara aristocracy lorded it over the whole administration. This period is of extraordinary interest to students of *San-goku* culture, because specimens of Chinese life during its most brilliant epoch (and therefore of the Hindu also) are still preserved in the Japanese art of the age, but are lost elsewhere. Japan, thanks to her insular position like that of England, has been saved from the ravages of foreign conquests which have come upon her continental neighbours; and thus has been able to maintain intact the mediæval civilisation of Asia represented by the Kalidasas and Fa-Hiens of Vikramadityan Renaissance.

5. Kamakura Period began with the establishment of the *Shogunate* or military Viceroyalty at Kamakura in 1192. The Emperor became a political cipher and remained virtually a prisoner at Kyoto until the glorious Restoration of 1868.

In India the political life of the period has to be studied in the following more important Empires :

1. The Empire of Harshavardhana who reigned in Upper India from 603 to 647. He was thus the contemporary of Tai Tsung and also of Prince Shotoku. Hiuen Tshang was the state-guest (629-45) of the Hindus under this monarch.

2. The Empire of the Chalukyas (550-753) in the Deccan. The most illustrious monarch of this dynasty was Pulakesin II (608-55) who inflicted a defeat on the northern Emperor Harshavardhana and thus maintained the sovereignty of the Southern Empire. Hiuen-Tshang visited his court in 641. Pulakesin II is important to students of art-history because some of the world-renowned paintings in the cave-temples of Ajanta were executed during his reign, e.g., those relating to Indo-Persian embassies.

3. The Empire of the Gurjara-Pratiharas at Kanauj in Upper India (A.D. 816-1194). Vincent Smith remarks :

"Mihira, usually known by his title Bhoja, enjoyed a long reign of about half a century (c 840-90) and beyond question was a very powerful monarch, whose dominions may be called an 'empire' without exaggeration."

4. The Empire of the Bengalees under the Pala Dynasty (A.D. 730-1175) in Eastern India. Vincent Smith remarks :

"The Pala dynasty deserves remembrance as one of the most remarkable of Indian dynasties. No other royal line, save that of the Andhras, endured so long as four and half a centuries. Dharmapala and Devapala succeeded in making Bengal one of the great powers of India."

A complete history of this 'great power' by Rakhaldas Banerji written in the Bengali language has been recently published at Calcutta. The Pala age is important in the history of Tibet as having supplied her with Bengali art and Tantric literature. Dharmapala and Devapala, whose reign extended from 780 to 892, were the Tai Tsungs of Bengal.

5. The Empire of the Cholas in Southern India (900-1300). The most illustrious monarchs of this dynasty were Rajaraja the Great (985-1018) and Rajendrachola (1018-1035). The Cholas possessed a powerful navy, which led to the annexation of a large number of islands and the kingdom of Pegu in Further India across the Bay of Bengal. Mr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's *Ancient India* is the most authoritative and complete work on Chola Dynasty and South Indian history available in English.

INDIANISATION OF CONFUCIANISM.

The intercourse between India and China during this period is thus described by Okakura :

"Communication with India becomes more facilitated by the extension of the empire on the Pamirs, and the number of pilgrims to the land of Buddha as well as the influx of Indians into China, grows greater every day. The newly opened route through Tibet, which had been conquered by Taiso,* added a fourth line of communication to the former routes by Tensan and the sea. There were at one time in Loyang (Honanfu) itself, to impress their national religion and art on Chinese soil, more than three thousand Indian monks and ten thousand Indian families ; their great influence may be judged from their having given phonetic values to the Chinese ideographs, a movement which, in the eighth century, resulted in the creation of the present Japanese alphabet."

Hsien Tshang had witnessed the processions, mystery-plays, and other folk-festivals patronised by Emperor Harshavardhana at Kanauj and Allahabad. The educative influence of these institutions worked upon his imagination ; and it is likely that on his return to China he may have played some part in the organisation of the popular dances, ballets and other amusements† which began to be important features of Chinese life under the Tangs.

Mr. Werner quotes from the *Contemporary Review*, (XXXVII. 123): "It was not until the sixth century A.D. that some travelling gymnasts from India initiated the people into the delights of the rude pantomimic dances and acrobatic performances of their native land." The French scholar Bazin's *Theatre Chinoise* throws interesting light on the history of games, festivals, ballets and pantomimes of China. Hindu influence is also suggested by scholars as having given the final shape to the drama which has been played in China since the time of the Tangs.

The following are the names of some of the Hindu scholars in China who helped it-ing in the propaganda work among his people early in the 8th century :

1. Anijana, a priest from Northern India
2. Dharmamatma, priest from Tukhara
3. Dharmananda, " " Cophene
4. Sringisha, layman from Eastern India
5. Gotamavajra " " "
6. Hrimati
7. Arjun, Prince of Cashmere.

* Japanese name of Emperor Tai Tsung.

† The "No"-plays which became popular in Japan in the 14th century may have to be traced ultimately to Hindusthan.

The list is taken from Beal's *Buddhist Literature in China*.

It is thus easy to understand why the whole world of Chinese letters and art should become Hinduised during their great age of Renaissance. Giles' *History of Chinese Literature* may be referred to for specimens of Tang and Sung thought in prose and verse. The following is from Cranmer-Byng's *Lute of Jade* :

"Po Chii-i (A.D. 772-846) is above all the poet of human love and sorrow, and beyond all the consoler. Those who profess to find pessimism in the Chinese character must leave him alone. At the end of the great tragedy of *The Never-ending Wrong*, a whispered message of hope is borne to the lonely soul beating against the confines of the visible world :

'Tell my lord,'

She murmured, 'to be firm of heart as this Gold and enamel ; then in heaven or earth

Below, we twain may meet once more.'

It is the doctrine of eternal constancy, so divinely understood in the Western world, which bids the young wife immolate herself on her husband's tomb rather than marry again, and makes the whole world seem too small for the stricken Emperor with all the youth and beauty of China to command."

The Hindu, with his idealism of the *Sati*-institution which expresses itself in the determination of the widow not to remarry, would easily understand this. Nivedita's *Web of Indian Life* and *An Indian Story of Love and Death* give excellent English studies in Hindu womanhood.

The result of the influx of Hindu ideas, institutions and practices was not confined solely to the popularisation of the Buddhacult. The original Chinese ideas on every subject began also to be transformed, re-interpreted and Hinduised. The Augustan age of Chinese Culture was thus the age of a thorough-going Indianisation of China.

It must be understood that this Indianising affected not the religious sphere exclusively, but led also to the introduction of the secular *vidyas* or sciences, and *kalas* or arts.

Influences emanating from India during the great age of China were not likely to be one-sided. Smith's paper on Indian sculpture of the Gupta Period (300-650) may be referred to in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*.

The *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society* (ii 228) is quoted by Werner :

"It remained for the authors of the Tang dynasty to combine Taoism and Confucianism with a mixture of Buddhism, in a newly created poetry which was

destined to raise literary art to a higher elevation than it had ever attained in China."

Indianism touched not only Taoism but also had a profound influence on traditional Confucianism. The Confucianism that has been prevalent in China for the last eight or nine hundred years is markedly different from the older one, and was born in the atmosphere of the Hindu Culture which prevailed under the Tangs and Sung. Edkins has described the effect of Buddhism on the philosophy of the Sung Dynasty in chapter xx of his *Chinese Buddhism*.

About this neo-Confucianism a Japanese scholar writes in *An Official Guide to Eastern Asia, Vol. IV, China*, prepared by the Imperial Japanese Government Railways:

"With the establishment of the Sung Dynasty..... appeared philosophers who in expounding the classics brought to their aid certain cosmic and metaphysical ideas of India....."

Chu Hsi (1130-1200) is regarded as the founder of the Sung school of Confucianism. And whatever influence Confucianism exercised—and it has been great—in the training of a nation like Japan, must be largely ascribed to the works of this great philosopher and commentator."

Hindu *Dhyana* or meditation is the chief characteristic of this re-interpreted Confucianism.

The art of painting as well as the criticism of that art were also being influenced by the new philosophy which finally received an authoritative stamp from Chu Hsi. The following is quoted from the section on "Art in the times of the Five Dynasties and of the Sung Dynasty (907-1279)" in the Japanese Official Guide:

"Criticism, under the influence of the new subjective philosophy of the Sung period, took a fresh turn. Kuo To-hsu (in the Northern Sung Period) interpreted *Chi-yun* (life of the painting) in a subjective way, and pointed out that in the case of all kinds of painting, whether of animate or inanimate objects, the *Chi-yun* apparent in them was the personality of the painter. He said that an artist of noble character was sure to impress his personality on his production and that no skill in the technique could ever confer the refinement and grace which *Chi-yun* implied. He finally came to a bold conclusion that in true art there was no need of technique..... Su Shih (1036-1101) and Huang Shan-ku (1045-1105)..... both held the opinion that the object of painting was not to make a sketch of the external appearance of things, but to give intimation of the life and power immanent in nature."

The *dhyana*-element in art is thus emphasised in the Hindu work, *Sakraniti* (IV. iv. 147-9):

"The characteristic of an image is its power of helping forward contemplation and *Yoga*. The human maker of images should, therefore, be medi-

tative. Besides meditation there is no other way of knowing the character of an image—even direct observation (is of no use)."

Here, then, is the fountain-head* of the neo-Confucianist art.

The Japanese term for *Dhyana* is *Zen*. That this subjective philosophy of Meditation did not promote imbecility in secular life would be evident from the importance that the Buddhist scholars of Japan attach to the *Zen*-factor in the interpretation of their *Bushido* or *Kshatriyaism*. It may be equally argued that Hindu *Samurai*-morality or Militarism was also strengthened by the element of *Samyama*, i.e., temperance or self-restraint, involved in *Dhyana* or *Yoga* discipline.

There is one fact about this Hinduisation of Asia which the most superficial student of mediæval history must notice. Indian missionising in foreign countries—

(1) was not backed up or preceded by military, political or punitive demonstrations of any sort on behalf of the Indian States;

(2) was not carried on at the point of the bayonet or of the machine-gun or with the offer of inducements to a better socio-economic life;

(3) did not imply the direct or indirect domination of a "superior" race over semi-savage tribes or the so-called "arrested" sections of mankind.

It was, in fact, not a visible expression of Hindu Secular Power or the Might of the Indian State. Rather, the apostles of Hindu Culture consecrated their lives to the service of humanity. They

(1) adapted themselves to the manners, customs, sentiments and prejudices of the communities which they adopted as their own, thereby obliterating the distinction between alien and native;

(2) were absolutely non-political and non-commercial representatives of their mother-land, casting their lot with the "flock" which they came to tend;

(3) were deliberately accepted as *gurus* or preceptors by the first-class civilised Powers and the greatest intellectuals among their peoples, who wanted fresh light upon their problems.

Hinduising was thus the transmission of a new life and a new love from an equal to an equal. An "age of chivalry" was that.

* See L. aufer's *Das Citralakshana* in the *Ost-Zen*. January–March, 1914.

"RINGING GROOVES OF CHANGE" IN ASIA.

Prof. Takakusu makes the following remarks on Japanese Buddhism in *The Fifty Years of New Japan* issued by Marquis Okuma as a manifesto for Japanese Culture after the event of 1905:

"It was not, therefore, a mere transplanting of the Buddhism of India, China, Annam, or of Korea, but a new and distinct form of religion.

Thus Buddhism in Japan has never remained inactive or become effete, but reaction has followed reaction, and reformation reformation—a constant refining and remodelling going on to meet the needs of the people. The old religion cannot satisfy thirsty souls, and this generation requires of the Buddhists not only new activities in their religion, but constantly renewed activity. And if this ancient religion is to come forth into the arena of the twentieth century with fresh vigour and activity, and preach new glad-tidings to the world, it will be the Buddhism of Japan."

To say that the Buddhism of Japan differs from that of China and of India, or that the Japanese Buddhism of the twentieth century will differ from that of the nineteenth as that again has differed from all previous, is to take a perfectly scientific attitude with regard to human civilisation.

A similar philosophic view about Christianity has been put into the mouth of Mr. "Little Boston" by the American humorist Oliver Wendell Holmes in his *Professor at the Breakfast-Table*:

"The divinity-student remarked, that it was rather late in the world's history for men to be looking out for a new faith.

I didn't say a new faith,—said the Little Gentleman;—old or new, it can't help being different here in this American mind of ours from anything that ever was before; the people are new, Sir, and that makes the difference.

..... There was a great raft built about two thousand years ago,—call it an ark, rather,—the world's great ark!

It's a slow business, this of getting the ark launched. The Jordan was not deep enough, and the Tiber was not deep enough, and the Rhone was not deep enough, and the Thames was not deep enough."

"It must be done, Sir!—he was saying,—it must be done! Our religion has been Judaized, it has been Romanized, it has been Orientalized, it has been Anglicized, and the time is at hand when it must be Americanized!"

One might be inclined to smile over these outbursts of local patriotism, but it is impossible to deny the influence of Place and Race on Ideas.

Asiatic Culture is one, but is richly varied. It has grown from epoch to epoch and has changed in its transplantation from the banks of the Indus and the Ganges

to the shores of the Hwang-ho and the Yang-tse, and thence again to those of the Yedo-gawa and the Sumida-gawa. Unfortunately, however, scholars of the last century have been pleased to explain the whole history of Asia by such poetic and sonorous expressions as "unchanging East" or "better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay." They have yet to learn that Asiatic history is as dynamic and as good a record of changes as the history of Europe.

Compared with the revolutionary changes that the world has witnessed since the Industrial Revolution of the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, the changes in the previous five millenniums must be regarded as insignificant. It may be said that the world had not changed so much from the age of the Pharaohs down to 1815 as it has changed during the last hundred years. Thus considered, Ancient and Mediaeval Europe down to 1815 must be treated as statical and unchanging, without any fundamental difference from Cathay, the proverbial land of sloth and conservatism. "Fifty years of Europe" in the 19th century are "better" than any cycle of Europe in the 17th, 16th, 15th and previous centuries.

Orientalists, sociologists and philosophers should, therefore, remember that it is not safe to take a Tennyson or a Whitman as the guide for historico-comparative investigations.

It was an altogether extraordinary state of things that Tennyson lived to see. The following remarks about his age—

"When more and more the people throng
The chairs and thrones of civil power,
When science reaches forth her arms
To feel from world to world, and charms
Her secret from the latest moon,"

could not be made with regard to any previous age in European history.

Tennyson's optimism was a product of the age which everywhere "rang out the old" "to ring in the new." He was writing of the "forward range" and "the ringing grooves of change," while the whole "old order" was crumbling down before his eyes, and the new order was apparently carrying everybody headlong to "that far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves."

The impulse of the age was equally

potent in stimulating the imagination of Whitman when he wrote:

"The immortal poets of Asia and Europe have done their work and pass'd to other spheres. A work remains, the work of surpassing all they have done."

It was an age when the New Englanders of the East coast were expanding towards the "middle West," "farther West," and "farthest West." In that colonising period every Yankee could talk glibly:

"For we cannot tarry here.
We must march, my darlings, we must bear the
brunt of danger.
We the youthful sinewy races, all the rest on us
depend.

Pioneers ! O pioneers !

* * *
Have the elder races halted ?
Do they droop and end their lesson, wearied over
there beyond the seas ?
We take up the task eternal, and the burden and
the lesson,

Pioneers ! O pioneers !

All the past we leave behind,
We debouch upon a newer, mightier world, varied
world,
Fresh and strong the world we seize, world of
labour and the march,
Pioneers ! O pioneers !"

Any one in his cooler moments would see that these lines describe extraordinary conditions. The lofty flights of idealism and progressivism in the English poet-laureate of the Darwinian age and the American poet of the colonising period do not supply the norm by which to express the character of Euro-American civilisation previous to the epoch-making changes.

They cannot be the *sutras* for the West down to 1815. The poet's *dicta*, therefore should not be the formulae with which to begin the study of Asiatic Culture. Un-biassed students of facts would find in the history of both Asia and Europe almost the same statical or dynamical pictures. Similarly the last "fifty years of new Japan" do not represent the previous fifteen hundred years.

The remarkable achievements and extraordinary successes of one's own generation may lead rhapsodists to poetise over one's race-history and race-destiny; but scientists must not forget to place them in their historical setting and read them in the light of the perspective. As it is, all the social sciences have been vitiated by poetry and race-pride during the last fifty years.

When Tennyson wrote "Cathay" he knew as much of China as we know of the moon. If anybody had suggested to him the name of "Mackay" or of "Pankhay," it would have suited the rhyme of his verse quite well; and as for readers, they would have to consult a *Dictionary of Unfamiliar Names* for 'Cathay' as well as for the others.

But a poet never errs. Therefore the verse is now the basis of sober history and the starting-point of race-theories. Thus an author begins his *Introduction to the History of England* with the following syllogism: "History is a record of changes. The Asiatic peoples have no history, because they have had no changes!"

THE THEORY OF LIFE ASSURANCE

BY G. S. MARATHEY, M.A., A.I.A., ACTUARY.

GENERALLY every literate person has heard something about Life Assurance, but there are many even among highly educated people who do not understand how it is possible to pay Rs. 1000 (say) on death when the assured has paid only Rs. 20 or 25, only the day before. There are many other points connected with the principles of Life Assurance, through ignorance of which, a person is made to insure his life in a manner entirely

unsuited to his circumstances by unscrupulous agents of Insurance Companies having little or no respectability. It is very hard for persons of limited means to realize, some time after they have paid their first premium, that the Company in which they have insured, is not a very desirable concern. For Life Assurance Premiums swallow up a large part of one's hard earned savings, and it is a hardship either to forego the premium that has al-

ready been paid or to continue paying the premiums and fulfil a bad bargain. It is desired therefore, in the present article, to give some information about certain important points in connection with Life Assurance. The principal idea in writing the following will be to supply such information as will enable a person, desiring to ensure his life, to discuss intelligently, with a Life Assurance Agent, the merits and defects of the Company which the latter represents and to make the choice of a plan which would be suited to his own circumstances.

Every one among us, especially among those of us who are Hindus, has been so impressed from childhood about the instability of human life, that it would be a surprise to many to learn that even births and deaths are regulated by a sort of Mathematical Law, which, though ordained by the Almighty, can yet be sufficiently gauged, for many practical purposes, by the human mind. Though it is not possible to say when a man will die, it would not be considered foolish to form an opinion whether he is likely to die soon or live long. All business in this world is done with the help of inferences which are generally never perfect on account of the defects in individual reasoning faculty. The science of statistics tries to remove these defects by bringing together the experience of a large number of persons and enabling trained intellects to make use of the same. With the help of the science of statistics, it has been proved that the births and deaths in a large community happen in such a manner as to suggest a law underlying them; and the larger the number of persons in a community which is being observed, the more definite does this law become. This will be evident on considering the rates of mortality in a village, in a town, in a city, or in a district as well as the daily, monthly, or annual mortality in a particular place.

Also it would be more useful to look at these rates relatively rather than absolutely for example such circumstances as whether the population is increasing or decreasing, whether the people are rich or poor, whether the district is healthy or unhealthy, are likely to have great effect upon the rate of mortality. It is impossible to find out what would be the rate of mortality in the absence of all special causes, but life-tables can be formed

for particular circumstances and marked distinctions of sex, race, locality, occupation etc. Life tables are tables showing the number of persons surviving at every advancing age out of a definite number of persons all of the same commencing age. The principal distinction is that of sex.

I give below some figures from the H.M. table of mortality in which it has been assumed that we are observing the numbers of survivors out of 100,000 males aged 10 years. In 10 years' time only 96,223 of these will have survived. The H.M. (i.e. Healthy Males) table is a table prepared from the observations of male persons in England who had insured their lives from 1833 to 1863. In the first table I am giving the figures for every consecutive year of age from 20 to 25; and in the second I am giving figures for every tenth year of age from 10 onwards and the figures for the last year of age in the table.

H. M. Table—ages 20 to 25

Year of age	Alive at beginning of year	Deaths in year	Deaths per thousand	Expectation of Life	
				years	months
20	96,223	609	6.33	42	1
21	95,614	643	6.73	41	4
22	94,971	650	6.84	40	7
23	94,321	638	6.76	39	11
24	93,683	622	6.64	39	2
25	93,061	617	6.63	38	5

H. M. Table Decennial ages

Year of age	Alive at beginning of year	Deaths in year	Deaths per thousand	Expectation of Life	
				years	months
10	100,000	490	4.9	50	3
20	96,223	609	6.3	42	1
30	89,865	694	7.7	34	8
40	82,284	848	10.3	27	5
50	72,726	1124	15.95	20	4
...
97	9	9	1000.00	0	6

I also give below similar figures from the O. M. table, which is prepared from the experience of persons insured from 1863 to 1893.

O. M. Table Decennial Ages

Year of age	Alive at beginning of year	Deaths in year	Death rate per thousand	Expectation of Life	
				years	months
10	100,000	338	3.38	52	0
20	96,453	390	4.04	43	8
30	91,942	547	5.95	35	9
40	85,467	782	9.15	27	10
50	76,185	1146	15.04	20	7
100	7	4	571.43	1	1
102	1	1	1000.00	0	6

The ^MO table, being the more recent one is of greater importance; and it is more so because the number of persons observed is much larger and the methods employed in the preparation of the table are scientifically more up-to-date.

The last column in the above table does not mean that every person would live over that period; some may die sooner and others would live longer. The figures give the average.

The death rate per thousand is obtained by multiplying the numbers in the third column by a thousand and dividing by the corresponding numbers in the second column.

One of the facts which are noticed from such tables is that the death rate which is very high in infancy diminishes till age 14, then begins to increase upto age 20 or 22, then again diminishes for the next 4 or 5 years of age and after that it keeps on increasing more and more rapidly.

The death rate among females is slightly greater than that among males up to age 50 and then it becomes less. The principal cause of this is the bad effects on health of child-bearing.

The above tables are tables prepared from the experience of select lives, i.e. of persons who had undergone a medical examination at the time of being insured. For this reason and also because these lives belonged to a rather well-to-do class of persons, they were a superior class of lives. These tables are only used for insurance purposes i.e. construction of premiums etc.; but the tables that are usually referred to for most other purposes are tables prepared from population statistics. These are prepared from figures obtained from census enumerations, and show a much higher mortality.

We shall now go on to consider how mortality tables are used for constructing premiums. We shall use the ^MH table and shall first consider, for the sake of simplicity, only temporary assurance, or Term Assurance as it is called, for a period of one year. Suppose a hundred thousand persons, all of twenty years of age, decide to pay a certain sum each, in order that the heirs, of each of those among them who will die in the course of one year, should be able to get Rs. 1000. From the table we may expect that about 663 persons will die during that year. The heirs of these

must receive Rs. 663000 in all. Hence every one should pay Rs 6-10-1. This is called the 'Net Premium'. It may happen however that a larger number, say 700 or 750 persons may die instead of 663. To be prepared against this, it is better to collect a larger amount than the Net Premium. Also some expenses will be incurred for collecting and distributing this large amount of about Rs. 700,000. These, which are called office expenses, have to be charged for in constructing the premium. In addition to this, if a Company is formed for doing all this, the shareholders must get their profit on the capital they have invested. All these additions that are made to the Net Premium are called Loadings.

Of course in the above example no return is to be made in case death does not occur. The return for the contribution made is obtained in the form of freedom from anxiety about the surviving heirs getting into difficulties for want of funds. If any of these hundred thousand persons are not in good health, or stand a greater chance of dying during the year, they get an undeserved advantage over the others. Hence the necessity for medical examination of all before admission. If the risk of death is not prohibitively great, persons with slightly damaged health may be admitted on payment of an extra premium.

The premium including the loadings would come to about Rs. 10 (not including medical fees or some other charges which are heavy for the first year in ordinary assurances). Why is it then that Insurance Companies charge Rs. 25 or more per annum for Whole Life Assurances? The reason is that the Premium charged by Companies is Uniform for the whole period of payment, not changing from year to year. Also there is no medical examination to undergo every year. The Net Premium for one year's Term Assurance at age 65 would be above Rs. 43, at age 75 it would be above Rs. 981 and at age 95 it would be Rs. 637. The loading would make these figures still higher and there would be the charges for medical examination every year. In case the health is not satisfactory in any year the life would not be acceptable for insurance or a heavy extra may be charged.

Up to now we have considered mortality only. But the rate of interest also plays a large part in the construction of premi

ams. Out of the Premiums collected in the first year, the expenses and the amount of claims (if any) having been paid, a large balance remains, the interest earned on which forms a respectable addition to the premium income. Hence it is possible to reduce the amount to be received as Premium. The benefits of compound interest may be illustrated by the following figures.

A sum becomes double at 3 p. c. compound interest in $23\frac{1}{2}$ years and 5 p. c. in $14\frac{1}{2}$ years. Rs. 1000 amount in 50 years to Rs. 4384 at 3 p. c. and to more than Rs. 18400 at 6 p. c., A single Rupee at the rate of one per cent. per mensem (Compounded monthly) amounts, in a hundred years, to more than a lakh and a half rupees.

To give a concrete example I shall try to find the premium for an Endowment Assurance for 5 years. The rate of interest I shall assume to be 4 p.c. and for the mortality, in order to simplify the question, I shall assume that there are 100 persons who have insured out of whom 4 die in the first year of assurance, 5 in the second, 6 in the third, 7 in the fourth, and 8 in the fifth; while 70 survive the 5 years. The beneficiaries of each of those who die during the five years will get Rs. 1000 and these assurers who survive the five years will get Rs. 1000 each. If we find the present value of all future receipts and payments we get the following simple equation :

$$100 P + 96 P \times \frac{1}{1.04} + 91 P \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^2} +$$

$$\begin{aligned} & 85 P \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^3} + 78 P \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^4} \\ & = 4 \times 1000 \times \frac{1}{1.04} + 5 \times 1000 \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^2} \\ & \quad + 6 \times 1000 \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^3} + 7 \times 1000 \\ & \quad \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^4} + 8 \times 1000 \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^5} + \\ & \quad 70 \times 1000 \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^5}. \end{aligned}$$

where P is the net premium required. It has been assumed that all premiums are paid in the beginning of the year and all claims are paid at the end of the year in which they occur. From the above we get

$$\text{putting } \frac{1}{1.04} = v.$$

$$\begin{aligned} P &= \frac{(4v + 5v^2 + 6v^3 + 7v^4 + 8v^5)}{100 + 96v + 91v^2 + 85v^3 + 78v^4} \times 1000 \\ &= 200.384 \text{ nearly} \end{aligned}$$

nearly, i. e. a little less than Rs. 200-6-2, which is the premium required. It seems strange that four persons having paid only Rs. 200-6-2 each, their heirs should be able to get Rs. 1000, and so on. To illustrate how this happens, I subjoin a table showing how the Premium receipts and the interest on the funds can meet the claims.

Year	Members alive at beginning of year	Premium Receipts from members	Last year's Balance Brt-Frw'd	Total	Int. earned during year at 4 percent.	Funds at end of the year	Deaths during the year	Claims Paid	Balance Carried Forward
		Rs. As.	Rs. As.	Rs. As.	Rs. As.	Rs. As.		Rs. As.	Rs. As.
1	100	20,038 6	Nil	20,038 6	801 8	20,839 14	4	4000	16,839 14
2	96	19,236 13	16,839 14	36,076 11	1443 0	37,519 11	5	5000	32,519 11
3	91	18,235 0	32,519 11	50,754 11	2030 1	52,784 12	6	6000	46,784 12
4	85	17,032 10	46,784 12	63,817 6	2552 10	66,370 0	7	7000	59,370 0
5	78	15,630 0	59,370 0	75,000 0	3000 0	78,000 0	8	8000	70,000 0
6	70	At the commencement of this year the balance of Rs. 70,000, is distributed among the surviving 70 members at Rs. 1000 each and the fund is closed.							

It may be noticed that the Premium which I have calculated is a Net Premium, i.e., there is no provision in it for any other expenses of management etc. The Premiums quoted in Insurance Companies' Prospectuses are called Office Premiums. There are always three considerations when constructing Office Premiums, (1) The table of mortality (2) The rate of interest (3) Office expenses etc. In deter-

mining these it must be borne in mind that these are to be taken such as are likely to be experienced in the future.

About mortality I have already said a good deal. I have also shown what influence the rate of interest exercises in the construction of Premiums. The longer the term of Insurance the greater is the help from interest. About office expenses I have mentioned what they are due to

These expenses depend partly on the amount of Premium and partly on the sum assured and to a small extent on neither. Agents' Commission, expenses of investment etc. depend on amount of premium; medical fees, policy stamps etc. depend on the sum assured; and establishment charges etc. depend on the number of policies. The part of the Office Premium arising from Office expenses is generally put in as an addition to the Net Premium, which latter takes account only of Mortality and Interest. This addition is made partly in proportion to the premium and partly in proportion to the sum assured. It is not usual to ignore both of these; hence the premium for 5000 is always five times the premium for 1000 (for the same age and the same kind of policy). This course is justified on account of the risk in five policies of 1000 each being more distributed than in a single policy of 5000.

It requires a considerable amount of thinking and care to determine these three elements viz mortality, interest and Expense-loading. The actual loading put in is however somewhat in excess of the loading which is considered absolutely necessary in order to counteract any adverse effects of fluctuation in the rates of mortality and interest assumed for constructing the Premiums. Besides this there is one more Loading—Profit Loading. Insurance companies issue two kinds of policies under the principal plans, participating and Non-participating; or as is more usually known, 'With Profit' and 'Without profit.' The With-profit rates are higher than Without-profit rates, as the former include the Profit Loading. The holders of With-profit policies are entitled to a share in the profit of the Company which usually are such as to more than repay the excess of With-profit premium over the Without-profit premium.

On the other hand they run the risk, in the event of any unexpected losses, to get nothing in return for the excess premium. It is generally desirable, however, to take out a With-profit policy, because these policies provide a margin of safety to the Company and the excess amount paid is very likely to come back with additions in the form of bonus. The profit Loading is greater than the difference between With-profit and Without-profit premium, so that if the expected profits are realised, the With Profit policy is decidedly cheaper than

the Without-Profit Policy. Without-profit policies are taken by over-economical persons and for financial purposes such as providing security for loans, mortgages etc.

The profit of Insurance Companies is derived from (1) the experienced mortality being more favourable (i. e. the deaths being fewer and occurring among persons who have paid a large number of premium) than was anticipated. (2) The rate of interest realised on the funds being greater than what was expected. (3) The expenses, proportionately to the amount of business, being smaller than what were provided for. (4) Lapses, i. e. persons ceasing to pay their premiums and losing the benefits of life assurances; while the amount they have already paid is forfeited to the Company. (5) Surrenders, i.e. persons ceasing to pay any further premiums and giving up their policy in return for only a part of the premiums they have paid; so that the remaining part of the premiums paid by them accrues to the Company. (6) Miscellaneous; such as assignment fees, fines etc.

The total profit, when declared as such, is distributed among shareholders and policy-holders, the former generally receiving one-tenth of it. That part of it which is given to the policy-holders is called Bonus, being offered in three ways at the choice of the policy-holder: (1) Cash Bonus—where a certain sum is given in cash (2) Reversionary Bonus—where the sum assured is increased by a certain percentage without increasing the premium; so that the bonus becomes payable not immediately, but at the same time as the sum—assured. Obviously the amount of this bonus is much larger than that of the Cash Bonus; Reversionary Bonus is of two kinds,—Simple and Compound. In the Simple Reversionary Bonus system the bonus is always given as a percentage addition to the original sum assured. In the compound Reversionary Bonus system, the percentage addition is made to the sum assured including all previously declared bonus additions. For instance, if Rs 75 is the first quinquennial (five-yearly) bonus declared on a policy of Rs 1000 the sum assured becomes Rs 1075. After the next five-years, if the rate of bonus is the same i.e. $7\frac{1}{2}$ p. c., in the Simple Reversionary Bonus system this will be calculated on Rs. 1000 only, while in the Compound Reversionary Bonus

system, it will be calculated on Rs. 1075. Thus the actual bonus addition in the former case would be Rs. 75 and in the latter case it would be Rs. $(75 + 5\frac{1}{2})$ i.e. Rs 80-10-0. The total sum assured in the two systems becomes Rs 1150 and Rs 1155-10-0 (In order to avail oneself as fully as possible of the benefits of insurance, one should never take the bonus in cash) (3) Bonus Reduction of Premium :—Where the sum assured remains unincreased but the premium payable hence-forward is made smaller. This choice is not offered by many Insurance Companies and those companies who do offer discourage this way of utilising the bonus.

Bonus is always declared at the time of the Valuation, which is generally performed every five years or every three years, but mostly every five years on account of the great expense and trouble of a Valuation and also in order that the effects of any occasional fluctuation should be distributed over a large period. If death takes place between two Valuations, an Intermediate Bonus is allowed for the years elapsed since the last Valuation at the same rate as that of the quinquennial Bonus last declared by some Companies, and at a smaller rate by others.

Before proceeding further it would be better to explain what a Valuation is. A Valuation means finding the values of the policies of a Company which are in force. A policy is both an Asset and a Liability from the point of view of a Company, the element of liability being always greater than the element of asset. A policy is an asset in as much as a certain amount is due to be received (in the form of Premiums) from the policy-holder; and it is a Liability in as much as a certain sum is due to be paid on the happening of some event (death or attaining a certain age). The liability is greater than the asset, because, out of every premium received, some part is used up towards expenses and current claims and most of the remaining part has to be reserved to accumulate, so that the total amount becomes equal to the sum assured when this becomes payable. In order to find out this amount which must be reserved it is necessary to calculate the value of the liability element and the asset element of a policy separately. The difference is the Net Liability and as such has to be reserved. To calculate the liability element, it is necessary to find out

when the sum assured is likely to become payable so that the present value of the amount is the liability. For the asset element we must know how many premiums are likely to be received. To explain this still better we shall take our previous illustration viz. 4 persons out of 100 dying in the first year, 5 dying in the second year, 6 in the third, etc. Let us consider the values of the Liability and asset elements at the commencement of a policy (Eondoment Assurance 5 years). Then for valuing the liability it is assumed that $\frac{4}{100}$ of the sum assured will become payable at the end of the first year, $\frac{5}{100}$ at the end of the second year, and so on. The total of the present values of $\frac{4}{100}$ payable at the end of the first year etc. is the total present liability. Similarly we calculate the value of the asset element. The total of one premium received now and the present values of $\frac{9}{100}$ of the premium receivable at the end of the first year, of $\frac{9}{100}$ of the premium receivable at the end of the second year, of $\frac{8}{100}$ of the premium receivable at the end of the third year etc. is the total present asset. The fewer the number of years remaining before the sum becomes payable, the greater becomes the liability element and the smaller becomes the asset element; and hence the Net Liability, which is the excess of the former over the latter, goes on increasing rapidly. Finding the total Net Liability for all policies in force on the books of the Company is called a Valuation which involves the use of Mortality and Interest Tables. An expert in these calculations is called an Actuary. (He is thus the proper person to construct tables and Premium Rates) The Net Liability found out by the Actuary has to be reserved out of the funds in hand, and the balance, if any, is then utilised for distribution as profits. If on account of greatly expensive management, or large financial losses, or unexpectedly heavy mortality, the funds in hand, though apparently large, are less than the Net Liability found as above by the Actuary, the Company is said to be insolvent (unless the unpaid share capital is sufficient to cover the deficit). The Net Liability is generally called the Reserve, because so much amount has to be reserved for future payment. As in calculating Premiums, the Actuary has to use considerable discretion in determining what Mortality Table and what Rate of Interest shall be adopted as the basis of a

Valuation. The Actuaries have therefore to investigate from time to time how far the Mortality Tables constructed in the past have justified their adoption and to prepare new Tables based on the most recent experience and constructed by the most up-to-date scientific methods. To do this efficiently it requires a greatly organized effort on a large scale which is undertaken from time to time by the Institute of Actuaries of London and the Faculty of Actuaries of Edinburgh. According to the Insurance Companies' Act, the Valuation of an Insurance Company must be performed every five years and the results certified by a qualified Actuary. The qualifications conferred by only the above two Institutions are recognised by the British and Indian Governments. Though it is not enacted what Table of Mortality and what Rate of Interest should be assumed by an Actuary, the Actuary is required to report to the Government as to what bases he has taken for his valuation and what methods he has followed; and as these reports are published by the Government, a check is thus created upon the discretion of the Actuary. It would be interesting to consider the Valuations already performed by Actuaries of Indian Companies; but as it would necessitate discussing the characteristics of different Mortality Tables and the relation of the Rate of Interest to the Money Market, I shall not go into the subject. I may briefly mention however that the Rate of Interest assumed in the recent Valuations of Indian Companies varies from $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. to 4 p.c. and the Tables of Mortality generally adopted are

M the O or $O^{(s)}$ with or without an addition of 5 to 7 years to the age. It may be mentioned that the higher the rate of interest assumed, the smaller comes out the Reserve or Net Liability. It may be similarly said in general (though this may be incorrect in some cases) that the better the mortality, assumed for Valuation, the smaller comes out the Reserve. A smaller Reserve means a larger surplus for distribution as profit. A part of every future premiums, being required for future expenses, cannot be considered as an asset and hence it is necessary to adopt for the valuation only a part of the Premium, this being

called the Valuation Premium and to leave the balance untouched, calling it 'Loading Reserve for Future Expenses'. The percentage of such premium reserved in the recent Indian Companies' Valuations varies from 6 p.c. to 28 p.c. The question of what percentage of premium should be reserved for expenses is one giving rise to great difference of opinion, inasmuch as this question depends for its solution upon a number of conditions which might be judged differently by different Actuaries in point of importance. The expenses made on New Business of every Company are very high generally swallowing up almost the whole of, or sometimes more than, the first Premium. Hence the percentage of expenses to premium income depends largely on the proportion of New Business to the total Business on the books. Another point is the total amount of business; an increase in the amount of business does not involve any proportionate increase in the office expenses. Hence there is much room for difference of opinion. The assumption, for future expenses, of a very low percentage however, such as 6 to 10 per cent. cannot be justified unless the first year's expenses have been very small indeed and unless the renewal commission also is very small. It is usual in a Valuation so to arrange that a large part of the first year's heavy expenses are to be recovered from all the subsequent years' Premiums. Hence usually the 'Loading Reserved' for future expenses is generally more than 20 p.c. of the premiums, particularly in the case of plans with a moderate number of payments of premium.

One part of a Life Assurance Company's business is to grant Annuities. Life Annuities are not very popular in India but they are common in the West. A certain lump sum is to be paid to the Company in return for which, the Company binds itself to pay to the annuitant a fixed amount every year (or at shorter periods if so arranged) so long as he is alive. The younger the annuitant the more likely is he to live and the larger is the lump sum he has to pay to the Company for purchasing the annuity. No return is made however if the annuitant dies early, because a balance has to be created between those who die early and those who live very long.

IS MUSIC A UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE?

BY MARGARET E. COUSINS, BACHELOR OF MUSIC OF THE ROYAL
UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.

In a vague way the idea is prevalent that, whereas the languages spoken by different races all over the world constitute an obstacle to mutual understanding and exchange of ideas, in music is to be found a medium of expression which will override all the barriers of speech, and which will appeal similarly to all peoples; in short, music is generally thought of as a universal language.

No better illustration need be given of how far from that this idea is than the story current about the Shah of Persia's visit to a London concert. By mistake he arrives before the hour appointed for the concert, but in time to hear the preliminary tuning up of the thirty violins, numerous cellos, clarinets, brasses and many other instruments which combine to form the orchestra. When the din of tuning ceased he turned to leave saying he had enjoyed the concert music immensely! And truly so great is the gulf fixed between certain types of music that he probably had found more affinity between the chaotic mingling of disconnected sounds and his Eastern taste in music than he would have discovered in the finished concert performance in the Western mode.

Yet the experience of the recently held All-India Conference of Music at Baroda showed that, despite differences of vernaculars which prevented the musicians gathered together from all quarters of India from enjoying verbal interchange, in their musical performances they had a common language of emotion similarly understood by all. The same holds good with regard to Western music, which produces the same effect on its hearers, be they French, Russian, or German, or English. Thus it is undoubtedly true that within certain bounds music has the characteristics of a universal language. Yet if the Baroda musicians and European musicians had played and sung to one another the certainty is that they would have bored one another to death, failed

to understand one another, and had their faith shaken in the idea of music being a universal language.

The sounds used as the material of music are practically the same everywhere, but in the development of the art of combining sounds in ways which through custom have become pleasant to the ear, such divergences have occurred as cause one at first almost to despair of ever bringing about a "rapprochement" between the musical conventions of East and West. An examination of the many points still, however, held in common, and the renaissance of Indian self-conscious interest in music will, nevertheless, show that the gulf between the two great systems may still be bridged and the universality of music's appeal become an established fact.

In the East the 12 swaras, in the West the 12 semitones within the octave, represent the same sounds and form the basis of all music. The art of singing is common to both systems, though the methods of voice production vary: The tonic-solfa notation of the West or method of writing down the names of sounds, is similar to the Eastern notation. The desire to express and convey an emotion to another is the aim of singing in both hemispheres, its effect being reinforced by accompanying instruments. Both systems contain beautiful melodies, repeated with embellishments, in the West known as "Airs with Variations," in the East as "Ragams." Both systems sprang from a common origin lost in the mists of time, and travelled along the same paths of development right up through Grecian times and Grecian influence till the 11th century, so that the old church music before Pope Gregory's time is similar in its general character and its bourdon bass to much of the Indian music of to-day with its single-string sustained-note accompaniment, while the Scottish bag pipes

might even be mistaken for certain Eastern instruments—so alike are they.

The end of the Middle Ages saw the beginnings of great changes in Western music. From experiments in causing the drone accompaniment note to follow the melody instead of remaining fixed the whole system of musical harmony arose and proceeded so rapidly by the aid of mechanical improvements in the construction of new musical instruments that now the distinguishing feature of Western music is its reliance on harmony, whereas harmony is conspicuous by its absence in Eastern music. It is the pride of Indian music that it is the same as it was centuries ago, yet that is an evidence of stagnation rather than of life, for change is a law of life in any sphere. During these centuries Eastern musicians have used their energy in the classification of existent, rather than the creation of new musical forms; in tabulating mathematical laws underlying the elaboration of the old *ragas* rather than in soaring to fresh flights of song, fancy-free.

The resultant is the amazement of the Eastern musician when to his first question "How many *ragas* have you?" the Western answers "literally innumerable;" and the equal astonishment of the latter at the statement that the Indians have 1440 *ragas* well-known to professional musicians! With the one every fresh composition is an original production built upon one of the two scales only used in modern music; with the other though the scales are more numerous, no fresh *ragas* are now possible.

So also one remembers the amazed delight of an Indian singer of culture on hearing a simple vocal quartette by western amateurs, when for the first time he discovered how consonant sounds at different pitches sung together enriched the melody and produced a new effect.

The West has exhausted the resources of the two scales or modes to which it had limited itself as its vessels of musical exploration. The only hope of further expansion is through a growing knowledge and use of the many Eastern scales in daily use, as the bases of the 32 *Melakartha ragas*. In exchange, the East should experiment in harmonising their *ragas* and in widening their form. Greater mutual knowledge would disprove the Western idea that all Eastern music is monoto-

nous, and the latter's delusion that Western music is disconnected, abrupt, discordant and formless.

The great difficulty in the way of exchanging knowledge is absence of a method of expressing sounds on paper common to the two systems. Some musicians at the historic Baroda Conference considered that Gramophone records would act as the future method of writing music, but these will never help the study of the construction. As the art of Indian music develops—for expand and change it must—some different method of musical notation will become imperative. That used in the West can cover every sound used in Indian music and if only it be adopted there will be every chance of interchange of musical knowledge, to the mutual enrichment of both the great divisions of music.

That the Eastern notation could not meet the needs of Western music is proved by the fact that the latter discarded its own Tonic-Solfa system as India has incorporated the terminology of Western science in its vocabulary; it will soon realise the desirability of learning also and using the more concise system of Western musical symbolism. Then only will the way be opened to share with the world the secret of Eastern music contained in its intense subjectivity, one-pointedness, harmonious adjustment to times and seasons and belief in the Gandharvas.

Modern music is democratic in essence. It aims at the greater good of the greater number. Its method, of combination rather than unity, increases the area of pleasure and happiness in the world. It is the exponent of God in the Many, whereas ancient music used its voice as the path of sound leading to ecstatic union with its source, it sought God in the One, and aimed at liberation from the world, rather than improvement of conditions of the world.

Both ideals are true and necessary, and eventually by their fusion a greater system of music will evolve which will be their synthesis. Written in symbols common to all countries, using basic scales to which the hearing of all people will have become accustomed, this music of the future will become so capable of world-wide appeal as truly to merit being called a universal language.

MADAME OF THE SECOND FLOOR

BY WILLIAM LE QUEUX,

Author of "The House of Whispers," "The Invasion," &c.

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I CLIPPED my heels together, and bowed low over the gloved hand of the stout Countess von Wahlstalt, being afterwards warmly greeted by her white-bearded husband, the German Ambassador, as I entered the great ball-room of the Embassy in the Rue de Lille.

All the monde of Paris seemed to have assembled there, while we of the diplomatic corps made a brave show, with our gold-braided uniforms and glittering decorations.

Shorn of its tinsel and trappings, our fast living, intriguing little world of diplomacy—that world which revolves around the thrones of Europe—would be a sad and sorry circle, each member of it struggling for love, favours, supremacy, or secret knowledge of political undercurrents.

Our own staff from the Rue de Faubourg St. Honore were all there, from Lord Ashthorpe, the Ambassador, down to the youngest attache. Monsieur le President was present, wearing the crimson riband of the Legion d'Honneur, and with him several Cabinet Ministers and many officials with their chattering and often commonplace women folk.

The balls at the German Embassy were always among the smartest functions in Paris, the residence of the representative of the Kaiser, with its spacious salons and wonderful cut glass chandeliers, being admirably adapted for entertaining upon a lavish scale. The orchestra was playing one of Strauss's most tuneful waltzes, and the scene was a perfect kaleidoscope of colour, the gowns of smart Parisiennes contrasting artistically with the brilliant uniforms of the men who were serving their various sovereigns abroad.

As I strolled forward I noticed Gerald Ramsden, one of our attaches, seated with Stella Mansfield, a pretty, dark-haired, sweet-faced girl in a simple but extremely effective gown of pale carnation chiffon. Truly they were a very handsome pair,

and every one in that white-and-gold salon knew how intensely they adored each other. Gerry was one of my particular chums, for we had been up at Oxford together, had entered the diplomatic service in the same year; and while he had served at Rome, Lima, and the Sublime Porte before being appointed as attache to Paris, I had led a wandering and somewhat adventurous life, moving backwards and forwards across the face of Europe as a member of the British Secret Service.

I halted before the pair, and, bowing, paid my respects to the daughter of the great Sheffield ironmaster whose wife preferred the cosy flat on the second floor in the aristocratic Rue Bayard for the greater part of the year, to the big country mansion in Northamptonshire, or the mediæval castle and shooting which her money-grubbing husband had recently purchased in the Highlands.

Stella had been in London for three weeks, and Gerry had been daily at my apartment, inert and disconsolate. Without his well-beloved, he was nowadays always at a loose end.

Only that morning had she returned to Paris, therefore I welcomed her, telling her how Gerry had been visibly pining for her return.

"You really are too bad, Mr. Verrier," exclaimed the pretty girl, pouting and raising her sequin fan threateningly. "You are too fond of chaffing us. I don't know why we should be the laughing-stock of everybody."

"Because everybody is jealous of your mutual happiness," I said with diplomatic endeavour. "But I see your step-mother yonder with the Belgian Minister. I must cross to speak with her."

"Don't," urged the girl. "I'm—well, I'm rather cross with mother. She's vexed me to-day very much."

"I'm sorry for that," I said. "How?"

"Something she has said—something

which need not be repeated," replied the girl, whose annoyance had become the more marked, evidently surprising her lover.

"Never mind," I laughed. "Gerry will quickly put matters right. Your step-mother is awfully fond of him, you know."

The girl was silent, her dark brows knit very slightly. I saw that Gerry regarded her with a distinctly puzzled expression.

"Who is that young fellow speaking to her now?" I inquired, as a tall, dark-haired man, rather foppishly dressed, and wearing a gold-rimmed monocle, stood with his gloved hands behind his back as he bent to laugh with the elderly, well-dressed Englishwoman who for the past three years had been so well known in the best society in Paris.

"Oh, only one of mother's new friends," replied the girl. "His name is Somers."

"English, then?"

She nodded in the affirmative, and leaving the happy pair I was at once button-holed by Galli, the Italian councillor of Embassy, who had a tit-bit of scandal to relate concerning a fracas on the previous night at the Travellers, and an impending duel as result.

The ball differed in no respect from the dozens of similar functions where we of the diplomatic corps are compelled to be on show. In my capacity of secret service agent, I kept my eyes and ears well open, for there were at that moment strange and rather absurd rumours regarding an entente between Italy and France, and at Downing Street they were thirsting for information concerning the exact position of affairs.

I had a couple of dances with the Marchesa Spinola, the dark-haired, well-dressed wife of the Italian Ambassador, and just before two o'clock drove back to my apartment in the Boulevard Periere.

I had taken off my uniform, and in the ease of dressing-gown and slippers was enjoying a final cigar before turning in, calmly reflecting upon certain political information I had gathered that evening, when suddenly Gerry, pale-faced and agitated, burst into my room.

"It's all over, Jack!" he exclaimed, sinking into an armchair. "My engagement with Stella is broken. I—I—" And his voice trembled with emotion.

"Broken!" I gasped, staring at the

poor fellow. "How? Tell me all about it."

"I left before you did, and drove home with Stella and her mother. On arrival Mrs. Mansfield expressed a wish to speak with me alone. I followed her into the petit salon, where calmly and deliberately she told me that her husband and herself had decided that my means were insufficient to provide properly for Stella, and that therefore they withdrew their consent to our marriage. I—I was staggered," he said in a hoarse whisper. "I ran to Stella, but she only burst into tears. She made no protest except to declare: 'I will never marry that man Somers—never!'"

"Is there some suggestion of her marrying that fellow, then?" I asked quickly.

"Yes. Stella afterwards admitted to me that her step-mother had that morning on her return from London told her plainly that Somers had asked for her hand, and that both her father and herself had consented."

"But surely Somers is quite a new acquaintance!" I exclaimed.

"The Mansfields have decided that he is to marry Stella," cried the unhappy fellow. "What am I to do? That woman is my enemy. She has been all along. But I will defy her. I will marry the woman I love!"

He seemed beside himself with grief and anger. I tried to console him, but without avail, and presently, with a fierce impression against Mrs. Mansfield, he went forth again. From my balcony I watched him until he had disappeared along the silent boulevard.

Then I sat down and wondered what strange reason there could be for Mrs. Mansfield's curious decision.

Next day I saw nothing of Gerry, and the following day I was out at Versailles with two English cousins and did not go down to the Embassy. We lunched at the gay Hotel des Reservoirs, and spent some hours viewing the ancient splendours of the Palace. It was not before seven o'clock that I returned to the Boulevard Periere.

While dressing for dinner, Jules, my maid, remarked:

"That affair in the Rue Bayard is a very strange one, is it not, m'sieur—the mysterious murder of an English lady?"

"Murder!" I exclaimed. "What, Apaches again?"

"No, m'sieur. A lady named Mansfield."

was found by a servant shortly after twelve o'clock to-day in her apartment, stabbed to the heart."

I started, too amazed to utter a word.

"Here is the newspaper," Jules said, as he placed the journal in my hand.

In breathless eagerness I scanned the brief report it contained, and learnt that at half-past ten o'clock Mrs. Mansfield's daughter, Stella, had gone out to the Rue de Lubeck for her painting lesson, and half an hour later the man-servant having gone out upon an errand and the cook being away making her morning purchases, as is the habit in Paris, Mrs. Mansfield had despatched her maid Clotilde with a note addressed to a certain Monsieur George Somers, staying at the Hotel Ritz, in the Place Vendome.

The maid, on returning, had opened the door with her latch-key, and was in the flat fully twenty minutes before she made the ghastly discovery that her mistress was lying dead behind the door of the *salle-a-manger*, having been struck down by the hand of an assassin. The room was in disorder, and some antique plate was missing. The girl had raised the alarm; the police had been telephoned for, and Monsieur Bottin, the famous *Chef du Surete*, was already making the most exhaustive inquiries.

I took up my telephone instrument and got through to Gerald Ramsden's apartment in the Rue de Varenne. I recognised the voice of Pierre, his servant, who responded.

"Monsieur left this morning at eight o'clock—for London, I believe. He said he should be absent a week. I am sending his letters to his club in London," the man said in reply to my inquiry.

From Jackson, who was on duty at the Embassy, I could gather nothing definite. Gerry had not been there that day.

This caused me to wonder. Why was he absent from his post without leave of the Chief?

An inquiry over the telephone to the flat in the Rue Bayard elicited no reply. The place was, of course, in the hands of the police.

I went forth to find Stella, and after several hours of inquiry discovered her at the house of Madame Bouchard, a friend of her step-mother.

The police had already closely questioned her, it seemed. But beyond what was in

the papers she knew nothing. I made inquiry concerning Gerry, but she was too upset to be inclined to talk. Indeed, her thoughts were, I knew, running in the same direction as my own. It was, to say the least, a suspicious circumstance that he should have gone to London without first obtaining leave of absence.

I recollected those dark threats he had uttered against the woman who had stood between him and happiness, that frenzy of madness which has seized him, and his intense jealousy of George Somers.

Next morning the Paris papers were full of "The Affair of the Rue Bayard," and having on more than one occasion in my capacity of secret service agent met the great detective, Jules Bottin, I called upon him at noon at the Prefecture.

The stout, round-faced man in gold pince-nez was instantly interested when I explained that I had known the dead woman.

"The affair of the Rue Bayard is certainly very curious," he said. "The motive of the murder was revenge—not robbery. To me it seems quite plain that Madame Mansfield purposely sent out the servant because she wished to receive some visitor in secret. That visitor came, and——"

"He killed her," I said.

"How do we know? She may have been killed after her friend left."

"I see by the papers that she sent a note to a man named Somers, at the Ritz," I remarked.

"Yes. Here it is," and he placed before me a note in the dead woman's well-known hand—a few scribbled lines which read:

"Dear George,—I spoke to both Stella and Gerald last night. Their engagement is broken. Soon you will be my son-in-law, and then I shall congratulate you. Keep away from me for a few days, as your absence will obviate unpleasantness. Au revoir, "MAUD MANSFIELD."

"And where is Somers?"

"In Paris—under observation. Your friend and colleague, Gerald Ramsden, had every motive to be incensed against the dead woman. He has left for London—he left Paris at noon—half an hour after the affair—and not by the 9.50 from the Gare du Nord, as his man supposes. You see," said Bottin, smiling in triumph through his glasses, "I have not been idle, M'sieur Verrier!"

"Then to put it plainly, you suspect my friend?"

"It is more than suspicious. Yesterday morning, soon after half-past six, Ramsden met Stella Mansfield clandestinely in the Avenue des Champs Elysees, at the corner of the Avenue Marigny. He told her something—something which she refuses to divulge."

"And you have telegraphed to London, of course—if your suspicion is so strong," I said bitterly, for the regrettable affair would cause a terrible scandal throughout our service.

"Two of my agents left for London by the four o'clock train yesterday. They arrived there last night."

"I'll not believe Gerry to be guilty of murder!" I cried. "That woman treated him badly, but he was not the man to commit such a cold-blooded crime."

"Probably it was committed in hot blood. I have ascertained that he was furious and beside himself with anger on the night before."

Then, controlling my feelings by dint of great effort, I related to the famous detective what had occurred at the German Embassy, and its curious sequel.

"Now," I added, "who is this stranger George Somers, and why should he so suddenly desire to marry a girl he has hardly ever seen?"

Bottin slowly stroked his beard. Then, in silence, he removed his pince-nez and polished them with his handkerchief.

"Yes," he admitted at last, "there is certainly some mystery about him—and depend upon it, Monsieur Verrier, there is more in this curious affair than at present appears."

"But you suspect Gerald Ramsden of the crime?"

"Most certainly. While Somers had everything to gain by the lady's friendship, remember, your friend Ramsden had everything to gain by her death!"

Such an argument I could not refute. As Bottin was just going round to the Rue Bayard in order to go through Madame's papers and effects, I begged leave to accompany him. I knew the flat well, a handsome apartment, luxuriously furnished, as became the Paris residence of a man worth at least a million sterling.

As we entered the large drawing-room I saw, upon a side table, a cabinet portrait of Somers in a silver frame. There was another in the fumoir; therefore I begged the loan of the latter and placed it in my

pocket. Suspicion had fallen upon Gerry, and it was my duty, as his friend, to save him if possible; indeed, at all hazards to prevent a British diplomatist being arrested for murder.

During three hours Bottin, aided by two of his agents, made careful investigation of every scrap of paper to be found in the place. Mr. Mansfield had been telegraphed for from Sheffield, but a reply had been received that he had unfortunately sailed from Liverpool for New York on business only the day before.

By the mail that night I left the Gare du Nord for London, and next morning found Gerry at his brother's rooms in Bruton Street.

When I approached the distasteful subject he remained pale and silent. His face was haggard, his eyes showed signs of sleeplessness, and he was restless and greatly agitated. He related how on the previous day he had been followed everywhere by two detectives.

"Look here, Gerry," I said when we were alone, "the police know that early on the morning of the tragedy you met Stella at the corner of the Avenue Marigny, and that you told her something. What was it?"

"I told her a secret—a secret that I had learnt the night previously."

"Of what?"

He hesitated for a second, then replied:

"No. I—I really can't tell you, Jack. Please do not ask me, I beg of you."

"That fellow Somers is the assassin, is he not?" I asked in a low, strained voice.

"No," he answered hoarsely. "The fellow may be a low blackguard, and worse, but—but he—he did not—kill Mrs. Mansfield. He must not be arrested. You understand, Jack—" he cried wildly. "You understand my meaning?"

I nodded. My heart was too full for words.

I left the house utterly dumbfounded. My friend's wild words rang in my ears. Bottin's surmise was correct!

What could be the nature of that secret which Gerry had refused to reveal to me?

In sheer desperation I took a taxi down to Scotland Yard, and was fortunate in finding my old friend, Inspector Taylor of the Criminal Investigation Department, in his office.

"Yes," he said, when I had explained the object of my visit, "we have been much interested in that Paris mystery. The French

police have not consulted us, or we might have placed quite another complexion upon the affair."

"How?" I gasped eagerly.

"The murdered woman sent a note to a certain man named Somers before she was killed—according to the 'Matin.' Now if that is the same Somers, I happen to know him well."

"Here is his photograph!" I cried, taking the picture from my pocket.

"Yes," he said slowly, as his eyes fell upon it. "The explanation of Mrs. Mansfield's sudden anxiety for this man to marry her step-daughter is not very far to seek. Seven years ago I arrested at Norwood Maud Thurston, as she was then, and George Somers, an engraver, for the ingenious forgery of French hundred-franc notes. The woman was sentenced at the Old Bailey to two years' imprisonment, while he, an old offender, got nine years. When she came out she apparently married Mansfield, who was a widower, his daughter Stella being then at school in Lucerne. Mrs. Mansfield preferred Paris, where she was not known, to London, where she might perhaps be recognised. Somers was released on ticket-of-leave six months ago, and no doubt went to his former associate, suggesting that if she would bring about his marriage with Stella he would keep a still tongue. Mrs. Mansfield would naturally be compelled to submit, and so keep her husband in ignorance of the truth."

"And who killed Mrs. Mansfield?"

"Your friend Ramsden. He somehow learnt the truth, and in a frenzy of hatred against the woman who had been to prison, and who, in order to shield herself, would sell her husband's daughter, made a secret appointment and struck her down," Taylor replied. "Bottin, over in Paris, will find I am correct," he added. And just then the telephone-bell at his elbow rang, and he received an urgent call to the other end of London.

I returned to Gerry, and told him what Taylor had said.

"Yes," he replied in a low hoarse voice, "it was that secret which I had learnt. A man, an ill-dressed Italian, was awaiting me outside my rooms on my return from the Embassy the night before last, and told me the amazing story. At first I thought him mad, but—" And he hesitated.

"And you told Stella on the following morning—eh?"

He nodded in the affirmative, his haggard countenance blanched to the lips.

"Look here, Gerry," I said, standing astride before him, "Stella knows who killed Mrs. Mansfield. She was there—in the apartment."

"How do you know that?" he gasped, starting and staring at me as though confronted by an apparition.

"By your own attitude," I said quietly. "Stella knows the truth. Why will she not speak? She must!"

"You will never obtain the truth from her, because—because—" and he whispered in a voice so low as to be almost inaudible—"because of me! She—she still loves me—ah! yes, Jack—we still love each other."

I was silent. The hard-set face of the man before me held me speechless.

"This mysterious Italian—who was he?" I asked at last. "What did he know?"

"Everything."

"His name?"

"His real name was Thurston—he was her son, born and bred in Italy. She had discarded him years ago. Then he had molested her, and upon her false testimony he had been sent to prison."

"And he has had his revenge!" I cried. "It was he who exposed her to you—he who went there next day, and killed her."

"I did not tell you that," he said very calmly. "He told me the truth, Jack, but I have not betrayed him, neither has Stella—who returned unexpectedly and actually saw her step-mother struck down."

"Ah!" I cried in relief. "Why have you led me to suppose that you, my friend, Gerry Ramsden, was an assassin?"

"Because I refused to betray the man who had, by his information, given Stella back to me," was his calm reply. "On that fateful morning I went to the Rue Bayard in order to face the infamous woman—to defy her. But on arrival at the door my ring remained unanswered, and I turned away, never dreaming that Stella had just slipped out, horrified, having stood beside her stepmother—lying dead. I knew that Mrs. Mansfield had a secret appointment with her son, but I never anticipated such a tragedy. I left Paris because—because I feared that some unfortunate circumstance must arise—because—"

"And her son? Where is he?"

"If Bottin goes to his lodgings in the Rue Bargue, number fourteen, he will find him dead. See, I had this note from him, sent me by Pierre, this morning." And he showed me a dirty scrap of paper which left no doubt that the assassin had taken his own life.

Half an hour later I telegraphed to Bottin, and at seven o'clock that same night received a response that the body of the murderer of Madame Mansfield had been discovered.

The truth concerning the affair has

never been made public until now, and Mr. Mansfield, a most estimable man, has happily never learnt the infamy of the woman who had become his second wife.

The ex-convict Somers swiftly disappeared into oblivion, fearing another charge which Inspector Taylor held against him, while last April Stella and Gerry were happily wedded at St. James's, Piccadilly, he having been transferred as second secretary to His Majesty's Embassy to the Court of St. Petersburg.

THE BURNING GHAT

IT was a glorious summer evening. The air was full of the sweet smell of flowers and the song of the birds. Everywhere was calm and quiet. The leaves on the trees quietly whispered to each other as the gentle breeze stirred them, the grasshoppers hopped merrily about, the moths fluttered gently by with the breeze, intent on making the most of their brief existence. Here and there a stray squirrel whisked by with a great flourish of its bushy little tail, as if ashamed of being seen out so late, and all the world seemed peaceful and at rest.

How beautiful! I said to my companion—how beautiful it all is! We were standing in the shade of a magnificent oak tree which spread out its branches like great arms as if to protect all the world. There seemed a strange hush over everything, an expectant hush as if the world were waiting for something that did not come. Listen! I said to my companion. In the distance, far away there came a sound of

singing, or rather chanting. Nearer it came, and as it drew closer the more grand and thrilling became the singing until my whole soul seemed to respond and I stood as one transfixed.

Then I looked and in the distance was a little body of men, walking slowly with measured tread, still singing, and in the midst of them was something they carried on a stretcher, a something covered with the Union Jack. Slowly they passed the



Carrying the dead body of a wounded soldier to the burning ground.

place where I stood. Softly and musically fell the chant from their lips which gradually swelled in volume and feeling until again I felt that strange exultation and my whole heart respond to the singing. With bowed head and clasped hands the singers passed on—tall Sikhs broken in the war. Some could only limp along. Others had their arms in slings or alas an empty coat sleeve pinned to their side, but all passed along towards the little building in the distance, where their friend and comrade who had succumbed to his wounds, would receive the last rites of his religion.

The building was more like a tent than anything else. In the middle of it a stream had been made which was full of running water, and over this the funeral pyre had been built. Quietly the little procession drew near, and then from underneath the Union Jack—the flag he had served so nobly and so well—the body of the dead warrior was taken and reverently placed upon the pyre.

Around the pyre the little company gathered with clasped hands. I noticed the look of exultant pride which seemed to flash from their eyes as they gazed at the recumbent figure on the pyre. There was no selfish grief depicted on the faces of these



The dead body has been brought to the burning ground.

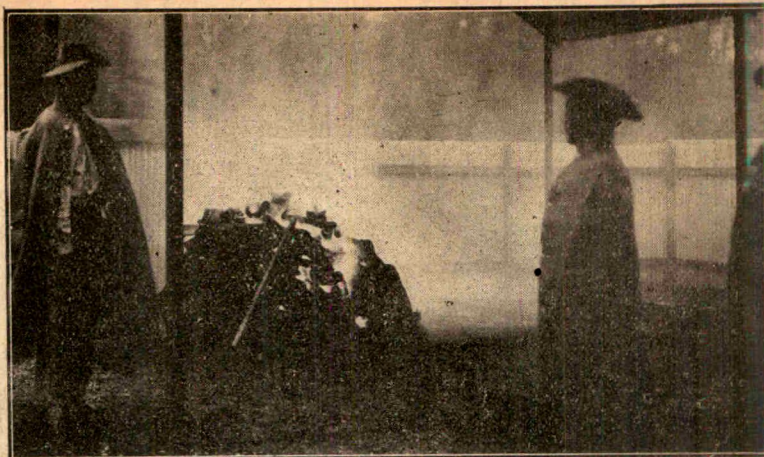
splendid warriors, rather it was a look of gladness, of pride, that their friend should have died in such a cause and in such a way. Truly these men are marvellous, was the thought that flashed through my mind while my own eyes grew misty.

The wisdom of the East is often beyond the comprehension of the West. But they were singing again—and this time something grand and stirring, which sounded to me like a battle march, and then a mournful chant in which they seemed to bid him farewell. Then from the group advanced a tall handsome Sikh, and taking a taper, he lighted the pyre, whilst the rest stood around with hands clasped as if in prayer. Quietly they stood like statues while the smoke curled up and the flames ate away the wood.



Last rites being performed on the burning pyre.

It was a strange sight, a weird sight to me and my heart felt like bursting as they turned away and slowly disappeared in the distance. The tears filled my eyes so that pyre and smoke and everything else was blurred and indistinct. A great sob rose in my throat when in the distance again I heard that chant—so grand, so exultant, so full of hope and gladness—that my tears were swept away and my soul was comforted. But the music of that chant still lives with me—a sweet solace in weary workday hours, and a grand inspiration in wakeful nights—and although the incidents connected with it were so sad, yet I would



Dead body of a wounded soldier burning.

give much to hear that chant again, sung by those broken warriors in the calm and quiet of a summer evening.

EVA WILLIS.

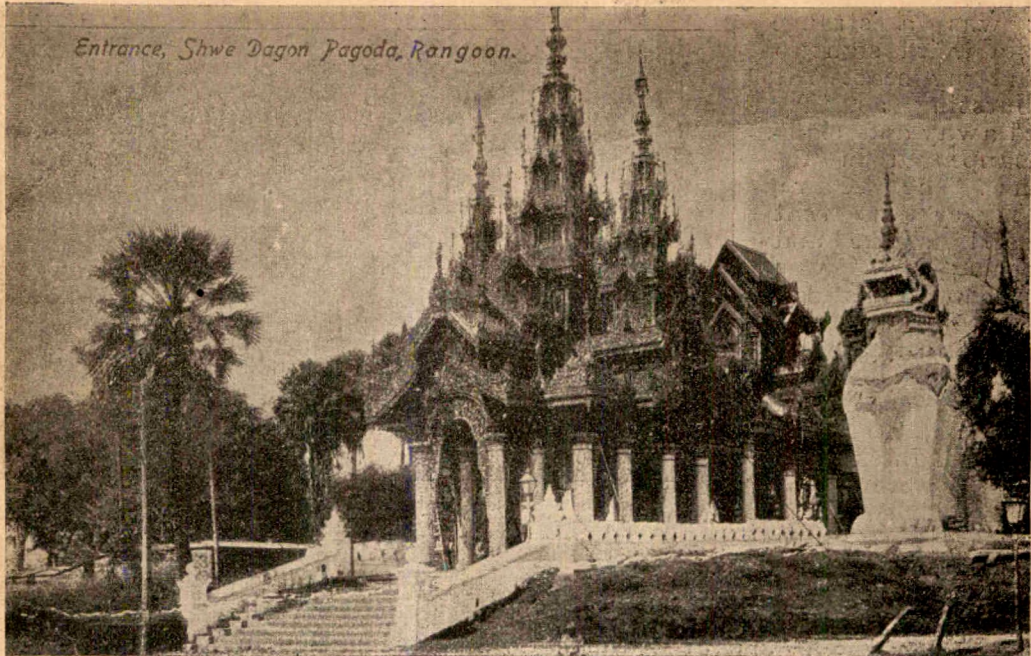
GLIMPSES OF LIFE IN THE LAND OF PAGODAS

BY MANILAL MADHAVLAL PURANIK.

THE life in the Silken East with its luxuriant foliage and abundant supply of water of the Irrawaddy is very charming. No sooner does a stranger set foot on the land of Burma, than he naturally becomes keenly interested about the people of the land. The dress and the manners of the Burmese people at the outset creates a favourable impression on the foreigner. Much unlike in India Burmese women here do take a prominent part in the dealings of the land. Despite the facts that the Burmese Buddhists make no provision for the elementary education of girls there is more equality between the sexes than among other Eastern races. Indeed in many respects the women in Burma enjoy freedom and independence far ahead of what as yet prevails among Western Nations. To call a woman the "weaker vessel" would indeed be a misnomer. The wit and intelligence of

Burmese women are decidedly above the average of those of men. Their capacity for petty trades and even for concerns of greater magnitude is so well recognised that even the words of Burmese female traders are equally valuable just like the written documents.

The burmese birth customs are more or less identical with those of ours. On the seventh day of the birth of a child the name giving ceremony is performed. This is fixed after consulting the horoscope prepared by the Phoongyi—the religious priest. The boys might be called Maung An, Maung Gauk etc., and girls be called Ma Gyi, Ma Shwe Mi, etc. The names thus given in infancy may as often be changed as desirable. Burmese people have no family name of their own. When they migrate to distant lands or tracts and found new hamlets there, they often bear the name of the village whence the

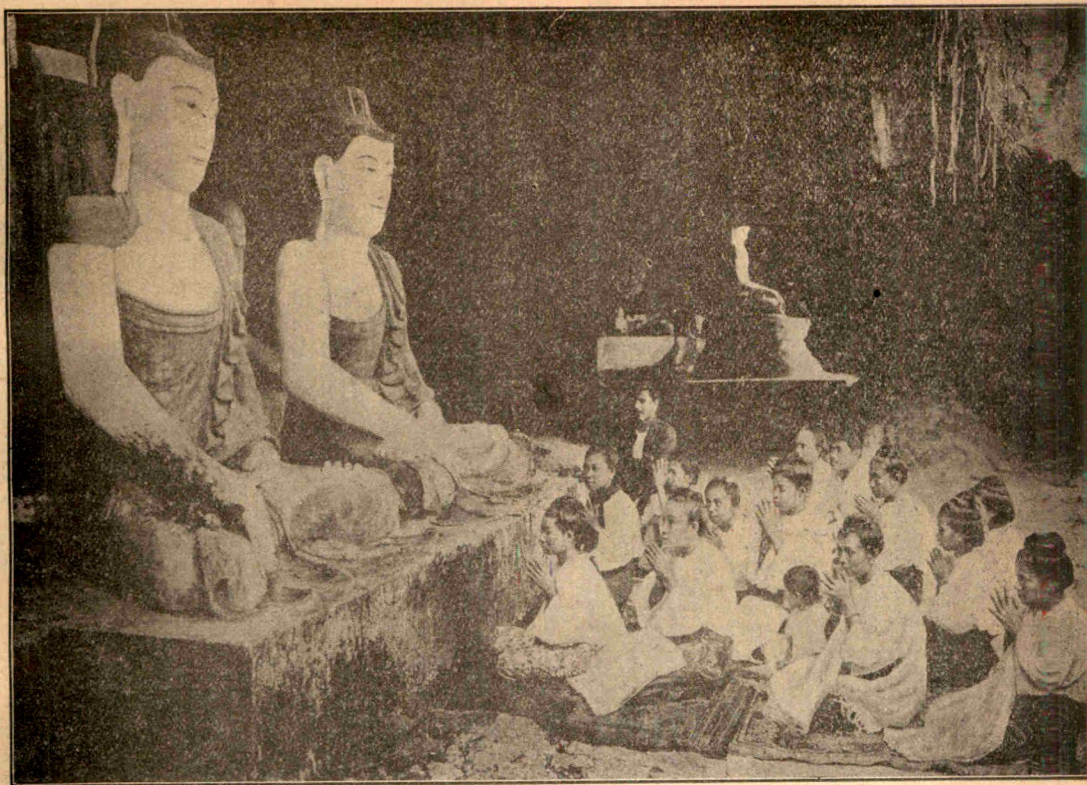


Entrance, Shwe Dagon Pagoda, Rangoon.

Shway Dagon Pagoda, Rangoon.



An avenue of 729 pagodas, each containing a stone whereon are written verses from the holy books of Buddhism.



GAUTAMA BUDDHAS IN THE BINGYI CAVES.

Burma is noted amongst other things for its caves. The Bingyi group is the most interesting of the series.

colony was planted. In order to fix the identity of any individual it is therefore necessary to describe him or her in all proceedings as Maung Ka the son of Maung Lugale. The Burmese girl entering into the bonds of matrimony still retains her maiden name.

At about eight or nine years of age the happy time of unrestricted nudity and amusements comes to an end when the boy goes to the monastery to study. There the method of instruction is very simple. The boy is taught to read and write generally with a bit of elementary lesson in Arithmetic. After having spent a year or two in the monastery the small boy returns home again. He assumes at the age of twelve or thereabout a temporary "Yellow Robe" of an acolyte. The Shinpyu or ceremony of becoming an Acolyte is next to birth and death, and by far the most important event in any Burman's life. In comparison with this, such an event as marriage is a mere incident of much less significance. The idea of putting on the

yellow robe is to assume the garb of humility and to enter upon the life of mendicant poverty. After entering the Life of Poverty and Self-denial the Slim or Koyin continues his study in the Buddhistic sacred writings. The education thus obtainable from about seven or eight to fourteen or fifteen years is certainly narrow and circumscribed. But it has this advantage that the proportion of literates to illiterates is as 487 to 513 according to the census of 1891. Phoon-gyis do evince a keen interest in teaching their pupils.

Every boy in Burma has to subject himself to the process of tattooing. This forms one of the ceremonies, the day for which has to be fixed after consulting the horoscope. The tattoo marks extend from waist to down below the knees. In addition to this regular adornment of the male person many other tattoo marks are often seen on the chest, back, arms, and elsewhere. Burmese girls are not tattooed. After receiving her name when about a fortnight old the first great and real event in the life



A PAGODA THAT ROCKS WITH THE WIND

The temple is called Sampan or boat pagoda on account of the shape of the rocking stone upon which it is built. The temple is situated 3,650 feet above sea-level and can only be reached from the parent rock by means of ladders.

of a girl is the ceremony of Ear-boring, generally performed more commonly just before the attainment of puberty. The day on which the ear-boaring ceremony is fixed is observed with greater gaiety and pomposity. The friends and relatives are invited in the usual manner, by means of sending round small packets of tea. Conversation and music while away the time. The girl on whom the ceremony is performed is gaily dressed and seated on a raised seat for the purpose. She is surrounded by her female relatives and when the auspicious time is announced the professional borers force the needles into the soft lobes of the ear and shrieks and screams are more or less drowned by the deafening music provided.

Until about the thirteen years the education of a girl is confined to household duties, general instructions in reading and writing coupled with elementary instructions in additions, subtractions, mul-



A Burmese Priest.

tiplications etc. To give a finishing touch to her education the Burmese girl has to maintain a stall in the market. There her naturally keen mercantile instincts and business capacity is given a full swing. Burmese girls of nineteen or twenty is consequently much smarter than a lad of the same age. Greater care is bestowed by the Burmese girls on their personal looks than an average Indian lady. The bark of a sweet scented wood called 'thantka' is rubbed down in fine with water and is applied all over the body. After being rubbed it is smeared over the face and then allowed to dry. This affords a polishing touch to the skin and makes the appearance rather attractive. Her long black hair, glossy and lustrous with cocoa-nut oil brings her toilet to an end.

All love affairs are conducted in strict accordance with ancient usage and custom. The bachelors in the evening form a company under the leadership of one and



Burmese Zat Poay.

A Burmese Festival.

meet at a fixed place. As they take the round of the village the lads drop off either singly or in twos and threes. The lovers make some sort of signs before they venture to go up where their beloved ones live. This certainly has the tacit approval of the girls' parents. A public form of courting is the attention which may quite correctly be paid to girls keeping stalls at a night Bazar.

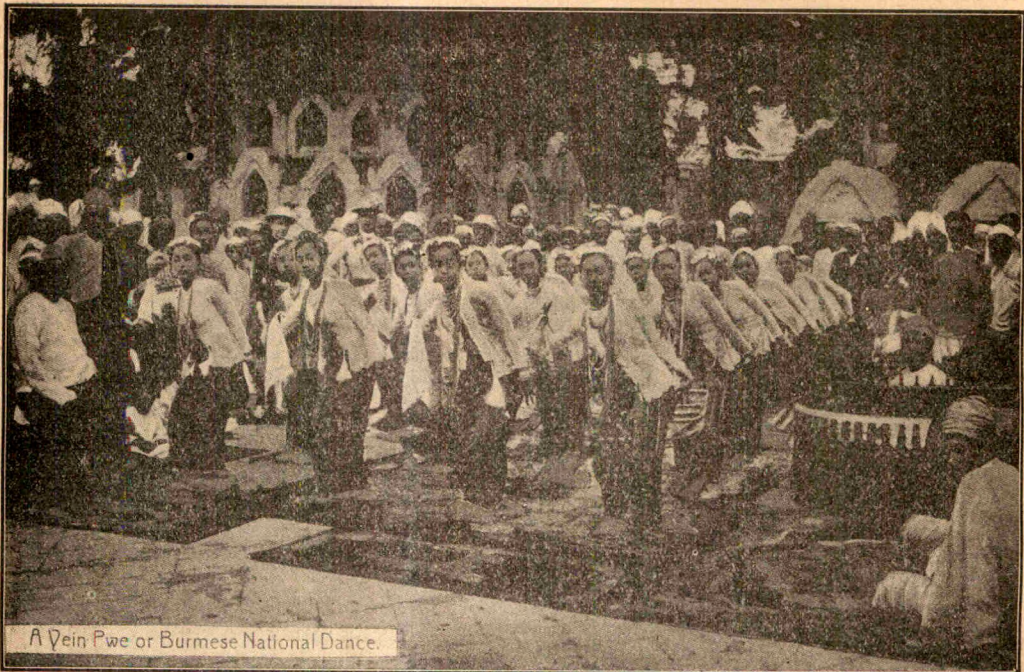
When the boy has made his choice of his sweet-heart, he informs his parents of the same ; who accompanied with relatives and elders of the village make a formal demand of the girl in marriage with his son. The terms of the betrothal are settled i.e. (dowry and jewels) and the contract lasts for a period of three years. A day is fixed for the marriage. The main ceremony consists in joining the hands palm to palm at the moment prescribed as auspicious, in eating out of the same dish, in placing morsels of food in each other's mouth in token of their vow to love and to cherish each other. While the festival is being kept up in the evening, the young couple retire to the bridal chamber amidst showers of saffron-dyed-rice and remain there in seclusion for seven days. The old customs have in course of time somewhat altered and the

period of betrothal has become much shorter. The marriage in Burma is purely a civil contract and as such there is vast liberty for divorce.

The death of any one member of a family is of course cause for sorrow in other countries but in Burma the funeral ceremony, like all other religious rites, is somewhat of the nature of a festival. As soon as convenient after the death the corpse is placed in the open front portion or verandah of the house. It is there washed and covered from chest downwards with snow-white cloth. The thumbs and toes of legs are either tied together with a cord made out of the hair of a son or a daughter or of twisted white cotton. Often too a small silver coin is placed in the mouth. The burial ground and crematory places are almost invariably situated to the west of any village or town. When the corpse has been nailed down into the coffin the priest renders assistance by reciting extracts from sacred writings regarding "Ancissa, Dokka, Annatta", i.e., impermanence, misery, and unreality. The bodies of the poorer people are disposed off the next day at the latest : The richer the deceased the greater is the delay in completing the obsequies and the more imposingly spectacular is the display connected with

the preparations and the funeral rites. Lest the solemnities partake too much of a festive nature professional mourners or weepers are sometimes em-

ployed. Cremation or fire-rites are much more common than burial rites among all the well-to-do classes. Wooden posts or brick monuments are sometimes erected



Burmese National Dance.



Burmese Paddy Boat

over the bones of the deceased. Sometimes the bones are pulverised mixed with lac and saw-dust and formed into images of Gautama which are either placed in the sacred edifice or retained in the house. But such images are never worshipped in any way.

It has been frequently said that the Burmese are the Irish of the East. There are it is true various outstanding traits of character in common such as pride of race, love for laughter, amusements, light-heartedness, want of prudence etc. They are proud of their nationality. The Burmese consider the Chinese, Siamese and Shans as of the same stock as themselves. The Burmese are on the whole decidedly truthful and they are credulous and superstitious to a degree. Passive courage and high resistance they often maintain is the direct outcome of their religious philosophy and their belief in destiny being controlled by the influence of past deeds. Another characteristic arising mainly from their religion is marked tolerance. As a race the Burmese have no mechanical ability or inventive talent. Idiotic children are exceedingly rare in Burma but adult idiots and lunatics are regarded with much awe as being inspired. Burmese women exhibit marked modesty in all her movements. The behaviour of Burmans towards their womenfolk is habitually courteous and entirely free from anything like coarse familiarity. Gentle affection, kindly regard, benevolence and freedom from all kinds of desires are considered the four cardinal virtues. Burmans have a love for gambling which they have in common with their Chinese relatives.

While still an independent nation the Burmans were divided into seven classes. These consisted of the Royal family, the priesthood, officials, traders, cultivators, handicraftsmen, slaves, and outcasts. Priests and monks have always enjoyed special considerations on religious grounds, while officials formed the most powerful section of Society under the Burmese Rulers. Short of Royalty and throne, any individual other than the slaves and outcasts could rise to the highest position in the land. But slaves and criminal outcasts were entirely debarred from the rights of free-men. Grave-diggers, beggars, prostitutes and lepers are included among the social outcasts. The natural veneration for the Royal blood was extreme and amounted in fact to superstition. While

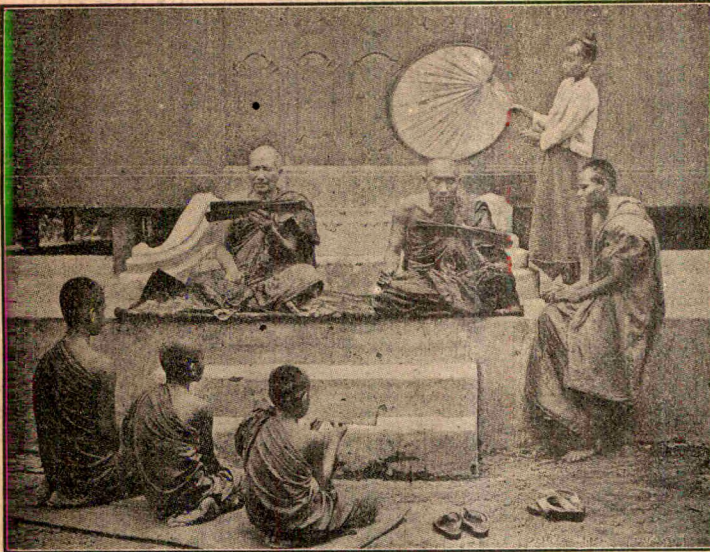
there are no caste distinctions there is also no landed aristocracy, but there is nobility. To be appointed an official of the state was in itself practically of the nature of conferring nobility while merchants and large traders who acquired property were registered by royal edict as "rich-men" (Thute). The Burmans are naturally very polite. The respectful attitude before a visitor is to kneel down and draw the legs closely together. Among Burmans poly-



A Burmese Beauty.

gamy is permitted by law. The national dress is simple and very attractive. The man's waist cloth (Pase) is originally made eighteen cubits long and twenty and a half inches wide. The ends being folded back, it is stitched together forming a plaid nine yards long and one and a quarter broad which is tied round the waist. A white cotton or silk jacket is worn over the body down to the waist. A silk handkerchief in which the hair of the head,

nicely combed and arranged in top-knot, is enclosed, forms the head dress. The Burmese women do not cover the head but a handkerchief is loosely thrown over the shoulder.



Phoongyees or priests and Scholars of Burma.

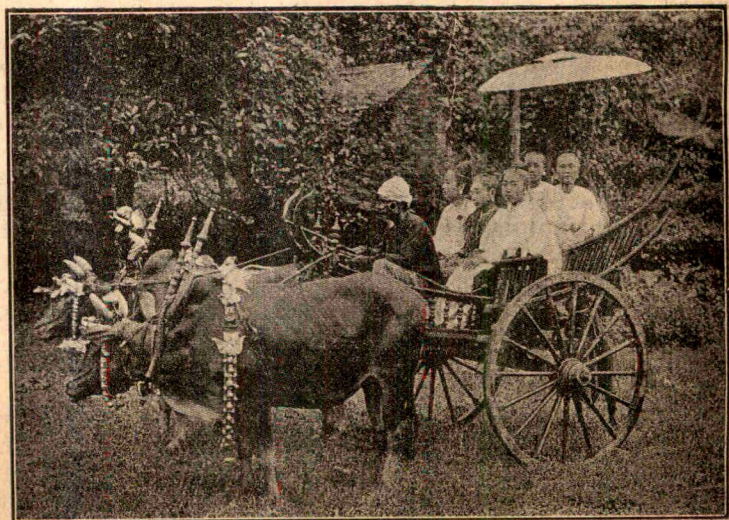
Mirth-loving people like the Burmese cannot do without festivals and amusements. In fact every attempt is being made to celebrate a day of every Pagoda that may lie in the vicinity. Their way of enjoying and celebrating a festival is much commendable. The two great national festivals are those connected with the New Year which is generally called "The Burmese Lent." People from different parts of the province come and meet at the place of worship in their best. They take their abode temporarily in the bamboo-huts erected for the purpose.

These huts are erected around the pagodas and in such a way that when inhabited by beautiful damsels, lend an appearance of a village nicely laid out with roads and streets and bye lanes. The stalls are also arranged and the trustees of the Pagodas arrange for the temporary bazaars

where all sorts of things are available for sale at the spot. Pwes and dances and theatrical performances by amateurs are being held throughout the night. During the day the ceremony consists of offering

candles, flowers, fruits, burning of scented sticks before the images of Gautama Buddha and hearing the sacred passages read by Phoongyis. On the evening of the last day of the festival vast crowds dissolve with marvellous rapidity. By nightfall the spaces between the lines of booths so lately thronged with people are all but empty. Such pwes and dances are also being arranged for at the time of household rites such as naming of the child, boring of a girl's ears, the entry of a boy into his acolytehood at monastery and the funeral rites etc. These dances or pwes are always assisted by Burmese music parties.

With the spread of education and contact with the people of both the East and West, the Burmans have introduced remarkable changes in their daily life. The huts and bamboo planks which used to form the



A Burmese Passenger Cart.

place of abode in times past, have been replaced by the houses of bricks with wooden partitions. The Burmese menfolk have begun to come forward and join hands in work with women carrying trade and business of large dimensions. As a result prosperity of both the land and the people becomes inevitable. Schools by missionary efforts are daily multiplying in numbers. They are now beginning to feel

as a nation and in fact efforts are now being made to make their public opinion echoed. The most commendable of the modern Burman's activity is the foundation of the "Young Men's Buddhist Association" which directly aims at social, moral and national reforms. It bids fair to be a movement of which any son of the soil may legitimately be proud.

WORLD'S MARATHON CHAMPIONSHIP

SINCE writing in the February issue of this magazine, I have received many letters from various parts of India, of which one of special interest was from Mr. S. V. Dattar's friend, Mr. K. N. Dixit, M.A. Mr. Dixit's communication places me in a position to acquaint all my readers with the circumstances under which Mr. Dattar ran his memorable 27 miles, in an incredibly short space of time. As will be noticed from his photograph, Mr. Dattar is a brilliant athlete and our hope to see a champion amongst ourselves is very likely to be realised in him. He promises, as the reader will see from Mr. Dixit's letter, to run eleven miles per hour in his next attempt, and even if he runs ten miles an hour, he will do the necessary 25 miles in 2hrs. 30mts. and that will constitute a unique world's record. But we should not count the chickens before they are hatched; we must wait and see what Mr. Dattar can do in his next attempt. We have already accepted him to be the champion long distance runner of the East and we do hope to see him as the world's greatest runner after his second attempt.

As a sort of introduction, it will not be absolutely out of place to say, that Mr. Dattar is self-trained, which proves clearly that Mr. Dattar is not only a man of wonderful stamina but a singularly brainy athlete. Intelligence is the mark of superiority in everything and it would be no mean encomium to Mr. Dattar to say that though he possesses little knowledge of books he has a wonderful brain as will be evident from his mode of training which

he had himself laid out and followed. What a wonder Mr. Dattar could have been, had he been in the hands of Springboke experts or of a great master of running! Mr. Dattar has undoubtedly reached a very high standard in athletics, though under very adverse circumstances, and we have been given to understand that he will be obliged to quit the track unless he is backed up sufficiently to keep in trim.

"Mr. Sadashiv Bishwanath Dattar was born at Sangli (150 miles south of Poona) in 1887 of poor, honest and respectable Brahmin parents," thus runs Mr. Dixit's letter to me. "His father started a modest primary vernacular school, which somehow enabled him to maintain himself, owing to the then very backward state of education, in the Sangli State. Sadashiv, the younger of his two sons, was clearly marked out from his boyhood, as a very active, naughty little fellow. While scarcely ten years of age young Sadashiv had the great misfortune of losing both his father and elder brother, who fell victims to the ravages of the inhuman scourge, which still devastates the Deccan, viz., the plague. With his primary education only half completed, Dattar had now to face the world, with scarcely anyone at his back, except his widowed mother. He soon found himself obliged to exchange his pen for a hammer owing to the stress of circumstances. He has ever since maintained a little workshop of his own, where he shapes brass and copper vessels, a commodity for which



Sadasiv Viswanath Dattar.

Sangli is particularly famous in Maharashtra, though it barely suffices him to maintain himself and his family.

"When very young he began to cultivate the habit of physical exercise. At first he took a fancy to wrestling, but soon found running more to his taste. He began his career in running from his fifteenth year and soon found that he could run a course of two miles in 15 to 20 minutes. A year more and he hit upon a plan by which he could continue his practice uninterruptedly. At a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Sangli, is an ancient temple of the God Siva, to which is imputed a special sanctity, owing to its being situated near the confluence of two rivers. Now Dattar took it into his head that if he could with religious scruple observe the practice of worshipping the holy Sangameshwar early at dawn, it would serve him a double purpose. Accordingly he has for the last ten years continued his practice of running to and from the temple, covering a distance of five miles within 25 minutes. As

it has been a part of his religion, he has never once failed in his daily practice; he would refuse to partake of the lightest refreshment, before he saw his God Siva. The first time when he became conscious of his powers, was three years ago, when he ran to a place of pilgrimage in the neighbourhood, covering 14 miles within an hour and a quarter. First he would not believe himself, but the second time, being accompanied by a cyclist friend of his, he was for the first time fully alive to his own potentialities. Some of his friends having arranged for his run at the annual sports conducted by the Deccan Gymkhana here, he ran over $27\frac{1}{4}$ miles in 3 hrs. 8 mts. in March 1915, and over 27 miles in 2 hrs. 59 mts. $2\frac{1}{4}$ secs. in September 1915.

"Mr. Dattar's running dress, as will be clear from his photograph, is very simple, consisting of a shirt (which he generally damps before running), a short dhoti, and a cap. His feet are bare and in his hands he holds a cudgel, which is useful to him in scaring off reptiles as it is generally dark when he begins his work in the morning.

"The secret of Mr. Dattar's success is his temperance, regularity and perseverance. His diet and manners are extremely simple. As a Maharashtra Brahmin, he is a strict vegetarian and teetotaler. He takes his food three times a day, every time it consisting of nothing but millet bread, rice, curry and a vegetable. He is not accustomed to bread of wheat-flour, or fruits or to nourishing articles like almonds, pistachios, etc., generally used by Indian wrestlers. His quantity of milk never exceeds $\frac{1}{2}$ seer. He seldom takes more than his fixed quantity of food, and has consequently known no disease during the last 15 years. He is not habituated to take tea or coffee. He smokes occasionally, but it is not a habit with him. He is a strict bachelor.

"Strange to say, before Dattar exhibited his running feats, he was long known to Sangli as the best swimmer in the neighbourhood. During the rainy seasons, he is in the habit of swimming for hours together, when the river Krishna overflows her sides. He would remain in water, for a wonderfully long time and perform the most amazing tricks in swimming. He finds himself perfectly at home in water and would occasionally swim alone in the dead of the night, on high floods. It is a pleasure to see him floating down the

current at times, with both his hands tied, or swimming with only one hand. Both in swimming and running, he is always very cool, his breath is very constant, and his energy so very indefatigable after his huge exertions.

"His measurements are :—

Height	5-3¾"
Chest	33¾"
Do. (expanded)	35½"
Neck	13"
Biceps	10¼"
Waist	28½"
Thigh	19½"
Calf	13"

It is obvious that Dattar labours under the natural disadvantage of height, as compared to European champions. He has received no training from an expert and had no partners or champions to help him in his efforts. He does not know the use of running pumps."

This is the short sketch of Dattar's life I have obtained from Mr. Dixit. It would be absolutely clear to my readers under what a great disadvantage this great athlete labours. I understand from another letter of Mr. Dixit that Dattar will have to retire soon from the athletic world only for want of money. He cannot go on training and at the same time maintain his family, which is impossible. Had he been born in Europe or America, he would have been in different circumstances but things are very different down here. As a recognition of his great efforts he has only received a gold medal, but that cannot help him along a bit. Now it is incum-

bent upon us that we should back him up and help him to keep in condition with whatever monetary help we can readily offer him, in return of which Dattar has offered to run either at Allahabad or Calcutta. I have failed to arrange for his run at Allahabad only for the lack of sporting spirit, which, I hope, the Calcutta public has enough in encouraging hockey and football. I have been requested to raise a fund for his next attempt at record breaking and if sufficient money is raised Dattar is ready to run at Calcutta this season. I appeal to the generosity of the public on his behalf through the medium of the *Modern Review*. All donations to this fund will be gratefully received by the Treasurer, The Allahabad and the Students' Sporting Clubs, Allahabad, or by Dattar's manager and friend, Mr. K. N. Dixit, M.A. 235 Budhwar, Poona City. If sufficient money is raised for backing Dattar, I shall come down to Calcutta with him and shall arrange matters. We shall put up a suitable prize, if Dattar succeeds in breaking the record and if he runs either at Allahabad or Calcutta. I do hope that the Secretary of the Calcutta Walking Association will please take up the matter in hand and help Dattar and myself in this noble cause. In the meantime I shall be very much gratified to correspond with him about the possibility of such a big run at Calcutta this season.

SACHINDRANATH MAZUMDAR.

C/o The Allahabad Sporting Club,
Allahabad.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Sikh and his new critics : our viewpoint.

BY MR. PURAN SINGH (DEHRA DUN).

MUCH has recently gone round the press on Sikhs and Sikhism. People have written books to prove that Sikhs were not Sikhs. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar and Sir Rabindranath Tagore are also amongst those who pity us. I cannot but smile at the utter ignorance of these great writers of the subject which they wish to clear up to the world. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar may be doing quite a good thing in

making Aurangzeb his historical study, but he could commit no greater blunder than to speak of our Gurus in the same strain.

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar has written a small article on Sikhs in the April Number of the *Modern Review*. He has also quoted therein with some pride a previous article by Sir Rabindranath Tagore on the militarisation of the Sikh nation by Guru Gobind Singh, which they both mourn as a great fall from the lofty spirituality of Guru Nanak. As both have joined in their ignorance, I must say that our ideals of the life of spirit are quite different. We do not think that the longing of man for a sweet undisturbed calm or an

exquisite sweetness of human relations is the only high form of blossoming of life. The best blossoming of life may not be so much the blowing of the rose and the scattering of the cherry-petals by the roving winds in space filled with the little drum-sounds of the human octaves, as in the earth-splitting thunderbolts of heaven and the Almighty dissoluteness of all that seems. The best song is not sung by man in dreams of an Ideal Sweetheart, but one sung in chorus with the universal dance of death. All other songs are out of tune. The varied sweet strains that we modify out of our seven fundamental notes are best lost in the greater and mightier harmony of the bitter yells of a thundering angry sea. We believe in the sweet flower-like face of Jesus, and it is as good and sweet to pass some time with him, but in Mohammad we meet him in a still more serious and intenser mood. We believe all great men are but moods of the same One Great Man, the *Guru*. He whom we call *Guru Nanak* is the Ancient Man who was, is and shall be. People of limited vision cannot see that it was Mohammad's mood which drove out the money changers from the temple of God. Mohammad's sword flashed in great and terrible awe of God. Mohammad could not express his spirit in any other way than to take up the sword. His kiss of sympathy on our cheeks is our sweet death. His mind is so highly intensified by his great love of his beautiful God that he begins killing people. We only need dare to understand his genius. Lord Gauranga had Krishna the War-God as his ideal. The Great Rama was a sword-wielder. We cannot look at things greater and higher than ourselves by standing where we are. Sir Tagore likes *Guru Nanak* because he does not know him beyond his being a sweet dreamy kind of an unitarian. I am sure if he knew him a little more, the present gamut of his mind will have nothing to do with him on the same ground and for the same reason which leads him to think that *Guru Gobind Singh* was a much lesser man than *Guru Nanak*.

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in his article uses our private legendary diaries only as far as this helps him to condemn us. We never wrote history as the Moslem genius did. We wished to write mythology like the ancients descriptive of our heroes and we failed because most of us were not literary men. To treat our private writings so useful to us as the beginning of the great mythology we yet have to write through life and through love, as historical material, is absurd. He is not the first who has tried to ridicule us. The very first is Macauliffe, who has given such a miserable view of us to the English-speaking world. I would not care for the Sikh and his religion if I were to look through the glasses of Macauliffe. What has been Macauliffe's great work? He took from us a beautiful living figure whose beauty thrills us by every little curve of her face and every little mole on her temples, and he brought it back to us saying "how beautiful!" It was the same thing, but alas! the thing was dead. He has not changed anything of the original, only he has killed it and it is now a lifeless corpse as it is in his English. It is a pity that men like Sir Tagore and Jadunath Sarkar studied the Sikh from such dead materials. They have not taken up the trouble of scaling up to the required altitude to look at the Sikh. Prof. Sarkar in his fury of a great theist has failed to see that the persons of the *Guru* are sacred to us. It is a sin to injure the feelings of another, even if they be developing round a stone. Ah! Prof. Sarkar should know if he worships a personal God with any feelings that our feelings alone name Him for us. There is no God but as we spell

Him through His Man and Nature. Some artists would prefer the landscape to the face of Man, others would prefer the face of man to the landscape, but pray, how do you spell or fashion your God? Feeling is all in all and how does he conclude that we cannot pour out our soul and all at the foot of our Men-Gurus with the jealousy of a theist which he has for his own thought-God. We may be fools in differing from him, but he must know if he has any feelings that feelings are always foolish. It is against the goodness of Sir Tagore and Prof. Jadunath Sarkar to have come all the way from Bengal to injure us like this. Prof. Sarkar blames *Guru Arjan Dev* for organising the Church of the Disciples—the Sikhs. He says, like a "petty trader" the *Guru* started a *Guru Treasury* which he never used even to save his own life. Prof. Sarkar cannot bear a man of God having so much pomp and prosperity round him. But on account of his small stature, he misses the deep renunciation in this realisation of kingdom within and without. Does he not know that the *Upanishads* say that prosperity and learning wait with folded hands at the door of a man of God? *Brahmavidya* and *Upanishads* originally belonged to the kings, the *Kshatriyas* and not to the beggars, the *Brahmins*. The *Guru* did not wish to be a king, he could not help it. Men greater than Sir Rabindranath and Prof. Sarkar gathered round him and crowned him their king. This is the first time we hear from Sir Rabindranath and his disciple Prof. Sarkar that it is such a heinous spiritual sin to be a king of the hearts of men. The greatest sinner then is He who subordinates even such a will as Christ's, and Christ gladly cries out in joy,—"Father! Thy will be done." This person, the Great *Guru Arjan Dev* whom we crowned a king, met us often as our very slave. He used to ask his wife to cook and carry bread for us on the roadside waiting to welcome us coming from far and feed us as we came and he would fan us with his own hands and wash our feet. He would worship us first before we had the time to recognise him as the highest object of our worship. He was a poor man. He was no king in the sense in which Prof. Sarkar takes him to be. He clad himself in a black blanket, he ate little and sang to us his divine songs. He would not accept the union of his son with the daughter of a proud rich man fond of this world and its pomp and he suffered death at the hands of this cruel and proud Hindu for that reason more than for the non-payment of a fine. As a matter of fact, *Guru Arjan Dev* rendered no assistance to *Khusro*. When *Khusro* was defeated in the battle of *Bharowal* all the adherents and supporters of *Khusro* were arrested in great number. It is evident from the records in *Jahangir Nama* that *Jahangir* was closely pursuing *Khusro*. *Jahangir* was at *Sultanpore* when *Khusro* reached *Lahore*. On the 15th (Ji-ul-haj) the battle of *Bharowal* was won and on the 30th *Jahangir* was at the garden of *Kamran* (*Lahore*). On the 3rd Moharram of 1015 Hijri, *Khusro* was produced before the Emperor. The latter remained in the garden of *Kamran* till the 9th. During these six days all adherents and supporters of *Khusro* about 600 persons, were executed by *Suli*. But up to this time, nothing was said against *Guru Arjan Dev Ji*. If the *Guru* had done anything for *Khusro*, it must have been out by this time. The Emperor was encamped in the *Guru Territory* *Taran Taran*, *Goindwal* and *Amritsar* for about two weeks after the battle of *Bharowal* and nothing transpired against the *Guru*. The spy system *Jahangir* being on the other hand so efficient that he

heard about the prayers having been offered by *Sheikh Nizam Benasri* while he was at Thanesar so near Delhi. For this crime, the Sheikh was sentenced to transportation to Mecca. It is therefore very striking that a man as famous as Guru Arjan Dev should not have been detected if he had openly helped Khusró or even prayed for him. The fact is that Chandu the Lahore Minister was waiting for an opportunity to wreak his vengeance on the Guru and it was he who got up a false charge against the Guru for his having anointed Khusró with a *tilak*. It is thus that he suffered more on account of the jealousy of Chandu, than for the political reasons. But even if it were the refusal to pay a heavy fine to the king out of the Guru's treasury, to save his life, it shows the man to everybody but not to Prof. Sarkar. Very strange, for him, he is a "Khatrí" with an eye on hoarding money and collecting pomp round his family.

The origin of "kingship" is there in the worship of man. If Gurus became our temporal kings, it is in the very nature of greatness and in the religion of "hero-worship" so deeply ingrained in human nature. For the mere reason of their having become temporal heads of the nation they created, it is grossly unjust on the part of Prof. Jadunath and Sir Rabindranath to call the Gurus as men who left their God and high ideals of Love and Life for mammon. Unless they thoroughly familiarise themselves with us and see with their own eyes the value of the worldly pomp that it had at the Guru's court, and unless they know with absolute certainty the inner life of the Gurus, they have no right to injure a neighbour nation taking advantage of their great position in the modern society.

The Sikh movement has been wholly misunderstood not only by Prof. Sarkar and Sir Rabindranath, but many of their type are this. Guru Nanak contemplated of no metaphysical God. God is everywhere, it is difficult to find a man and still rarer to find a good man of God with his face towards the Divine. Once when asked by ascetics why he (Guru Nanak) roamed about so sad of world, Guru Nanak replied he was roaming in search of a man of God. Guru Nanak's ideals of life are not what we think the highest ideals of a theist of to-day or what they call the ideals of the liberal religion of this scientific century. Nor are his ideals any akin to Kabir and Chaitanya or other Bhagats of medieval India that went before him in the light in which our critics see them. His ideals are the product of an highly original synthesis of the best in the Past with his own Realisation of the future religion of man. His synthesis is of such a grand nature as it can only be seen by a true idealistic agnostic like Goethe and not a theist so sectarian in his own notions of God and creation. In one word, Guru Nanak's religion is *continuous inspiration*, the keeping up of which in all the different spheres and conditions of life, *not one condition barred*, is the sole object of life on this earth. Guru Nanak's ideal is the ideal of the blossoming Bride. His renunciation is as of the Bride in the joys of love. That miserable pious self-sacrifice which is half-conscious of its high moral tone and is pathetic, so made by the pain of its renunciation and sadness for the love of the ideal, is discarded by Guru Nanak as trash. He insists on the ever-glowing inspiration of love, which if it is not there, nothing is there. In Guru Nanak's scheme of higher life of spirit, self-decoration is the highest renunciation. The Sikh is a *Satee*. On one side, his religion partakes of the sublime agnosticism of Buddha and on the

other of the beautiful Passions of the new Bride, and Guru Nanak's dance of joy, like the Siva's dance, is on the skull of man. Guru Nanak found his disciples in *Thugs* and highway robbers. He was the greatest man-maker ever born. He cared little for society and religion with all the prescribed codes. His friends were farmers, carpenters and masons. Guru Nanak refuses to see God but through His Nature and Man. His best art was to see Him through Man. He is the poet of Nature where the best scene is the Man of God. If Guru Nanak does not give proof of his being a man-worshipper to the Brahmins of Bengal, let them come and read with us our *gathas* where he presents a cocoanut and five pice to Angad his disciple, goes three times around him and lays his head at the disciple's feet and says "Thou art Guru Nanak." Sir Rabindranath and Prof. Jadunath will not like this because it is not quite theistic to do so. But show me a prophet who made another like himself as Guru Nanak did. These people's praise of Guru Nanak too is a sort of an unwilling concession. They think too much of their own education. Leaving aside the prophet Nanak, the very first poet born in the Punjab after the death-hush of centuries that intervened between the song of Guru Nanak and the songs of Vedárishtis sung on the banks of the Punjab rivers, the very first thinker in this world (historically speaking) on comparative religion (the Akbar-Abu-alfazel being the second and Raja Ram Mohan Roy the third) is given such scant praise by Prof. Jadunath as if the latter is even greater than Guru Nanak! Just imagine his saying "Even his (Guru Nanak's) hymns were mostly adapted from the sacred songs left behind by the monotheistic reformers of the past and had nothing distinctive." This is catholic theism run mad. Guru Nanak is the poet of Nature and Man. He is the master who knows every little string of the universal mind. I am sure Prof. Sarkar has not seen Guru Nanak's songs in original, otherwise he could not be so cruel as to call them adaptations from the "monotheistic reformers of the past." No. Guru Nanak looks straight into man and nature and his gaze is deep on the "Bridegroom." To him this world is the eternal marriage procession of the "Bridegroom." There is no second equal to him in this deep insight. Kalidas is but a reflection of Guru Nanak in his deep love of Nature. In no sense, can Kabir and Tukaram be said to come near him in his love of nature. He calls God the "*Kudrat Vasya*," the Presence in Nature. The morning reminds him of the first dawn of creation. The stars seen to him to be kindled by His breath. I could multiply examples of his classical poetry endlessly and I could challenge Prof. Sarkar to produce the clear cut crystalline thoughts expressed in single words such as "*Kudrat Vasya*," from any of his "monotheistic reformers of the past." Let him produce a line equivalent in beauty to any piece in Jaij and Keertan Sohila. Show me a piece anywhere as sublime as *Arti* of Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak's descriptions of man shall for ever remain unsurpassable. The wonder and worship of his mind, the celestial music of his lines, the solace-giving power of his hymns shall mark his poetry out of the other literatures of the world as the greatest comforter of man in distress and the greatest awakener of man in oblivion of *maya*. If by "sacred songs" is meant somewhat monotonous unpoetic songs, then I must say that Prof. Sarkar knows not the type of Guru Nanak's poetry. It differs from Kabir and Tukaram as 'eyes' differ

from "no eyes" in seeing Nature. Guru Nanak never touched his theme, but brought out the infinite music of his soul into the finite. Guru Nanak could not live *even a day* without the *Rabab* and the minstrel by his side to sing. He would call out "O Mardana! the Heaven's Voice cometh, strike thy *Rabab* and sing." Thus did he compose his songs under the stars of the sky in deep solitudes of his travels. Guru Arjan Dev calls Guru Nanak the *purusharasi* *Bairagi*, the man of renunciation and the man of aesthetic taste. As a man, Guru Nanak could not live without music. Such a man is called by Prof. Sarkar only an adapter of the "sacred songs left behind by the monotheistic reformers of the past."

Guru Nanak's personal God was Guru Angad, and Guru Angad's God was Guru Nanak. This man-worship of Guru Nanak is God-worship. No true theism can exist in the heart of man without the true man-worship. These theists talk against man-worship only as long as they do not come across a true man of God. Man-worship is the basis of religion. And pray, what is poetry even, without the highest of man-worship suffused in it somewhere and somehow? Does not Browning dimly feel this highest spiritual truth which forms the corner-stone of the Sikh worship, what though even if the modern Sikh fails to grasp its true significance?—

"All tended to Mankind,

And man produced, all has its end thus far ;

But in completed man begins anew

A tendency to God."

Prof. Sarkar in his theistic fervour of a sort of moral ideal raised within himself by his clean clairvoyant conscience falls foul with everything Sikh for he thinks they worship man, for he reads that polygamy was allowed and quotes that Guru Har Rai when a boy was collectively married to the seven daughters of a Sikh and is very shy of such things in our history. He compares a Sikh with a *Tantia Bhil* and calls him a plunderer and a political rebel, thus exonerating his beloved Aurangzeb for his tyranny towards the Sikhs. This injustice to the Sikhs has not been done even by his worst enemies. For example, see the opinion expressed in Jangnama by Qazi Nur Muhammed. In 1178 Hijri, Ahmad Shah Abdali invited Nasir-uddin the Khan of Qillat for his help in conquering the Punjab. The Khan of Qillat requisitioned the services of Qazi Nur Muhammed of the family of the famous Nizami, the author of the Shah Nama, to write the descriptions of his invasion of the Punjab. This book written by the said Qazi is entitled Jang Nama, its manuscript is in Balochistan, a copy of which was secured by Bhai Karam Singh of Patiala in his historical excursions, who has kindly supplied me this information and the reference about Guru Arjan Dev made above. Nur Muhammed calls the Sikhs not 'Sikh' but 'Sag' or 'Dog'. This appellation itself shows the bitter tone of his mind against the Sikhs. But even he is compelled to admire the character of the Sikhs. The following is the translation of his seven Persian couplets on the subject.

- (1) They fight not with the weak nor dishonour the fallen.
- (2) They do not touch the gold and jewellery belonging to the womenfolk. Nor do they anyway trouble the womankind.
- (3) Adultery is unknown in the sect of these "Dogs", nor do they steal nor rob.
- (4) They call all women whether young or old "Buriya" (the old woman).
- (5) There is no stealing with these dogs, nor ever a thief was born midst them.

(6) Nor do they have any friends amongst those who rob, steal, or commit adultery.

In all their deeds they are good.

(7) If you know not their religion, I tell you such is their religion.

Nur Muhammed should speak thus and Prof. Sarkar calls them "plunderers" and "Tantia Bhils". I fail to understand the absolutely unjust indignation of Prof. Sarkar against the Sikhs of Guru Gobind Singh, who have done so much service to the motherland in the cause of patriotism and religion.

Moreover Prof. Sarkar thinks that mere boys were made Gurus. He is evidently under the strange hallucination that the power of the spirit comes only to the grown up. Unless a man can talk and compose songs, according to him, he cannot be a king of men. As an Indian, he forgets the intensity of soul of a *Dhruva* and a *Prahlad* who were mere boys. He forgets that the greater Krishna is the child-Krishna and the boy-Krishna and not so much the philosopher and the king-Krishna. The wise men of the East bowed to the child-Jesus with much greater devotion than his own eleven when he was quite a full-fledged teacher. To be the teacher of men is a very small affair indeed and perhaps a thankless one! The laws of human love and heart-life are quite different from the rules of historic research, and Guru Gobind Singh was a mere boy when he ruled over the hearts of his disciples as a sweet Autocrat Divine. But Prof. Sarkar has not that personal affection for the Guru which could see that the child Jesus and the boy Prahlad may possibly be born quite near him in the Punjab within the last two or three centuries.

Sir Tagore thinks of the Khalsa as a "cantonment of mere soldiers". But from what he writes on the subject, it is certain that he has never been inside the cantonment nor has he ever made a personal study of the character of those whom he calls "mere soldiers." If things have come to this pass, let me inform Sir Tagore that many a man of his temperament and genius have roamed and are roaming still in the Khalsa cantonment with a beggar's bowl in hand begging for the spark of life to be made alive in the Name of God. As Emerson says, one may dream for centuries that he is making spiritual progress, but after centuries he may find that he is exactly where he was. All progress, he remarks truly, is by the grace of some one's "Lyrical glances".—(Emerson : on Inspiration.) Come! even now, let me show you the gleaming eyes under the old white Sikh brows that can cast on you that "lyrical glance" which one meets once in centuries. This is a "cantonment" but be not misled by mere names and appearances! These are the tents where gods dwell. One has just left us. Sant Sawaya Singh of Amritsar was a "burning gem", a man of "Lyrical glances". A Sikh saint sometimes ago lived near Mastwana, Jind. His name was known to no one. They called him "*Ghap Ghun*", as he emitted like a bird the sound "Rab Tun"—(Thou art God). It was wilderness then, it is a temple of God now built by the songs of another Saint Atar Singh who is amidst us in these days, keeping thousands of Sikhs spellbound by his presence and his Kirtan.

Nor can Prof. Jadunath see that all biographies and histories of spiritual geniuses are lies. No true man can be seen by any but by himself and even this latter is very doubtful. Unless a Goethe chooses to make a great self-sacrifice to give secrets of his life out in his writings for the good of man, no historian can paint for us his private character. All history on such matters is guess work. If any one wishes

to see what sublime heights of purity and human character lay at the feet of the Gurus,—all the ten Gurus not one less than the other—he should read their writings in original and then alone he can have a glimpse into their soul, which we call “Guru Nanak.” Guru Nanak of Bengal is not our Guru Nanak.

First of all, the story he quotes of Guru Har Rai being married collectively to the seven daughters of one Sikh is on the face of it absurd. What should be the ages of the eldest and the youngest? In those days, the girls were married very early. Supposing the eldest to be of 14 years, the youngest could hardly be two years old, taking an interval of two years. No sane man could believe this. But let us take the hypothetical girls and legend as it is, so wonderfully rendered by our great Renan, Mr. Macauliffe. I would stand by it, but Prof. Sarkar as an historian of his reputed critical faculty has no right to take such things as historical materials. In fact, there is no authentic historical material with the Sikhs, which can be passed as pure historical records as a whole, except the Manuscripts of Guru Grantha. There have been so many additions and alterations made in the original manuscripts of the *Sakhis*, by unscrupulous enemies of Sikhism and parties opposed to the Gurus that it is better to reject the most of them when discussing things so critically.

The immortal in us is our feelings of love. The cultivation of the highest feelings in our bosoms by gathering round a man of God is our daily and only worship. We know nothing more. A disciple's, a Sikh's getting up in the open Sikh congregation and offering with feelings unknown to us all his daughters to his God—Guru Har Rai—is a divine event in our diaries which poor old Macauliffe has missed and Prof. Jadunath has misread. For his information, I say, the feelings of the noble father rose out of the very soul of his daughters to be the Brides of Guru Nanak. The father could do no better service to his daughters. Our daughters, perhaps quite against the expectations of Prof. Sarkar, are not helpless children which a cruel father makes over to an indifferent husband according to his whim. Our daughters even as young children know the life-ideal of Guru Nanak and before it is sunrise, every morning, each one of them goes to the Guru and gets a greater sunrise in her soul through his grace. The expression of the uncontrollable feelings of love by that blessed disciple of Guru Nanak in this crude way, may strike Sir Rabindranath and Prof. Sarkar as savage but who dare deny that it is the highest religion?

What is it to “barter” a wife and a child if the Guru, God, wants a parrot? Ah! Prof. Sarkar knows not how is the kingdom of heaven won! If I can barter myself for the love of God and the Guru, I do not see any reason why I cannot barter all my own, even my wife and children provided I have made the latter through my strange love as near and dear to me as my own self. Ah! but mere “bartering” is quoted and the significance of the story is entirely omitted, perhaps not understood at all. The parrot-seller and his wife were struck dumb with the devotion of the Sikh. They honoured the Sikh lady and her child as if she were the Mother. The Guru hears of the event, he says to the Sikh “O Sikh! you have done a great cruelty to me.” The divine father runs to the side of his “bartered” daughter and his own grandchild. He brings them home and with them comes to the Guru the parrot-seller with all his family! The sublime devotion of one Sikh wins a whole family to the Sikh fold. This is the intensity

of love for God which alone appeals to us. What is Guru, if he is not God to us? The buying of a mer parrot in the name of God may sometime bring Heaven down while the whole shiploads of discipline minds may miss it. “Bartering” loses all its sting if the eyes are fixed on Him and in His Name goes everything and all, wife and children, friends and property. Our highest morality is this and not that which treats God at an arm's length and deals with Him like a gentleman or a lady of rank.

We read all our private diaries (containing similar sacred legends which we find scattered in all Eastern scriptures), which the critical world misuses as historical materials to ridicule us, only for kindling in us the life of feelings. Thinking in the modern sense is the death of the spirit, repeating as we do endlessly to each other what has been said so often. In those diaries we see nothing but one effulgent glory of God in whose iridescent brilliance we daily wish to die as mothers. Our daughters even as young as of five summers wish nothing better than to be the Brides of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh. St. Therese was the Bride of Christ. She openly said so. In a similar way if we are Sikhs, our daughters still aspire after no higher God. To us, intense love is religion. Moti defines for us our conduct. We do not wish to know more, nor do we ever trust any codes of moral life. When Oodho bidden by Krishna—the King and the Philosopher—came to console the Gopikas of Brindaban and to advise them to worship God, they promptly replied:

“Oodho! Our hearts are not ten nor twenty!

We had only one, which has been stolen out of us by Krishna!

Go back and tell him, we cannot worship God!”

Prof. Sarkar quotes Bhai Guru Das and translates a portion of a hymn sung by him and tries to condemn us as stupid man-worshippers not knowing that the particular hymn of Bhai Guru Das puts the best of the highest possible religion of man in a brief compass. Let me inform Prof. Sarkar that the sentiments and thoughts of the highest poems in “Gitanjali” and “Gardener,” though not of the same richness of the word-perfume, just rise high enough to merge on the mystic heights into the sentiments of Bhai Guru Das. Bhai Guru Das is a great mystic poet. He sees in Sikhs what Tolstoy saw in peasants of Russia and in their blind faith in which Tolstoy found greater solace than in the whole of the learned solemn church. Bhai Guru Das sings like a poet interpreting the people and their life and not preaching a new religion to enslave man. When we differ so much, I need not stay to argue with Prof. Sarkar and Sir Rabindranath. I only say that the Odinic genius of Guru Nanak was even too much for Guru Nanak himself to allow him of a fair expression. It took ten different generations to complete its repetition of the eternal alphabet of love. All our Gurus are Gurus, though Prof. Sarkar and Sir Rabindranath do not know this. Bhai Budha whom Prof. Sarkar brings as his witness is known more to us than to him. He might have enquired of the Guru the meaning of the sword, but then he put his hoary head forever at the feet of the Guru, because Bhai Budha saw Guru Nanak where Prof. Sarkar sees a military nobleman. Guru Ear Kishen when giving up his physical vehicle at Delhi, the child-Harkishen said to the Sikhs, “Guru Nanak is at *Bakala*.” This child Guru saw what even men like Bhai Budha were not given to see. Guru Har Gobind was Guru Nanak of Bhai Budha. The life-long devotion of Bhai Budha to

Guru Har Gobind is much greater testimony of the lofty spirituality of Guru Har Gobind than a casual question or even a doubt of his own expressed to the Guru as reported. Bhai Budha was the disciple of Gurú Nanak. He had seen all the five Gurus succeeding Guru Nanak. A saint of his independent nature must have revolted if what Prof. Jadunath says were true. But why should Prof. Sarkar study this side of the question? In this connection, I point out here that it is nothing but an unconscious misrepresentation for Prof. Jadunath to say that Guru Tegh Bahadur "succeeded in being recognised as Guru by most of the Sikhs." This suggests as if he ever sought it! Guru Tegh Bahadur lived in such sublime isolation that he was called "Mad Tegha." Nobody could notice him. It was the miracle of the Sikh devotion that found him out and forcibly crowned him a king.

The personality of Guru Gobind Singh is the Almighty Peal of the sweet murmurs of Guru Nanak. Here are not the ordinary prophets of God whom everybody can praise and understand. They are those beings of inscrutable destiny to read whose character with any satisfaction of soul, the great ones wrote the Hindu and the Norse mythology for centuries and developed all those mystic arts for a partial expression of it, the arts the deciphering of whose lines and curves today constitutes the present-day genius of ours! I am sorry the poor dumb Sikh chroniclers have not yet had time enough to write sufficient mythology in the praise of their Gurus. What little these simple farmers of the Punjab wrote was so foolishly omitted by our friend Macauliffe. In his English translation we have mere bones before us. Perhaps it is impossible to translate Guru Granth, the songs of Guru Nanak into English, so imperfect is the language for the interpretation of the poetry of Guru Nanak. Some people have said in the newspapers that Guru Govind Singh was just another Shivaji of the Punjab. This is exactly the same insult which these luminaries of Bengal have offered us. We feel injured and we refuse to look at these puerile statements. What was Shivaji but an ordinary soldier of Guru Govind Singh minus his spirituality. Shivaji may be great politically, but it is fetish worship if we raise him in the eyes of the nation as a spiritual genius. All these learned scholars have combined to injure our feelings because Guru Govind Singh is much too high for them to understand. Sir Rabindranath as an unitarian has missed in his life the deep spiritual life that lies hidden in the man-worship of Guru Nanak.

If things were said about us, the present day Sikhs, we will welcome the brotherly wisdom from Bengal. But we strongly resent such unworthy things being said about the race of men that has gone before us. It is very painful to see that the keen-edged intellectual people of India sacrifice the best of human relations at the altar of this heartless goddess, the carping intellect. How can we love you as brothers, when you drive us mad in defence of the highest verity of our soul? Life is nothing to us, if you touch us there, what to say of ideals and principles which are meant only to serve us only to live by. Man lives for one unknown thing hidden somewhere in him as the verity of his life. If you wish to spread peace, love and unity amongst mankind, do not touch man, even the poorest and the weakest, on that point in spite of your intellectual doubts, moral persuasions and high motives, for he would prefer death to this treatment. The wisdom of a neighbour lies in mutual respect of this sacred centre in man round which he revolves.

If a sympathetic student of the subject of genius

were to study the life of *Akalees* that once were and alas! are no more, he will stand aghast at the sublime spirit so suddenly awakened by the touch of the genius of Guru Gobind Singh. What are the Ironsides of a Cromwell, even as compared with the *Akalees*? Mere sea-spray against the rock! The devotional intensity of a *Billa-mangala*, the heroic recklessness of a Samurai of Japan, the richness of the spirit of a Diogenes, the mastery over self and senses as of a great Hindu Yogi, the mystic life of an Augustine, add all these and you come near a Sikh!

Feeling of religion was so intense and great that death was nothing to the Sikhs. Bhai Mani Singh was cut to pieces bit by bit and his face lost not the calm repose of "Naming Him". No historian can give one single instance of a Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh having ever given up his faith in temptation of a rich earthly life as a Moslem! The mothers would go with their innocent children to be willingly cut down while bathing in the sacred tank of the golden temple of Amritsar. Great mothers will make rejoicings and offer thanks to God at the death of their only sons in the holy cause of the Guru. To a real student, the story of an ordinary common Sikh would astonish him. He will see a saint concealed in silence,—a veritable king of men dressed in rags! Ah! He will see a teacher of men concealed from the vulgar ken by the ordinary practical life of a common man. Come, I will show you poets and saints in carpenters and masons. I will show you adepts in labourers. I will show you goddesses in ordinary poor Sikh girls. Come, I will show you the grand civilisation of the illiterate! Thank God that for the first time in the history of India, we Sikhs have forgotten that each one of us is a teacher and a God or that each one has finally to be one. We have learned well to obey, to dare and to die. There are living masters in the dumb singing Khalsa even of today, who would light fire in your soul and go away without even looking at you. They hide themselves from you.

Is this fanaticism? Well, Religion ceases to be an inspiration without it. Look at the fanaticism of Prof. Sarkar and Sir Rabindranath for what they consider spirituality and religion and they are incapable of seeing our view-point. It is in the nature of religion and every true religious man must boldly stand by some kind of religious madness.

Sir Rabindranath thinks, we as a nation are bankrupted because no teacher amongst us has been foolish enough to earn a reputation in Bengal. This opinion of his is the denial of very God! That spark which made Lord Chaitanya throw away a load of worthless books, the same pile which Prof. Sarkar is so laboriously making again, we nestle within ourselves. The Sikh saint still kindles the human heart. The Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh is a study and I believe the best study in the religious world. Okakura will appreciate him better than the outworn Hindu whose ideas of spiritual life have become so hopelessly confused and unhealthy. The life spiritual is known better to the agnostic artists of Japan than to the believing theists of India. Life in its infinitude and in its rough stormy vastness is too savage to be contained in the lines so deeply cut in our brains by the pen-knives of the modern education, the brains that have grown so sectarian that they have become incapable of thinking in any other possible direction. Killing is better than kissing in the eternal laws of Love. Let me have enough passion in my soul and I will get up and kill straight the very person I love most. Kissing and caressing, loving and longing,

are just expressions of that small portion of the octave of love on which poor man can lay his fingers to get out a sort of music for himself. But death and dissolution when brought in by Mohommed and Guru Govind Singh is our Salvation. It may seem war and bloodshed, but the wise know that it is only a great soul in serious Divine agitation. Guru Govind Singh is Guru Nanak in still greater glory and in a still mightier flash!

Guru Govind Singh understood Guru Nanak in a way in which nobody else in the world can ever understand! What he is to him, nobody else can be.

I was present when we asked Vivekananda about our Man, l'Homme, and I saw he became a poet of Guru Govinda Singh there and then. We asked Bhai Nand Lal from Afghanistan, the great scholar reputed for his learning in his age, and we know he laid his head at the feet of Guru Govind Singh and then never raised it again from there. Bhai Nand Lal is the great mystic poet of the time of Guru Govind Singh. His poems descriptive of Guru Govind Singh are pearls of soul as of a Vedic Rishi to the dawn. This man knew him, ask him, what Guru Govind Singh is?

To go out of their way and to talk without much meaning and use of such sacred things in the way and in the language in which Prof. Sarkar and Sir Rabindranath have chosen to speak of them, clearly proves to us the utter bankruptcy of soul that the modern liberal religious thought causes even in such high quarters. It is a sheer disappointment to us to see the failure of Prof. Sarkar and Sir Rabindranath Tagore to appreciate the high spirituality of the Sikh and his Gurus. We attach no weight to their opinions, as to us Sir Rabindranath and Prof. Sarkar seem to be talking like two unitarians from America or England whose ideal is but a shapeless haze, absolutely unfamiliar with the intensity of our oriental soul.

Verily, we say, we are man-worshippers, we are idol-worshippers, but show us the God or Gods you worship.

Resist not evil or अहिंसा।

Jesus Christ said "Resist not evil." Tolstoy has shown that Jesus meant it *literally*. Jesus condemned anger *unconditionally*. Tolstoy pointed out that the phrase "without a cause" was interpolated by worldly wise improvers of Christ's teaching in the sentence 'He who is angry with his brother [without a cause] is in danger of the judgment.' You are never to be angry, not even under grave provocation. It is worthy of note that the new version of the English Bible does not contain the words 'without a cause,' though the authorised version has them; and this is due to Tolstoy's labours in biblical criticism.

Now, can it be said that Jesus was right when he preached this doctrine? Would Belgium have been right to turn her right cheek to the German, when he slapped her on the left cheek? Tolstoy would have said 'yes.' The well-known Cambridge writer Bertrand Russel has said 'yes'.

What would Hindus say? What would Krishna have said? Krishna said in the *Gita* most unequivocally that War is a sacred duty in defence of Right. The other Hindu Sastras say the same thing.

Hinduism also teaches the doctrine of 'resist not evil or ineffable love' भक्तिरयमिचारिणी i. e. you are to

love your enemies even: your love or *bhakti* must not have any exception or *vyabhichara*. But this is meant for *Sannyasis*: for those who have left the world and who have given *abhaya* to all creatures. [In modern language, men of religion, priests and monks and nuns are not to fight even for a right cause.] All others, whether Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Sudras, ought to resist evil.

I have a suspicion that Christ's teaching has been borrowed from the teachings of the fourth *asrama* in India, and that his followers or rather those who profess to follow him, have wrongly given a universal character to Christ's teachings which could only be meant for those who left their families and adopted the fourth *asrama*. Even modern *Sannyasis* [and these are undoubtedly of Jesus's type] preach as if they want every man to become a *Sannyasin*. "Well, if every man becomes a *Sannyasin*, the world would soon cease to contain any man." "Yes. But notwithstanding our preaching, the vast majority will remain in the world and have remained in the world. Hence our preaching is no evil. Similarly Christ Jesus might say "notwithstanding my teaching—resist not evil—the majority will resist evil. I meant it as an ideal to be literally followed only by monks. I did not mean it for the people of Belgium at all."

Universal *ahimsa* is also an ideal. It is pragmatically justified by its results and might be taught as if it were wholly true.

Ahimsa and *paropakara* are the two sides of the same ideal of universal love सर्वेषु भूतेषु भक्तिरयमिचारिणी। The present Hindu society unduly emphasises the former. To say that अहिंसा has a positive side is to force unyielding facts into too narrow theories. *Ahimsa* is negative; *upakara* is positive. नोपकारात् परं पुण्य must be joined to मा हिंसा सर्वान् भूतानि to get a complete idea of love or *bhakti*.

BANAMALI CHAKRABARTI.

HOPE'S AWAKENING

BY NAWAB SIR SYUD WASIF ALI MEERZA BAHADUR OF MURSHIDABAD.

The day is done and night creeps on,
See the birds are homeward flying,
The leaves on which the sun has shone
Sigh because the day is dying.

How peaceful seems the world at rest
Enwapt in darkness all around ;
Shadows creep down the hill's high crest
With silent steps to tread the ground.

In darkness dwell conceal'd from sight
All works of Nature's tender care ;
Beyond recall seems Heaven's light ;
Cover'd in gloom the world doth wear

A cheerless countenance. But lo !
Night's gloom heralds a coming morn—
A less'n of patience in sorrow,
Of suff'ring is heav'nly peace born.

Soul-refreshing thoughts soon prevail
When fortune smiles on dark despair ;
Where sorrow reign'd sweet joy doth dwell.
After weary night a day-break fair.

Perch'd on the tree the Bulbul sings
To the silvery lake alone :
Borne by the breeze its echo brings
Cheer to sad hearts that in silence mourn.

MISLEADING EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS

IN the 100th number of this Review, i.e., for April 1915, it was clearly shown how the figure of 15 per cent. assumed by the Government Education Department as representing the proportion of school-going-age population to the total population of India was misleading and an under-estimate. "School" in official language includes schools of all sorts, primary, secondary, technical and colleges and universities. From figures of population actually at school in the several states of U. S. of America and in the various countries of Europe and Australia it was conclusively proved that the figure varied between 23 and 24 and much shorter than that in American and European countries which is between 15 and 27 per cent. and that therefore the probable figure for such percentage in India ought to be rather 30 than 15. In India the average life is only between 40 and 50 and therefore the proportion of school-going-age population, i.e., population of say between 6 and 20 years of age to the total population, must be much greater in this country than in coun-

tries where average life is much longer. However, leaving this consideration of the effect of average life on educational statistics aside and going only from the figures of population actually at school in those advanced countries it is quite evident that the 15 per cent. figure assumed is obviously an under-estimate and in fairness and truth should be corrected by the Government as early as possible to the more probable figure of 30. If the figure of 15 per cent is assumed to represent only *primary* school-age population, i.e., between the years of 6 and 12 it is very near the truth as shown from 1911 census figures by Hon. Mr. H. Sharp in "Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912" Vol. I, p. 15. He says :

"The school-going population has been calculated in India as 15 per cent. of the population. Doubts have recently been cast upon this conventional figure.

.....
On the one hand, in a country which is tropical and sub-tropical the proportion of the population contained in the earlier age-periods is larger than in cold climates.....

"The primary course (and this is all that need be considered) ordinarily occupies from 5 to 6 years ; and the average age of school-life is from the comple-

tion of the fifth to the completion of the eleventh or twelfth year. These ages include (if we reckon to the end of the eleventh year) 13·7 per cent of the population, (if we reckon to the end of the twelfth year) just below 16 per cent. The old figure of 15 per cent. may therefore be taken as fairly correct."

How he jumps *at once* from 15 per cent as representing *primary*-school-age population to representing *all*-school-age population is a feat of jugglery which cannot be understood by the reasoning power of an ordinary human being.

In this note an attempt is made to prove the incorrectness of the figure of 15 per cent from the figures of male population actually at school in several Municipal areas in the Madras Presidency on 1st April 1915, taken from the official Report on Public Instruction. Had education of girls advanced in this country as much as that of boys, which it unfortunately has not, figures for education of female population would have been equally high, and therefore of total population. But the conclusion with regard to the percentage derived from figures of education of male population of any country stands good without the least modification for education of total population of that country.

Madras Presidency has more of its population urban than Bengal but less than Bombay. In Bombay one person in every 5 living in that presidency lives in towns, in Madras 1 in 8½ and in Bengal 1 in 15½. Thus nearly 12 per cent of the total population of Madras Presidency lives in towns or Municipal areas. There are 64 such areas in the presidency including the city of Madras. Now out of these 64 areas as many as 47 or nearly three quarters have their school-going population above 15 per cent of their respective total population. Here school is taken to mean, as in official language, all schools and colleges. Is this not a startling fact that in 47 Municipal towns out of 64 in the Madras Presidency more than 15 per cent of the total population of the towns, i.e., more than the maximum ever attainable in the opinion of the Education Department, is already at school on the voluntary system? If compulsion by law, even for the primary stage of education, be resorted to in these areas, the percentage will be still higher and the supposed maximum of 15 per cent. will be left far far behind the actual percentage which the school population in those and other towns may then attain. Is this not enough to show

without a shred of doubt that the maximum of 15 per cent assumed by the department is a gross underestimate? I give below the table of the more populous of these fortunate 46 towns, and where more than the maximum number of boys are already receiving education and where there is no scope for more boys being brought to school in the opinion of the Department.

No.	Name of the town.	Total population.	Total male population.	Male population actually at school.	Percentage of male population at school.
1	Trichinopoly	1,23,512	61,560	11,427	18·5
2	Calicut	78,417	40,680	6,821	15·8
3	Kumbakonam	64,647	31,327	5,593	17·5
4	Tanjore	60,341	28,777	5,427	18·9
5	Salem	59,153	29,232	5,518	18·9
6	Cocanada	54,110	26,629	4,642	17·4
7	Vellore	49,746	23,831	4,169	17·5
8	Rajahmundry	48,417	23,761	4,424	18·6
9	Mangalore	48,412	25,129	5,547	22·1
10	Coimbatore	47,007	23,399	5,428	23·2
11	Pallamcottah	44,909	21,231	3,695	17·4
12	Tinnevely	44,805	21,246	4,200	19·8
13	Palghat	44,319	21,776	3,669	16·7
14	Vizagapatam	43,413	21,465	4,285	20·0
15	Masulipatam	42,123	20,536	4,311	21·0
16	Guntur	40,529	20,826	3,846	18·5
17	Ellore	37,819	18,302	2,975	16·3
18	Vizianagram	37,550	17,897	3,932	22·0
19	Nellore	33,246	16,180	2,865	17·7
20	Bezwada	32,867	17,026	2,654	15·0
21	Berhampur	31,456	15,331	2,577	16·8
22	Tellicherry	29,258	14,275	2,948	21·4
23	Cannanore	28,957	14,241	2,294	16·1
24	Mayavaram	27,121	13,264	2,869	21·6
25	Kurnool	26,040	12,766	2,757	21·6
26	Dindigal	25,052	12,720	2,290	18·0

Some one will argue that there is a source of error in the calculations given above and it is that boys migrating from villages to the towns mentioned above and staying there temporarily for study in high schools and colleges are included and their number ought to be eliminated to arrive at the correct percentage in the last column. This is no doubt correct. If figures of such boys were available, they should no doubt be deducted from figures in column 5 and the percentage in column 6 would be reduced to that extent. But this reduction would be very slight, not more than 1 to 2 per cent. Out of the 15 to 23 per cent male population shown in column 6, 9 to 14 per cent are made up by students of elementary and private schools only, the remaining 6 to 9 per cent being made up of boys studying in Secondary schools and colleges. At a rough estimate we can say that not more than one quarter of the total number of boys studying in all secondary schools and colleges came from

outside the Municipal areas, and hence a deduction of $\frac{1}{4}$ of 6 to 9 per cent, or say 2 per cent, should be made in order to eliminate any possible error due to temporary residence of village boys as pupils in the towns. Even after making this fairly liberal allowance of 2 per cent the 46 towns have 13 to 21 per cent, and in cases of some smaller towns more than 21 per cent, of their male population actually at school, a state of things approximating the ideal, or having gone beyond the ideal aimed at by the education department. Surely there is something wrong with this ideal, as it is too much to believe, though told to do so by the Education Department of the Government of India, that several large towns in the Madras Presidency, with their industrial and illiterate masses, have by the purely voluntary system gone much beyond the haven of education, and that there is no scope in these happy cities for a Compulsory Education Act. It is now high time for the department to change its maximum of school-age population from 15 per cent to 30 per cent of total population.

Madras and Madura are the largest cities in Madras Presidency, the former having a population of 5,18,660 and the latter 1,34,130. It is a well known fact

that in very large towns, there is always a much larger proportion of labouring and therefore illiterate population than in less populous towns of, say, 25,000 to one lakh. The city of Bombay with nearly a million souls has smaller percentage of its population at school than Ahmedabad, Karachi, Poona and Surat which have a population of one lakh to two and a quarter lakhs, and still smaller than towns having a population of less than a lakh of souls. Notwithstanding this fact Madras and Madura have 14.0 and 14.5 per cent of their population respectively at school, which is practically saying that in spite of their unfavourable circumstances with regard to mass education they have nearly reached the goal of education set before us by our rulers. We may hope that at the time of the publication of the next quinquennial report on education in India, i.e., for the period 1912-17 this gross underestimate of the maximum population that can be at school will be rectified and that educational statistics will be shown in their true dimensions and not double of what they actually are.

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY DR. PRAMATHANATH BANERJI, M.A. (CAL.) D.SC. (LONDON).

In early Vedic times justice was administered by the tribe and clan assemblies, and the judicial procedure was very simple.¹ But with the extension of the

functions of the State and the growth of the royal powers, the King came gradually to be regarded as the fountain of justice,² and a more or less elaborate system of judicial administration came into existence.

According to Brihaspati, "judicial

1 Prof. Macdonell says: "(In the early Vedic Age) there is no trace of an organised criminal justice vested either in the King or in the people. There still seems to have prevailed the system of wergeld (Vaira), which indicates that criminal justice seems to have remained in the hands of those who were wronged. In the Sutras, on the other hand, the King's peace is recognised as infringed, a penalty being paid to him, or according to the Brahminical text-books, to the Brahmins. It may, therefore, reasonably be conjectured that the royal power of jurisdiction steadily increased; the references in the Satapatha-Brahmana to the King as wielding

punishment (Danda) confirm this supposition. Vedic Index. I. Pp. 391-392.

He adds that there is very little recorded as to civil law or procedure in early Vedic literature.

2 "The King is the fountain-head of justice." Narada, (Jolly), Legal Procedure, III. 7. But Brihaspati says: "A Brahmana is the root of the tree of justice; the sovereign prince is its stem and branches; the ministers are its leaves and blossoms; and just government is its fruit." I. 34.

assemblies are of four sorts: stationary, not stationary, furnished with the King's signet ring, and directed (by the King). The judges are of as many sorts. A stationary court meets in a town or village; one not stationary is called movable; one furnished with (the King's) signet ring is superintended by the Chief Judge; one directed is held in the King's presence."¹

Narada says: "Family meetings (kula), corporations (sreni), village assemblies (gana), one appointed (by the King), and the King (himself) are invested with the power to decide lawsuits; and of these, each succeeding is superior to the one preceding it in order."²

At the head of the judicial system stood the King's Court. This Court was held at the capital, and was presided over, sometimes by the King himself, but more often by a learned Brahmana appointed for the purpose, who was known as the Adhyaksha or Sabhapati. The Adhyaksha, perhaps originally selected for each particular occasion, in course of time became a permanent Officer-of-State, and held the position of the Chief Justice (Pradvivaka) of the realm. The King, together with the Pradvivaka and three or four other judges (dharmikah), formed the highest Court of Justice.³ It was, however, the Chief Justice who in reality presided over the King's Court, even when the King was present. Narada says: "Attending to the dictates of the law book and adhering to the opinion of his Chief Justice, let him (i.e. the King) try causes in due order, exhibiting great care."⁴ Brihaspati describes the respective duties of the different members of the King's Court in these words: "The Chief Justice decides causes: the King inflicts punishments: the judges investigate the merits of the case."⁵ The

number of judges varied. According to Manu, three judges, besides the Chief Justice, were enough to form a court, but Chanakya held that the judicial assembly should consist of six persons,—three Officers-of-State, and three other learned persons.¹ According to the Sukraniti, the number of judges was to be uneven,—seven, five, or three.

The jury system, as it now prevails in the European countries, is somewhat different from what prevailed in Ancient India. The three or five members of the judicial assembly acted as jurors as well as judges, but the final decision rested with the Chief Judge. There is, however, one point on which we still require more light. It seems that, besides the members of the assembly, other persons present in court were permitted, on certain occasions, to offer their opinions. Narada says: "Whether authorised or unauthorised, one acquainted with the law shall give his opinion. He passes a divine sentence who acts up to the dictates of law."² The Sukraniti quotes this passage with approval, and adds: "Duly qualified merchants should be made hearers."³ The Sukraniti also quotes another passage from the Smritis, namely, "Either the court-house should not be entered, or the right word should be said. A man who does not speak, or speaks unjustly, incurs sin." The point is not clear, and we wonder how the custom, if it existed at all, worked in practice.

The Chief Justice and the puisne judges were chosen in view of their eminent character and deep learning.⁴ They were,

the judicial assembly)." Manu, VIII. 10. The Sukraniti also says that the chief judge should sit with the members of the judicial assembly (sabya sabha) to decide cases. II. 96.

1 Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 1.

2 Narada, Legal Procedure, III. 2.

3 Sukraniti, IV. 5, 27.

4 "The King should appoint as judges persons who are well versed in the Vedas and the other branches of learning, who are acquainted with the Sacred Law, and who are truthful and impartial towards friends and foes." Yajnavalkya, II. 2-3. Cf. Brihaspati, I. 29-30, and Sukraniti, IV. 5, 14. Narada says: "He is called a (Pradvivaka or) chief judge who—fully acquainted with the eighteen titles (of law) and with the eight thousand subdivisions thereof, skilled in logic and other branches of science, and thoroughly versed in revealed and traditional lore—investigates the law relative to the case in hand by putting questions (prat) and passing a decision (vivecayati) according to what was heard or understood by him." Quotations from Narada, I. 1-2. Books of the East, Vol. XXXIII.

1 Brihaspati, I. 2-3.

2 Legal Procedure (Jolly), 7.

3 Manu says: "A King desirous of investigating law cases must enter his Court of Justice, preserving a dignified demeanour, together with Brahmanas and experienced councillors. There, either seated or standing, raising his right arm, without ostentation of his dress or ornaments, let him examine the business of suitors." VIII. 1-2.

Yajnavalkya says: "The King, putting aside wrath and covetousness, should decide cases with the assistance of learned Brahmanas and in accordance with law." II. 1. According to the Sukraniti, the King was never to try cases alone and by himself.

4 Narada (Jolly), Legal Procedure, 35.

5 Brihaspati, I. 6. "He (the Adhyaksha) should decide cases with the assistance of three members (of

as a rule, Brahmanas, but sometimes a few of them were selected from the other castes.

The King's Court, it seems, had two sorts of jurisdiction, namely, original and appellate. As an original court it tried all cases which arose within the boundaries of the capital. On its appellate side it was the highest Court of Appeal for all cases which were triable in the first instance by the inferior courts.¹ The King's Court also exercised a sort of general supervision over the administration of justice throughout the country.

Next in importance to the King's Court were the principal courts held in the important centres² and in the larger towns forming the headquarters of districts or sub-districts.³ The constitution of these courts was very similar to that of the King's Court. Royal officers, assisted by persons learned in the law, administered justice in these courts. They were presided over by adhyakshas appointed by the Central Government. They had original jurisdiction in respect of all cases arising within the boundaries of the towns in which they sat, and also of the more important civil and criminal cases occurring in the neighbouring villages. And it seems that they had a sort of appellate jurisdiction over the decisions of the lower courts within the districts or sub-districts of which the towns formed the headquarters.

As a rule, the same courts tried both civil and criminal cases. The Smṛiti works do not draw any distinction between civil and criminal courts. But Chanakya mentions, besides the ordinary law courts (dharmasthiya), a class of "courts for the removal of the thorns of the state" (Kantaka-sodhana). These latter were what may be called administrative courts. They were presided over by three Officers-of-State,⁴ and dealt with offences which affected not so much the rights of individuals as the interests of the community, and interfered with the proper government of the realm.⁵

1 Brihaspati, I. 30.

2 'Janapada-sandhi,' Arthashastra, Bk. II. Ch. 36.

3 'Sangraha,' 'dronamukha,' 'sthaniya,' Arthashastra, Bk. II. ch. 36.

4 These officials were to be either ministers (amatyah) or directors (pradestarah). Arthashastra, Bk. IV. ch. 1.

5 Arthashastra, Bk. IV., deals with cases which were triable by these administrative courts.

Besides these courts, each village had its local court, which was composed of the headman and the elders of the village.¹ Such courts decided minor criminal cases, such as petty thefts, as well as civil suits of a trifling nature, like disputes relating to the boundaries of lands situated within the village.² Their powers it seems, were limited to the transfer of the possession of property and the inflicting of small fines. Decisions in these courts were given in accordance with the opinion of the majority of honest persons composing the courts.³ The idea of a system of local courts for the disposal of cases seems to have been firmly rooted in the minds of the people. The Sukraniti says: "They are the (best) judges of the merits of a case who live in the place where the accused person resides, and where the subject-matter of the dispute has arisen."⁴ Brihaspati goes so far as to recommend that "for persons roaming in the forest a court should be held in the forest, for warriors in the camp, and for merchants in the caravan."⁵ And it seems that this recommendation was, at least on many occasions, carried into effect for the convenience of suitors. From a Ceylon inscription we learn that itinerant justices from the capital used to visit different parts of the island for the disposal of cases and for the purpose of supervising the system of administration of justice.⁶ It

1 'Grama-vriddhah,' Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 9.

2 A flood of light is thrown on the system of administration of justice in Ceylon by the Vevalakatiya Slab-inscription of Mahinda IV. (1026-1042 A.D.). From this inscription we learn that within the Dasagama justice was administered by means of a Communal Court composed of headmen and responsible householders subject to the authority of the King in Council, and that this Court had the power to try all cases and to inflict even the extreme punishment of death. It runs thus: "... They (the headmen and the householders) shall sit in session and enquire of the inhabitants of the Dasagam (in regard to these crimes). The proceedings of the enquiry having been so recorded that the same may be produced (thereafter), they shall have the murderer punished with death. Out of the property taken by the thieves by violence, they shall have such things as have been identified restored to their respective owners, and have (the thieves) hanged. . . ." Epigraphia Zeylonica, Vol. I. No. 21.

3 "Yato bahavah suchayo" numatava tato niyachcheyuh." Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 9.

4 IV. 5, 24.

5 Brihaspati, I. 25.

6 The passage runs thus: "Should the inhabitants of these Dasagam villages have transgressed any of the rules stated (above) the royal officials who go annually (on circuit) to administer justice (in the country) shall . . ." Epigraphia Zeylonica, Vol. I. No. 21.

is very probable that a similar system existed in India also.

The work of the regular courts was greatly lightened by arbitrators. All cases, except those concerning violent crimes, could be decided by arbitration by guilds of artisans, assemblies of co-habitants, meetings of religious sects, and by other bodies duly authorised by the King.¹ Narada is a great believer in the system of arbitration, and he says: "(In disputes) among merchants, artisans or the like persons, and in (disputes concerning) persons subsisting by agriculture or as dyers, it is impossible for outsiders to pass a sentence; and the passing of the sentence must, therefore, be entrusted to persons acquainted with such matters (in a cause of this sort)." This system had the great merit of giving substantial justice to the disputants and, at the same time, preventing ruinous litigation.

The relations subsisting between the different kinds of courts are thus described by Brihaspati: "When a cause has not been (duly) investigated by (meetings of) kindred, it should be decided after due deliberation by companies (of artisans); when it has not been duly examined by companies (of artisans), it should be decided by assemblies (of co-habitants); and when it has not been (sufficiently) made out by such assemblies (it should be) tried by appointed (judges)."² And again, "Judges are superior in authority to (meetings of) kindred and the rest: the chief judge is placed above them; and the King is superior to all, because he passes just sentences" (Yajnavalkya).³ Narada⁴ also describes these relations in terms almost identical with those used by Brihaspati. A gatha quoted by Asahaya in his commentary of Narada runs thus: "A case tried in the village (assembly) goes (on appeal) to the city (court); and one tried in the city (court) goes (on appeal) to the King

(i.e. the King's Court); but there is no appeal from the decision of the King, whether the decision be right or wrong."¹ These and other similar passages leave no doubt in our minds that there was a regular mode of appeal from the decisions of the inferior courts to the superior courts. How far this right of appeal was recognised in practice, and to what extent the people actually availed themselves of the right are questions which our present knowledge of the history of Ancient India does not enable us to answer with any degree of satisfaction.

So much about the Courts of Justice. We now pass on to a consideration of judicial procedure as it prevailed in Ancient India. Justice was administered in accordance with legal rules which fell under one or other of the following four heads: (a) Sacred Law (Dharma), (b) Secular Law (Vyavahara), (c) Custom (Charitra), and (d) Royal Commands (Rajasasana).² "Sacred Law," says Chanakya, "is the embodiment of truth; Secular Law depends upon evidence; Custom is decided by the opinion of people; and Royal Edicts constitute administrative law."³ Some of the Smriti works adopt slightly different orders of classification, and they are often unwilling to admit the validity of Royal Edicts in the administration of justice. Opinion is also divided as to the relative importance of the different sets of legal rules. Chanakya and Narada agree in holding that "each following one is superior to the one previously named" in the above classification; but the former adds, "When there is disagreement between Sacred Law and Secular Law, or between Sacred Law and Custom, the matter should be decided according to Sacred Law. When, however, there is disagreement

1 Jolly, Narada, footnote to I. 11;

"Gramē dristah pure yati pura dristastu rajani
Rajna dristah kudristo va nasti paunarbhavo
vidhih."

2 Arthasastra, Bk. III. ch. 1. The Smriti works adopt slightly different orders of classification.

3 Arthasastra, Bk. III. ch. 1. A similar passage occurs in Narada (Legal Procedure, 10-11); but instead of 'caritram sangrahe puṁsam,' we find there the words 'caritram pustakarane.' Prof. Jolly's translation of this passage does not appear to us to be correct.

'Vyavahara' is defined in the Sukraniti as that "which, by discriminating between good and evil, enables the people to remain on the path of virtue, and promotes their welfare." IV. 5, 4.

1 Brihaspati, I. 28. Vide also Sukraniti, Ch. IV. sec. 5.

2 I. 30. Brihaspati adds: "(Meetings of) kindred, companies (of artisans), assemblies (of co-habitants), and chief judges are declared to be resorts for the passing of a sentence, to whom he whose cause has been previously tried may appeal in succession." I. 29.

3 "Kulani srenayaschaiva ganaschadhikrito
nripah."
Pratistha vyavaharanam purvebhyastuttarottaram."
Narada (Jolly's edn.), I. 7.

4 Yajnavalkya, II. 30.

between Sacred Law and morality, morality shall prevail, for it is likely that the original text (governing such a case) has been lost."¹ According to Narada, "When it is impossible to act up to the precepts of Sacred Law, it becomes necessary to adopt a method founded on reasoning, because Custom decides everything and overrules the Sacred Law. Divine Law has a subtle nature, and is occult and difficult to understand. Therefore (the King or the judges) must try causes according 'to the visible path.'"² Thus, in practice, customs were the most of the four divisions of law, and Manu³ and almost all the other lawyers lay it down as the essential principle in the administration of justice that disputes should be decided according to the customs of countries and districts (janapada), of castes (jati), of guilds (sreni), and of families (kula).

The regular courts met once or twice every day, usually in the mornings and evenings. The Court-house was looked upon as a sacred place, and it was open to all. Trials were always held in public. The Sukraniti says: "Neither the King nor the members of the judicial assembly should ever try cases in private."⁴ Cases were taken up for disposal either in the order of their respective applications, or of their urgency, or of the nature of the injury suffered, or of the relative importance of the castes⁵ of suitors. The royal officers were strictly forbidden to take any part either in the commencement or in the subsequent conduct of a suit. Manu is very emphatic on this point. "Neither the King," says he, "nor any servant of his shall cause a lawsuit to be begun, or hush up one that has been brought (before the court) by (some) other (person)."⁶ It is not very clear whether this rule was confined only to civil suits, or applied to criminal cases as well. But it is probable that, in the graver criminal offences, the State took upon itself the duty of conducting the prosecution.⁷

¹ Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 1. Yajuavalkya, comparing Dharmashastra and Arthashastra, remarks that the former is the more authoritative of the two.

² Narada (Jolly), Legal Procedure, 41.

³ Manu, VIII. 41.

⁴ Sukraniti, IV. 4, 6.

⁵ Sukraniti, IV. 5, 161.

⁶ Manu, VIII. 43. Cf. Narada (Jolly), Judicial Procedure, 3.

⁷ In the trial scene in the *SudrakasMrichchakatika*,

Lawsuits, according to Narada, have three efficient causes, for they proceed from one or other of three motives, namely, carnal desire, wrath, and greed.¹ "When mortals," says Narada, "were bent on doing their duty, and were habitually veracious, there existed neither lawsuits, nor hatred, nor selfishness. The practice of duty having died out among mankind, lawsuits have been introduced."² The topics which gave rise to lawsuits were grouped by the law-givers under eighteen titles, namely, (1) recovery of debts, (2) deposit and pledge, (3) sale without ownership, (4) concerns among partners, (5) resumption of gifts, (6) non-payment of wages, (7) non-performance of agreements, (8) rescission of sale and purchase, (9) disputes between owners of cattle and herdsmen, (10) disputes regarding boundaries, (11) assault, (12) defamation, (13) theft, (14) robbery and violence, (15) adultery, (16) duties of man and wife, (17) inheritance and partition, and (18) gambling and betting.³ It is evident that the list includes both civil and criminal cases. Although it was not found necessary to draw a line of separation between the two classes, the distinction, it appears, was fully understood. This becomes clear from the following passage which occurs in Brihaspati Smriti: "Law-suits are of two kinds, according as they originate in (demands regarding) wealth or in injuries. Law-suits originating in wealth are (divided again) into fourteen sorts, those originating in injuries into four sorts."⁴ Most of these titles had sub-divisions, which, taken together, amounted to one hundred and thirty-two.⁵

however, we find that in a murder case the court commences its proceedings on the application of a private person (arthi). It is difficult to say whether this was or was not the usual practice.

¹ Narada (Jolly), I. 26.

² Narada (Jolly's edn.), I. 1-2. This is an illustration of the fact that men in all ages have looked back upon the remote past as the Golden Age of the World.

³ Manu, VIII. 4-7. The titles given in some of the other law books are slightly different.

⁴ Brihaspati, II. 5.

⁵ Narada gives the following list: "Recovery of debt" has twenty-five divisions; 'deposits' has six; 'partnership' has three; 'resumption of gifts' has four; 'breach of service' consists of nine divisions; 'wages' has four divisions; there are two divisions of 'sales effected by another than the rightful owner';

The judicial proceedings in a case consisted of four stages, namely (1) the statement of the plaintiff (*purva-paksha*), (2) the reply of the defendant (*uttara-paksha*), (3) the actual trial, consisting of the evidence to establish the case and the arguments on both sides (*Kriya*), and (4) the decision (*nirnaya*).¹

Proceedings at law, according to Narada, were of two kinds: "Attended by a wager, or not attended by a wager. A lawsuit attended by a wager is where (either of the two parties) stakes in writing a certain sum which has to be paid besides the sum in dispute (in case of defeat)." ² This system of wager, however, is not to be found in other works, and probably in Narada's time only the remembrance existed of a custom which had died out long ago. It is interesting to note that the system of wagers in India was analogous to a similar custom in Rome in the earlier stages of the development of Roman legal procedure.

All civil actions as well as criminal cases were commenced by written petitions or verbal complaints made before the court by the aggrieved party. The date and the place of occurrence, the nature of the wrong done or of the claim made, and the names of the plaintiff (*arthi*) and the defendant (*pratyarthi*) were entered in the books of the court. ³ An important point for the court to determine at this stage was the capacity of the parties. If one of the parties was incapable of suing or

defending, the suit could not be proceeded with.

The first important step in the trial was the statement of the case by the plaintiff. ¹ He had to cause the plaint to be put in writing, either by the officer of the court or by his legal adviser. A great deal of care, it seems, had to be taken in the preparation of the plaint, for Narada mentions the following as the defects of a plaint, namely "(1) if it relates to a different subject, (2) if it is unmeaning, (3) if the amount claimed has not been properly stated, (4) if it is wanting in propriety, (5) if the writing is deficient, or (6) redundant, (7) if it has been damaged." ² A small verbal error, however, did not vitiate the plaint. ³ On the other hand, a plaint, though otherwise faultless, was held as incorrect if it was contrary to established law and usage. ⁴ The next step was the issue of summons for the attendance of the defendant. It was the duty of the defendant to attend the court on receipt of the summons; and if he attempted to abscond, the plaintiff might arrest him, to secure his presence in court. Such arrest might be one or other of four kinds, namely, local arrest, temporary arrest, inhibition from travelling, and arrest relating to his work. ⁵

The defendant, after having become acquainted with the tenour of the plaint had to give a written reply. ⁶ A reply might be one or other of four sorts, namely, a denial (*mithya*), a confession (*samprati-patti*), a special plea (*pratyavaskandana*)

'non-delivery of a sold chattel' has a single division only; 'rescission of purchase' has four divisions; 'transgression of compact' is one-fold; 'boundary disputes' is twelve-fold; there are twenty divisions in 'mutual duties of husband and wife'; 'the law of inheritance' consists of nineteen divisions; 'heinous offences' of twelve; of both 'abuse' and 'assault' there are three divisions; 'gambling with dice and betting on animals' has a single division; 'miscellaneous' has six divisions." I. 20-25.

1 Brihaspati, III. 1-2. Vide also Sukraniti, IV. 5, 153. A good description of the actual proceedings in a criminal case is to be found in Sudraka's *Mrichchakatika*. Probably, this portion of the drama, like the rest, was based upon a much earlier work entitled '*Charudattam*' by Bhasa; but, unfortunately, the whole of this latter book has not yet been discovered.

2 Narada (Jolly), Legal Procedure, 4.

3 Arthashastra, Bk. IV. ch. 1. Yajñavalkya says that the representation, as made by the plaintiff, is to be put in writing in the presence of the defendant—the year, month, fortnight, and day, together with the names, caste, etc., being given.

1 "The accusation," says Narada, "is called the plaint: the answer is called the declaration of the defendant." Legal Procedure, 28. There were, according to Narada, two modes of plaint, "because a plaint may be either founded on suspicion or on fact." Ibid. 27.

2 Narada, Legal Procedure, II. 8.

3 Ibid. II. 25.

4 Ibid. II. 15.

5 Narada, Legal Procedure, 47. The following classes of persons, according to Narada, might not be arrested, namely, "one about to marry; one tormented by illness; one about to offer a sacrifice; one afflicted by a calamity; one accused by another; one employed in the King's service; cowherds engaged in tending cattle; cultivators in the act of cultivation; artisans while engaged in their own occupations; a minor; a messenger; one about to give alms; one fulfilling a vow; one harassed by difficulties."

6 The reply, according to Narada, was to correspond with the tenour of the plaint. Legal Procedure II. 2.

a plea of former judgment (*prannyaya*).¹ Before the answer to the plaint was rendered, the plaintiff was at liberty to amend his plaint in any way he liked,² but after the delivery of the reply, no amendment was permitted. The plaintiff was entitled to submit a rejoinder to the defendant's reply.

If the case was a simple one, it was decided then and there. But if it was one which involved any important questions of fact or of law, and was not a matter of any urgency, the parties were given time to prepare their respective sides of the case.³ Where the defendant denied the charge or claim, the plaintiff had to prove his accusation or demand. Under certain circumstances, however, the burden of proof might be shifted from the plaintiff to the defendant.⁴ If the plaintiff failed to produce witnesses, or did not appear within three fortnights, he was non-suited. And if it was proved that the plaintiff had no just cause for bringing the suit, he was ordered to pay a fine. Counter-charges were not, as a rule, permitted. "One accused," says Narada, "of an offence, must not lodge a plaint himself, unless he has refuted the charge raised by the other party."⁵ But in certain classes of civil actions, such as disputes between members of a trade guild or between merchants, or in quarrels leading to duels, counter-suits were allowed.⁶ When two persons brought suits against each other, he was admitted as plaintiff whose grievance was the greater, or whose affair was the more important of the two, and not the person who was the first to go to law.⁷ A person who had already been accused by another person could not be accused by a different party

of the same offence, "for it is wrong to strike one again who has been struck (by another)." ¹

Facts in a case were proved by evidence² which was either oral, or documentary, or real.³ In cases relating to property, possession was regarded as some evidence of ownership.⁴ Although all the forms of evidence were equally admissible, the oral evidence of witnesses was the commonest mode of proving a fact. Direct evidence was generally regarded as superior to circumstantial evidence, but in certain cases, e.g., theft and housebreaking, the latter was often the only kind of evidence available, and was held sufficient.⁵ It seems that hearsay evidence was not always excluded.⁶

The eligibility of witnesses was an important question. Householders, men with male issue, and natives of the country belonging to any of the few castes were regarded as eligible witnesses.⁷ Persons

1 Narada, I. 55.

2 In six cases, witnesses were held unnecessary, and indications of the crime committed were regarded as sufficient. "It should be known," says Narada, "that one carrying a firebrand in his hand is an incendiary; that one taken with a weapon in his hand is a murderer; and that where a man and the wife of another man seize one another by the hair, the man must be an adulterer. One who goes about with a hatchet in his hand and makes his approach may be recognised as a destroyer of bridges (and embankments); one carrying an axe is a destroyer of trees. One whose looks are suspicious is likely to have committed an assault. In all these cases, witnesses may be dispensed with; in the case of assault, careful investigation is required." I. 175. The indications may be regarded as constituting what is called 'real' and 'circumstantial' evidence.

3 "Evidence of guilt against a suspected person shall consist in the instruments used, his advisers and abettors, the article stolen, and any intermediaries." Arthashastra, Bk. IV. ch. 8. Vasistha says: "It is declared in the Smṛiti that there are three kinds of proof which give title to (property, viz.) documents, witnesses, and possession; (thereby) an owner may recover property which formerly belonged to him (but was lost)." He adds: In a dispute about a house or a field, reliance (may be placed on the depositions) of neighbours. If the statements of the neighbours disagree, documents (are) proof. If conflicting documents are produced, reliance (may be placed) on (the statements of) aged (inhabitants) of the village or town, and on (those of) guilds and corporations (of artisans and trades).

4 Cf. the English legal proverb, "Possession is nine points of the law."

5 Arthashastra, Bk. IV. ch. 8.

6 Manu says: "Evidence in accordance with what has actually been seen or heard is admissible." VIII. 74.

7 Manu, VIII. 62, Cf. Narada (I. 177-190), who gives a longer list.

1 Narada (Jolly), II. 4.

2 Ibid. II. 7.

3 Gautama says: "If (the defendant) is unable to answer (the plaint) at once, (the judge) may wait for a year. But (in an action) covering kine, draught-oxen, women, or the procreation (of offspring), the defendant (shall answer) immediately; likewise in a case that will suffer by delay." XIII. 28-30. Narada also advises the King to give time to the defendant except in urgent affairs, heinous offences, etc. I. 44-45.

4 For instance, "when the defendant has evaded the plaint by means of a special plea, it becomes incumbent on him to prove his assertion, and he is placed in the position of a claimant." Narada (Judicial Procedure), II. 31.

5 Narada Legal Procedure, 55.

6 Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 1.

7 Quotations from Narada (Jolly), I. 8.

who had an interest in the suit, familiar friends and companions, enemies of the parties, persons formerly convicted of perjury, persons suffering from some severe illness, and those tainted by mortal sin, were ineligible as witnesses.¹ And no person belonging to any of the following classes could be called as a witness, except under special circumstances: the King, mechanics, and actors, a student of the Veda, an ascetic, one wholly dependent, a person of ill repute, a dasyu, a person who followed forbidden occupations, an aged man, an infant, a man of the lowest caste, one extremely grieved, or intoxicated, one oppressed by hunger, thirst, or fatigue, a mad man, one tormented by desire, a wrathful man, and a thief.² The reasons why such persons were excluded from the witness box are thus indicated by Nārada: "A child would speak falsely from ignorance, a woman from want of veracity, an impostor from habitual depravity, a relative from affection, and an enemy from desire of revenge." The ground on which some of the other classes were excluded appears to have been the desire on the part of the State to prevent, as far as possible, any interference with the ordinary avocations of the people. On failure of competent witnesses, however, the evidence of an infant, an aged person, a woman, a student, a relative, or a servant, might be offered.⁴

Uncorroborated evidence of a single witness was regarded as insufficient for the decision of a case, unless the witness happened to be a person possessed of exceptional qualifications and was agreeable to both the parties.⁵

Before the deposition of a witness was taken, it was the duty of the judge to

1 According to Vishnu, the proper witnesses are those born of a high family, possessing good qualifications or wealth, devoted to religious practices and sacrifices, those who have sons, who are versed in the law, who are truthful, who are devoted to study. Ch. 8 (Jolly's Sanskrit text).

2 Manu, VIII. 65-68.

3 I. 191.

4 Manu, 69-70. "But," adds Manu, "the judge should consider the evidence of infants, aged and diseased persons as untrustworthy, likewise that of disordered minds." VIII. 71. The competence of witnesses, in the opinion of Manu, should not be strictly examined in certain classes of criminal cases, e.g. violence, theft, adultery, defamation, and assault. VIII. 72.

5 Nārada, I. 192; Manu, VIII. 77; Yajñavalkya, II. 72; Vishnu, VIII. 9.

impress on the witness the necessity of telling the truth, and the consequences, legal and moral, of telling a falsehood.¹ Witnesses were also charged on oath to speak the truth. According to Gautama, in the case of persons other than Brahmanas the oath was to be taken in the presence of the gods, of the King, or of the Brahmanas.² Perjury was regarded as a dire sin as well as a serious offence, and a witness who perjured himself was liable to be fined from one hundred to one thousand panas, the exact amount of the fine depending upon the motive which induced him to give false evidence.³

Documentary evidence (lekhyā) was frequently resorted to in Ancient India, specially in civil actions. Vishnu mentions three kinds of documents, namely, (1) attested by the King's officers, (2) attested by private witnesses, and (3) unattested.⁴ According to Nārada, a document, to be valid, should be signed by witnesses, the (natural) order of ideas and syllables should not be interrupted, local customs and general rules should be observed in it, and it should be complete in every respect.⁵

For the purpose of drawing conclusions from the evidence offered in court, it was the duty of the judge to weigh such evidence, and not merely to count the number of witnesses and documents on each side.⁶ Nārada says: "There are some who give false evidence from covetousness, there are other villainous wretches who resort to forging documentary evidence. Therefore both sorts of evidence must be tested by the King with great care: documents according

1 Manu says that the judge should exhort the witnesses as follows: "A witness who speaks the truth in his evidence gains (after death) the most excellent regions (of bliss) and here (below) unsurpassable fame." "Such testimony is revered by Brahmana himself." And so on. Manu, VIII. 81-86. According to Gautama, Vasistha, and Boudhayanā also, by giving false evidence a person incurs sin in varying degrees.

2 Gautama, XIII. 12-13.

3 Manu, VIII. 120-121. Megasthenes says: "A person convicted of bearing false witness suffers mutilation of his extremities." Fragment XXVII.

4 Vishnu (Jolly's Sanskrit text) Ch. V. Brihaspati says: "Writings are declared to be tenfold." V. 18.

5 Quotations from Nārada, IV. 1.

6 Manu, however, says: "On a conflict of witnesses the King shall accept (as true) the (evidence of) the majority; if (the conflicting parties are) equal in number, (that of) those distinguished by good qualities; or a difference between (equally) distinguished (witnesses, that of) the best among the twice-born." VIII. 73.

to the rules regarding writings, witnesses according to the law of witnesses.¹ The means of arriving at the truth were regarded as four-fold, namely, 1. visible indications (*pratyaksha*), 2. reasoning (*yukti*), 3. inference (*anumana*), and 4. analogy (*upamana*).² If the witnesses disagreed with one another as to time, age, matter, quantity, shape, and species, such testimony was to be held as worthless. The judges were advised to note the demeanour of a witness in court and to draw an inference as to his veracity therefrom.³ But Narada, very wisely, cautions judges against accepting indications too readily. "Liars," says he, "may have the appearance of veracious men, and veracious men may resemble liars. There are many different characters. Therefore, it is necessary to examine (everything)." Safeguards were provided against the miscarriage of justice through belief in false evidence. And whenever it was found that the decision in a case was based upon false or insufficient evidence, the judgment was reversed, and all the proceedings in the case were declared null and void.⁴

The other modes of arriving at the truth, besides evidence, were the oath and the ordeal (*divya*). These methods, it seems, were resorted to only when evidence failed to establish the case one way or the other. As to the oath, Manu says, "let the judge cause a Brahmana to swear by his veracity, a Kshatriya by his chariot or the animal he rides on and by his weapons, a Vaisya by his kine, grain, and gold, and a Sudra by (imprecating on his own head the guilt) of all grievous offences."⁵ The ordeal was a divine test.⁶ It was used in criminal cases, and was of various kinds, such as (i) by the balance, (ii)

by fire, (iii) by water, and (iv) by poison.¹ If the accused person was unhurt, or did not meet with any speedy misfortune, he was held to be innocent.² Resort was had to the expedient of the ordeal when both the parties failed to bring witnesses, or to produce documentary evidence, and the merit of the case was so doubtful that the judges felt disinclined to take upon themselves the responsibility to give a decision.³ These methods were thus used only on rare occasions, and they became obsolete in course of time, leaving evidence as practically the sole method by which the court arrived at the right decision as to the guilt or innocence of an accused person.

Sometimes judicial investigation supplemented the information obtained by evidence offered in court. But great care was taken against an abuse of this method. Hiuen Tsiang emphatically states that "in the investigation of criminal cases there is no use of rod or staff to obtain proofs."⁴

The next stage of the trial was the argument on both sides. When the parties themselves were persons unacquainted with the law, they were sometimes represented for the purpose of arguing the case

1 Manu, VIII. 114. Vishnu and Narada give detailed descriptions of the different kinds of ordeal. Hiuen Tsiang, who was perhaps an eye-witness of ordeals, thus describes them: "When the ordeal is by water, then the accused is placed in a sack connected with a stone vessel and thrown into deep water. They then judge of his innocence or guilt in this way—if the man sinks, and the stone floats, he is guilty; but if the man floats and the stone sinks, then he is pronounced innocent. Secondly, by fire: They heat a plate of iron, and make the accused sit on it, and again place his feet on it, and apply it to the palms of his hands; moreover, he is made to pass his tongue over it; if no scars result, he is innocent; if there are scars, guilt is proved. In case of weak or timid persons who cannot endure such ordeal, they take a flower-bud and cast it towards the fire; if it opens he is innocent; if the flower is burnt, he is guilty. Ordeal by weight is this: A man and a stone are placed in a balance evenly; then they judge according to lightness or weight. If the accused is innocent, then the man weighs down the stone, which rises in the balance; if he is guilty, the man rises, and the stone falls. Ordeal by poison is this: They take a ram, and make an incision in the thigh (of the animal); if the man is guilty, then the poison takes effect, and the creature dies; if he is innocent, then the poison has no effect, and he survives. By these four modes of trial, the way of crime is stopped." Beal, Buddhist Records, Bk. II.

2 Manu, VIII. 115.

3 Vide Abul Fazl's *Ayeen-i-Akbery*, p. 495.

4 Buddhist Records, (Beal) Bk. II.

1 Narada, *Legal Procedure*, 70.

2 Sukraniti, II. 93.

3 "If a man being questioned does not uphold a statement duly made by himself (at a former stage of the trial); or if he ends by admitting what had been previously negated by himself; or if he is unable to produce any witnesses after having declared that they are in existence, and having been asked to produce them: by all such signs as these, persons devoid of virtue may be known." Narada, *Legal Procedure*, 61.

Abul Fazl, describing the Hindu system of administration of justice, says; "The judge will derive collateral proof by the physiognomy and prevarication of the party." *Ayeen-i-Akbery* (Gladwin), p. 496.

4 Manu, VIII. 117.

5 'Divya' is a term not found in early Vedic literature.

6 Manu, VIII. 113.

by their relatives, or friends, or professional lawyers (*pratinidhi*).¹ Such representation, it seems, was usual in the civil suits and in the less serious criminal cases, but no representation was permitted in the graver criminal offences, such as murder, adultery, abduction, forgery, sedition, robbery, and theft.²

Judgment was delivered at the end of the hearing of a case. In applying the law to a particular case, the judges were expected to take into consideration all the circumstances. "No sentence," says Brihaspati, "should be passed merely in accordance with the letter of the law. If a decision is arrived at without considering the circumstances of the case violation of justice will be the result."³ The judgment was embodied in a document, a copy of which was furnished to the victorious party.⁴

The remedies given by the courts depended upon the character and circumstances of each case. In civil actions, the usual remedies were restoration of property and fines. The courts had also power to declare agreements as invalid. Thus, for instance, contracts entered into under provocation, compulsion, or intoxication, or by dependents, infants, aged persons, and lunatics, were often held as void.⁵ In an action for the recovery of debts the court had the power to modify the whole transaction, and to grant only a reasonable rate of interest. In criminal cases, the punishments were :⁶ (i) fine, (ii) im-

prisonment, (iii) whipping, (iv) physical torture, (v) banishment, (vi) condemnation to work in the mines, and (vii) death.

The punishment awarded in criminal cases corresponded to the nature of the offence.⁷ The extreme penalty of death was rarely inflicted,⁸ and any other kind of corporal punishment was uncommon. "The King," says Fa Hian, "in the administration of justice inflicts no corporal punishment, but each culprit is fined in money according to the gravity of his offence, and even in cases where the culprit has been guilty of repeated attempts to excite rebellion, they restrict themselves to the cutting off of his right hand."⁹ This statement is confirmed by Hiuen Tsiang and Sung Yun. Hiuen Tsiang says: "There is no infliction of corporal punishment; they are simply left to live or die, and are not counted among men."¹⁰ Megasthenes mentions cropping of the hair as a punishment. If one is guilty," says he, "of a heinous offence, the King orders his hair to be cropped, this being a punishment in the last degree infamous."¹¹

Sureties (*pratibhu*)¹² for good behaviour were also sometimes taken from persons found guilty of criminal offences. Accettors of a crime were punished in a manner similar to the punishment provided for the principal offender.

The extra-judicial remedy of self-help was also recognised by the courts within reasonable limits. Manu, for instance, says: "By moral suasion, by suits of law, by artful management, or by the customary proceeding, a creditor may recover property lent; and fifthly, by force. A creditor who himself recovers his property from his debtor must not be blamed by the King for retaking what is his own."¹³

If any person was dissatisfied with the judgment, and thought that the case had been decided in a way contrary to justice, he might have it re-tried on payment of a fine. Narada says: "When a lawsuit has been judged without any previous exami-

1. Sukraniti, IV. 5, 110. According to Sukra, the lawyer's fee was to be one-sixteenth of the value of the suit. IV. 5, 114.

Narada says: "He deserves punishment who speaks in behalf of another, without being either the brother, the father, the son, or the appointed agent." Narada (Judicial Procedure), II. 23.

2. Sukraniti, IV. 5, 120.

3. Brihaspati, II. 12.

4. Narada says: "The victorious party shall receive a document recording his victory, and couched in appropriate language." Legal Procedure, II. 43. Brihaspati says: "Whatever has been transacted in a suit, the plaint, answer, and so forth, as well as the gist of the trial, should be noted completely in the document recording the success (of the claimant or defendant)."

5. Arthasastra, Bk. III. ch. 1.

6. Narada says: "Punishment is pronounced to be two-fold: bodily punishment and fines. Bodily punishment is declared to be of ten sorts, fines are also of more than one kind. Fines begin with a *Kakani*, and the highest amount is one's entire property. Bodily punishment begins with confinement, and ends with capital punishment." Jolly, Appendices, 53-54.

1. Brihaspati, VI. 2.

2. Sung Yun, speaking of the Kingdom of Udyana (Kashmir), says: "Supposing a man has committed murder, they do not suffer him to be killed, but banish him to the desert mountains." Buddhist Records, p. 188.

3. Fa Hian (Beal), Ch. XVI.

4. Buddhist Records (Beal), Bk. II.

5. Fragment XXVII. D.

6. Sukraniti, IV. 5, 125. 7. Manu, VIII. 49-50.

nation of witnesses (or other evidence), or when it has been decided in an improper manner, or when it has been judged by unauthorised persons, the trial has to be renewed."¹ An appeal also lay from the decision of an inferior court to a higher tribunal, where the whole case was re-tried.²

We now pass on to a consideration of some of the important features of the administration of justice in Ancient India. The first characteristic that strikes the enquirer is the responsibility of the judges and their independence. The judges had to perform their duties in accordance with the law, and it was their duty to deal out equal justice to all.³ If they transgressed the laws, or acted improperly in the discharge of their duties, they not only incurred sin,⁴ but were liable to be punished. Chanakya prescribes punishment for any unrighteous behaviour on the part of the judges. "If a judge," says he, "chides or threatens or sends out or unjustly silences a litigant, he shall be liable to the first amercement. If he defames any litigant, his punishment shall be double the amount. If he does not ask any questions which ought to be asked, or asks questions which ought not to be asked, or having asked a question, leaves it out, or tutors a witness, or reminds him what he said before, he shall be liable to the second amercement. If he does not enquire into relevant matters or enquires into irrelevant matters, or unnecessarily delays the trial, or maliciously postpones business, or makes one of the parties leave the court disgusted and tired, or leaves out statements which may lead to a right decision, or lends assistance to the witnesses, or takes up a case already decided, he shall be liable to the first amercement. On a repetition of the offence, his punishment shall be double, and he shall be

removed from office."¹ So also, Yajñavalkya says: "If the members of the judicial assembly give any decisions contrary to law and custom, through affection, temptation, or fear, each of them would be liable to double the punishment provided for the case."² But if the responsibility of the judges was great, so was their independence. The law was their only master and guide, and they had power to deal equally with the high and the low. The administration of justice was kept separate from the executive functions of the State, and no interference with judicial business by the executive was permitted.

Another feature of the judicial system was that every person resident in the country, whatever his position might be, and whether he was a native or a foreigner,³ received the protection of the courts. Such protection was, of course, specially appreciated by the weaker members of society. If a *dasa*, for instance, was ill-treated, he was permitted by the courts to leave his master, and the courts inflicted a punishment on the master if he failed to liberate the *dasa* on receipt of a ransom.⁴ So also, servants were protected from ill-treatment at the hands of their masters. A servant could, with the help of the courts, enforce the payment of his wages, and any agreement made between master and servant to the prejudice of the latter was liable to be set aside by the courts.⁵

The third feature of the legal system is not one which is very pleasing to note. Although every member of the society had a *locus standi* in the courts, the idea of equality before the law was not fully developed in Ancient India. A modified form of privilege ran through the whole system of Hindu Jurisprudence. The law was not the same for all, but depended upon the status of the person concerned. If a man belonging to one of the higher

1 Quotations from Narada (Jolly), I. 14.

2 Brihaspati, I. 29-30.

3 Manu, VIII. 13-14.

4 Manu says: "When any injustice is done, one-fourth of the sin attaches to the wrong-doer, one-fourth to the witness, one-fourth to the judges, and the remaining fourth to the King." VIII. 18. Abul Fazl, speaking of the administration of justice in Hindu India, says, "He (the judge) must consider it a religious obligation to discharge the duties of his office with impartiality and justice." Ayeen-i-Akbery (Gladwin), p. 495.

1 Arthashastra, Bk. IV. ch. 9. Kautilya says further: "If the judge, or the director, unjustly fines anybody, he shall be fined twice the amount. If he condemns any person unjustly to bodily punishment, he shall himself suffer the same punishment, or be fined twice the amount of the ransom payable."

2 II. 4. Some of the other Smṛiti works also prescribe punishments for judges who transgress the law.

3 Vide Arthashastra, Bk. IV. ch. 2.

4 Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 13.

5 Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 14.

castes committed an offence, his punishment was lighter than what would be inflicted on a man of a lower grade for a similar offence. As an instance may be mentioned the fact that the Brahmanas, as a rule, enjoyed immunity from the more degrading kinds of punishment provided for criminal offences.¹

From the records preserved in Indian literature as well as from the accounts left by foreign travellers, it seems quite clear that the administration of justice was very efficient in Ancient India. This must have been the result of three factors, namely, the uprightness of the judges, the efficiency of the police, and the general honesty and probity of the people. Judges were recruited from the class of learned Brahmanas who were noted for their high character and purity of life. Adequate measures were taken to secure the efficiency

1 Gautama says: "A learned Brahmana (i.e. one deeply versed in the Vedas and other branches of learning), must be allowed by the King immunity from the following six (kinds of opprobrious treatment): he must not be subjected to corporal punishment, he must not be imprisoned, he must not be fined, he must not be exiled, he must not be reviled, nor be excluded" VIII. 12-13. But Kautilya says: "When a Brahmana has committed a crime, he should be branded, his crime should be proclaimed in public, his property should be confiscated, and he should be condemned to work in the mines." Arthashastra, Bk. IV. ch. 18. In the *Mricchakatika* we find that the sentence of death passed on a Brahmana becomes the immediate cause of a revolution.

of the police force. As for the last factor, the testimony of the most eminent foreign observers is conclusive. "Theft," says Megasthenes, "is of very rare occurrence... The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges or deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits, and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess good, sober sense."¹ This statement is confirmed by Hiuen Tsiang, the great Chinese monk, who travelled in India a thousand years after Megasthenes. His words are: "With respect to the ordinary people, although they are naturally light-minded, they are upright and honourable. In money matters they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence, and make light of things of this world. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct, and are faithful to their oaths and promises. In their rules of government there is remarkable rectitude, while in their behaviour there is much gentleness and sweetness."²

1 Fragment XXVII.

2 Hiuen Tsiangs Travels, Buddhist Records (Beal), Bk. II.

THE IDEALS OF THE ANCIENT HINDU STATE

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M. A., B.L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

III.

GOVERNMENT, ACCORDING TO THE HINDU CONCEPTION, IS AN ORGANIZATION TO PROMOTE THE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE THROUGH A DUE REGULATION OF CONFLICTING AND DIFFERENT INTERESTS THAT MAKE UP SOCIETY.

GOVERNMENT like all other concerns of life is associated in the eye of a Hindu with an ultimate spiritual purpose. A well-conducted government forms the basis, without which

the aggregate spiritual progress of the people in an orderly and effective way is not possible. Hence comes the great responsibility of a monarch, who as the head of a royal polity, works this important machinery, which being out of order, affects not merely the material interests of the people but also their spiritual interests, the latter being regarded by them as far superior to the former. The successive links by which government is chained up to the *summum bonum* are the four castes viz., Brāhmana, Kṣatriya, Vaisya and Sūdra com-

posing the society have arts and sciences to learn and duties to follow in and through the prescribed modes of life, which ultimately leads them to salvation. For a strict adherence to the duties, and for punishment of deviations¹ therefrom, as also for the protec-

tion and maintenance of order among the people, an organization is needed; and this is supplied by the ruler.

THE EVILS OF A STATE WITHOUT GOVERNMENT.

Without him, anarchy¹ prevails bringing

1. According to Kautilya, there are four branches of learning viz. (I) *anvikshiki* (II) *trayi* (III) *vartā* and (IV) *dandanīti* (Bk. I, *Vidyāsamuddesa*, pp. 6ff.) The first comprises the three branches of metaphysics viz. *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga* and *Lokayāta*. The second literally means "triple" i.e. the three Vedas *Rig*, *Yajus* and *Sāma*; but the signification is extended to include also the *Atharva-Veda* and *Itihāsa-Veda* which according to Kautilya's explanation (Bk. I, *Vṛddhasamyogah*, p. 10) consists of (a) *Purāṇa*, (b) *itihāsa* (history), (c) *ākhyāyikā* (legends), (d) *udāhāraṇa* (illustrations), (e) *dharmaśāstra* (codes of law and morals), and (f) *Arthashastra* of which Kautilya thus marks out the scope—*manuṣhyāṇaṃ vṛttirarthah; manuṣhyavāṇi bhūmiriti arthah; tasyaḥ prithivyaḥ lābhapaḥalanopayāḥ sāstramartha—sāstramiti* (Bk. XV, *tantrayuktiyāḥ*, p. 424) which means "*artha* (wealth or 'goods') is the object of man's desire; the inhabited land (or country) is *artha*; that science which treats of the means of the acquiring, preserving and developing of the said land or country is *Arthashastra* (science of wealth), which thus includes the ground covered by the modern sciences of economics and politics. The six *Angas* are of course studied along with the *Vedas*—viz., *sikṣā* (phonetics), *kālpa* (rules for rituals), *vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *nirukta* (etymological explanation of difficult Vedic terms), '*chhanda*' (prosody) and *gyotish* (astronomy). [Bk. I, p. 7.] The third is economics primarily concerned with agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade, while the fourth is science of Government. Nilakantha has the following comments on the '*Sāntiparva*', ch. 59, slk. 33 "*trayī-karmakāṇḍah. Anvikshiki jñānakāṇḍah. Vartā krishivāṇijyādi jivika-kāṇḍah. Dandanītiḥ palana-vidyā*". About the relative importance of these subjects of human learning, there are differences of opinion, which are indicated by the classification of learning followed, Kautilya like Kāmandaki dividing it into four branches ('Kāmandakiya-Nītisāra, sarga 2, slks. 1, 2 and 6), the school of Manu as three, subsuming (I) under (II), that of Brihaspati as two viz., (II) and (IV), that of Usanas as (IV) alone viz., dandanīti, the other three being but its dependents (see *Arthashastra*, Bk. I, *Vidyāsamuddesa*, p. 6; also Kāmandakiya, sarga I, slks. 3-5). In the *Rāmāyana*, the divisions of learning are mentioned as three (*Ayodhyakāṇḍa*, sarga 100, slk. 68—"ashtavargam trivargam cha vidyāṭisrascha raghava"). In '*Manu*', VII, 43, the *vidyās* are five, if '*anvikshiki*' and '*ātma-vidyā*' be taken as separate, as some commentators have done, and in '*Yājñavalkya*' the '*vidyās*' are four (I, 311, M. N. Dutta's ed.). Kāmandaki follows Kautilya in fixing the number at four using '*ātma-vidyā*' as explanatory of '*anvikshiki*' (sarga 2, slk. 11). Cf. *Raghuvansa*, III, 30, which mentions four '*vidyās*'. According to some, '*vidyā*' has fourteen or eighteen divisions; others reckon thirty-three or even sixty-four. The principal branches however are the four indicated above. The object of the first division of learning

is, as Kāmandaki (sarga 2, slk. 11) explains, to create non-attachment to this world, that of the second to enable to distinguish between righteousness and non-righteousness, of the third to impart a knowledge of economics, and of the fourth to make one well-versed in the science of government. Cf. '*Agni-Purāṇa*', *Anvikshikiyāntu vijnānam dharmaḍharmau trayīsthitau. Arthānarthau tu vartāyām dandanītyām nayānaya*, ch. 238, slk. 9.

These four branches of learning are the means by which the people are to secure the forefold objects of human existence, viz., '*dharma*', '*artha*', '*kāma*' and '*moksha*', i.e., the fulfilment of legitimate desires in a legitimate way through the means acquired also in a legitimate way, which ultimately leads to salvation. This is not possible without the practical application of the science of Government by a ruler. Hence his importance. [For the paramount importance of '*Rajadharma*', see M. Bh. '*Sāntiparva*', ch. 63, slks. 24-30.] He it is who checks all deviations from the proper courses marked out for the people for performing their duties for the attainment of the ultimate object. The respective duties of the four castes are laid down in the '*Kautilya*' at Bk. I, p. 7. '*Vidyāsamuddesa*', along with the four modes of life, viz., of student, householder, forest-recluse and wandering mendicant' (pp. 7, 8, *Ibid.*)

1. 'Kautilya uses the pithy expression *mātsya-nayā* which reigns supreme in the absence of a ruler, the stronger destroying the weak like the large fishes preying on the small fry. In the '*Rāmāyana*', the idea occurs in *Ayodhyakāṇḍa*, sarga 67, slk. 31, where the banefulness of anarchy is delineated—

*Narajake janapade svakam bhavati kasyachit,
Matsya iva janā nityam bhakshayanti parasparam.*

Cf. '*Ayodhyakāṇḍa*', sarga 61, slk. 22—where the phenomenon is thus referred to—*svayameva hatah pitṛa jalajenātmaḥ yathā*. The *Mahābhārata* in a similar context has *Rājachennabhavellōke prithivyaṃ dandadhārakah, Jale matsyāṇi vā bhakshyan durvalam valavattarāḥ*.—'*Sāntiparva*', ch. 67, slk. 16.

Cf. '*Matsya-Purāṇa*' which has *Bala-vṛddhātura-yati-dviḥja-stri-vidhavaḥ yatah, Matsyanyāyena bhakshyeran yadi dandam na patayet.* ch. 225, slk. 9.

The Kāmandakiya has *dandābhāve paridhvamsi mātsyonyāyah pravartate*. Sarga 2, slk. 40.

The expression also occurs in the inscription of Dharmapāla at Khālimpura [Gundā-lekha-mālā, p. 12]. Various meanings of the expression are given at p. 148 of the *History of Bengal* (in Bengali) by Mr. R. D. Bannerjee, M.A.

The evils of anarchy are vividly depicted in the '*Rāmāyana*', '*Ayodhyakāṇḍa*', ch. 67; '*Mbh.*' '*Sāntiparva*', chs. 67, 68. Just as anarchy is deprecated, so

in its train the evils *that are so much dreaded by mankind.*

is ruling with an iron hand or a mild one. Cf. 'Arthashastra', Bk. I, Vidyasamuddesah, p.9, which has been versified almost verbatim in the Kāmandakiya.

Prof. Hopkins refers to these evils of anarchy in 'J. A. O. S.', xiii, p. 136, but he confuses "autonomous (kingless)" states with those in which anarchy prevails. The Vedic term for anarchy is 'arajata' (see V. I., 125).

REVIEWS

THE HINDU LAW OF ADOPTION—By Golapchandra Sarkar, Sastri, M.A., B.L., (*Tugore Law Lecturer for 1888*). Edited by Rishindranath Sarkar M.A., B.L., *Vakil, High Court, Calcutta. Published by R. Cambay & Co. 9, Hastings Street, 1916.*

This new edition of the well-known work of Pandit Golapchandra Sarkar Sastri requires no introduction to the public. The very fact that a second edition has been called for shows the usefulness of this book to the legal public. It is a matter of regret that the learned author did not live to see this work through the press. It has, however, been very ably edited by his son, who has brought it up-to-date by giving references to all cases since decided, in the foot-notes.

In connection with this we may mention that it would have been better, if the editor had given fuller references in the foot-notes. Thus at page 6, the reference to Mitaksara is "Bombay Edition, p. 225, original." There are several Bombay editions of Mitaksara, and without further specification it is not possible to find out to what edition the reference is made. It is not certainly at p. 225, of Gharpure's Edition of 1914, nor in the Edition of Shivarama Janardana Sastri Gore of 1887, nor in that of Wasudeva Laxman Shastri Pansikar of 1909. The better way of giving such references would be to give the reference of the original verse of Yajñavalkya, on which Vijnanesvara is commenting.

So also it would have been better to give more copious references. Thus at the same page 6, we find that reference is made to Balambhata, and it is said "that a boy who has been given and taken, but whose adoption fails on this ground or on the ground of its being in contravention of other rules relating to the subject, is pronounced by Balambhata, Nanda Pandita and Jagannatha to become a slave of the adopter." It is not shown where Balambhata makes this pronouncement, though references to Nanda Pandita and Jagannatha are given.

The author starts his lectures by the statement—"The usage of Adoption is the survival of an archaic institution which owed its origin to the principle of slavery, whereby a man might, like the lower animals, be the subject of dominion or proprietary right, might, in fact, be bought and sold, given and accepted, or relinquished in the same way as a cow or a horse." This is the generally adopted view of modern historians. But in the case of India, it may not be true. The oldest reference to adoption is in the Aitareya Brahmana, where in VII. 13 to 18 the story of Sunahsepha is given. It is on this story that the whole fabric of adoption is based. That the son was

not treated as a slave is to be found in the very opening verses of that story, where it is emphatically said, "The father pays a debt in his son, and gains immortality, when he beholds the face of a son living who was born to him." "The pleasure which a father has in his son, exceeds the enjoyment of all other beings, be they on the earth, or in the fire, or in the water." "Fathers always overcome great difficulties through a son. (In him) the Self is born out of Self. The son is like a well-provisioned boat, which carries him over." "What is the use of living unwashed, wearing the goatskin, and beard? What is the use of performing austerities? You should wish for a son, O Brahmins!" "Thus people talk of them (who forego the married life on account of religious devotion)." "Food preserves life, clothes protect from cold, gold (golden ornaments) gives beauty, marriages produce wealth in cattle; the wife is the friend, the daughter object of compassion, but the son shines as his light in the highest heaven."

So also Apastamba (II. 9, XXIV. 1 et seq) says:—"Now the Veda declares also one's offspring to be immortality (in this verse): 'In thy offspring thou art born again, that mortal, is thy immortality'." Here also the son is said to be the immortality of the father. In fact, we may search in vain throughout the whole of ancient Sanskrit Literature for an explicit statement, that the son was the slave of the father.

It was only in cases of extreme necessity that parents could give away their sons in adoption. Thus Manu (IX. 168) says:—"That (boy) equal (by caste) whom his mother or his father affectionately give, (confirming the gift) with (a libation of) water, in times of distress (to a man) as his son, must be considered as an adopted son (Dattima)." Thus Balambhata, in commenting on the Mitaksara, Yajñavalkya's verse 130 of the Vyavahara Adhyaya, says, "He, who through extreme misfortune is unable to support (may give away his son in adoption)." (See Gharpure's Balambhatti, Vyavahara Adhyaya, p. 171, "दोषवन्तुर्मात्रा भरणसामर्थ्येन" ।

No doubt, slavery is recognised in the law, as found in modern compilations like Manu and Narada. There we do not see any trace that adoption was treated as a slavery. Adoption arises only among those people who know the value of a son and can appreciate him properly. It was only a modern fad of some orientalists, who trace adoption to slavery and marriage to captivity in war. They totally forget that the instincts which lead a person to adopt a son or to marry a wife, are totally distinct from the instincts which make on

purchase a slave, or commit adultery. It is a universal instinct and a beneficent instinct, this instinct of adoption. It is found in some animals also. Only the other day the pet cat of my nephew gave birth to four kittens. Two of these were given away after some days to a friend. The poor cat moved about the whole house for two nights, and on the third day she brought a kitten. God knows whence, and adopted it and treats it as if it were her own child.

At page 10, the author describes the difference between Daiva and Prajapatya form of marriage. He says, "In the Prajapatya form the bride is given to a person with an agreement that the donee is to treat her as a partner for secular and religious purposes, and the proposal comes from the bridegroom who is a suitor for the damsel. The existence of the condition restricting the husband's freedom of action was perhaps the reason why this form is considered to be inferior to Arsa and Daiva."

The real difference, however, between the Prajapatya and other forms of marriages, has not been fully brought out by the learned author. While in other approved forms of marriages, a husband could take another wife during the life-time of his first wife, he could not do so, if the marriage was in the Prajapatya form. Monogamy was the essence in this form of marriage. Thus Balambhata, in commenting on Yajñavalkya, Acharya Adhyaya, verse 60 (p. 201 of Gharpure's Balambhatti) quotes Haradatta and Nrisimha :—

यद्यन्येषु विवाहेषु सहवर्माद्विचरणमस्ति तथाप्यत्र
प्राजपतीयं तदेव न तु मध्ये आश्रमान्तपरिश्रद्धः स्यन्तपरिश्रद्धः
वेति विशेषः"

The full text of Haradatta is given below :—

"प्राजापत्यसंज्ञके विवाहे सहवर्माद्विचर्यतामिति प्रदानमन्त्रः ।
अपि ब्राह्मादिषुपि सहवर्माचर्या भवति तथाऽप्यात्तादनया सह
वर्माद्विरितयः । नाश्रमान्तरं प्रवेष्टव्यं नापि स्यन्तरमुपयन्त्य-
न्ति मन्त्रेण समयः क्रियते । एष ब्राह्मादिः प्राजापत्यस्य विशेषः
आवाद्यालं कतामिति समानम् ।"

(Gautama IV. 7, Haradatta's commentary).
The above passage may be freely translated thus :—

"At the marriage called Prajapatya, the formula is giving away the daughter is :—'Fulfil ye the law conjointly.' Though in marriages, under Brahma rites and other, the fulfilment of law conjointly does also take place, yet, here up to the end, the law should be fulfilled with her. The husband should not take to another Asrama (i.e., should not become a Sannyasin), nor should he marry another wife—this is the contract made by this formula. This is the specific difference between the Prajapatya and other forms of marriages-like Brahma and the rest."

Thus, the essential feature of this Prajapatya rite consisted in this contract (Samaya) to observe monogamy, and never to forsake the wife.

Nor is the learned author right in saying that the Prajapatya form is considered inferior to Arsa and Daiva. It is not only not inferior, but it is distinctly superior to them, according to Gautama (IV. 7 and 6). He mentions it as second in the list of marriages, the first being Brahma. Thus he says :—"(If the father) gives (his daughter) dressed (in two garments) and decked with ornaments to a person possessing (sacred) learning, of virtuous conduct, who has rela-

tives and a (good) disposition, (that is a) Brahma (wedding)." At the Prajapatya (wedding) the marriage-formula is, 'Fulfil ye the law conjointly.'

No doubt, Manu (III. 21) says about the eight forms of marriages :—"(They are) the rite of Brahma (Brahma), that of the gods (Daiva), that of the Risis (Arsa), that of Prajapati (Prajapatya), that of the Asuras (Asura), that of the Gandharvas (Gandharva), that of the Rakshas (Rakshasa), and that of the Pisachas (Pisachas)." He has placed here the Prajapatya as fourth in order, but that does not indicate that the Prajapatya is inferior to the Daiva and the Arsa rites. In III. 38, he says that a son born of a wife, according to the Daiva rite, saves seven ancestors and seven descendants. The son of a wife married by Arsa rite saves three ancestors in the ascending and descending lines, and the son of a wife married by Prajapatya rite saves six ancestors in either line. Thus according to Manu even, the Prajapatya form is superior to Arsa, because in the Prajapatya rite six ancestors are saved, while in the Arsa rite three only. While according to Gautama, Prajapatya is mentioned just after the Brahma, and in Gautama IV. 30 et seq., we find :—"(A son born of a wife married) according to the Arsa rite (saves) three ancestors (from hell). (A son born of a wife married) according to the Daiva rite, ten. (A son born of a wife married) according to the Prajapatya rite, also ten. (But) the son of a wife married according to the Brahma rite (saves) ten ancestors, ten descendants and himself."

The above extract from Haradatta's commentary, and the marriage-mantra in Prajapatya form, disproves the following assertion of the learned author at page 11 :—"The primitive conception of marriage consisting in the acquisition of dominion over a woman, and wives being regarded as a sort of possession, there was no limit to the number of wives a man might have; he could have as many as he might afford to procure by the different modes pointed above. Under such circumstances mutual fidelity could not form any part of the marital relation; looseness of the marriage tie and laxity in sexual morality must necessarily prevail. Any idea of fidelity, sentiment or delicacy did not exist as an element of marriage union, and a husband appears to have had no great objection to allow his wife to be approached by other men."

The last sentence certainly gives a wrong idea of ancient Hindu society, and is not authorised by Vedic texts. The learned author has quoted Apastamba, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. II., p. 130. The full text of Apastamba (II. 6. 13. 7) is given here :—"Now they quote also (the following Gatha from the Veda) : '(Having considered myself) formerly a father, I shall not now allow (any longer) my wives (to be approached by other men), since they have declared that a son belongs to the begetter in the world of Yama. The giver of the seed carries off the son after death in Yama's world, therefore they guard their wives, fearing the seed of strangers. Carefully watch over (the procreation of) your children, lest stranger seed be sown on your soil. In the next world the son belongs to the begetter, an (imprudent) husband makes the (begetting of) children vain (for himself)."

This text, certainly, does not authorize the sweeping statement to the effect, that the husband had no great objection to allow his wife to be approached by other men. The Gatha above quoted refers to the ancient controversy, to whom did the Ksetraja child belong—to the Bijin, to the begetter, or to the Ksetrin, the husband. The commentary of Hara-

datta, on this Sutra, makes it clear. The purport of this commentary is given by Dr. Buhler under the Sutra quoted:—"According to Haradatta this Gatha gives the sentiments of a husband who neglected to watch his wives, and who had heard from those learned in the law that the sons of his unfaithful wives would in the next world belong to their natural fathers, and that he would not derive any spiritual benefit from their oblations. He adds that this verse does not refer to or prevent the appointment of a eunuch's wife or of a childless widow to a relation. He also quotes a passage from the Srouta-Sutra I, 9, in which the dvipita, 'the son of two fathers,' is mentioned."

The next text quoted by the learned lecturer in support of his proposition is Baudhayana (Sacred Books of the East, Vol IV. p. 229).

That text also does not support his proposition. It occurs in Baudhayana (II. 2. 3. 31 et seq.) in connection with various kinds of sons. We give the full text below:—"Now they quote also (the following verses): 'They declare the legitimate son, the son of an appointed daughter, the son begotten on a wife, the adopted son and the son made, the son born secretly, the son cast off, (to be entitled) to share the inheritance.' They declare the son of an unmarried damsel and the son received with the bride, the son bought, likewise the son of a twice-married female, the son self-given and the Nisada, to be members of the family.' 'Upajandhani (declares that) the first among them alone is (entitled to inherit, and a member of his father's family).' 'Now, O Janaka, I jealously watch my wives, (though I did) not (do it) formerly; for they have declared in Yama's court that the son belongs to the begetter. The giver of the seed carries off the son, after death, in Yama's hall. Therefore they carefully protect their wives, fearing the seed of strangers.' 'Carefully watch (the procreation of your) offspring, lest strange seed fall on your soil. After death the son belongs to the begetter, through carelessness a husband makes (the procreation of) a son useless.'"

The proper conclusion to draw from these passages is that in ancient times women had more liberty, and mixed freely in society and were not secluded in the Zenana. No doubt, some women abused the liberty given to them, and these texts are the thin end of the wedge which introduce the parda system into India. There is no proof that the husbands looked with complacency, far less permitted, infidelity in their wives.

It may be mentioned here, in passing, that Apastamba, at least, does not permit even the gift of a son in adoption. He says (II. 6. 13, 10):—*दानं क्षत्र्यस्य चापत्यस्य न विद्यते* ", the gift, and the right to sell a child, are not recognised.

Haradatta commenting on this Sutra, no doubt, modifies this text, by saying that the gift of a son in adoption must be recognised, though the gift of a son should not be recognised in the *Visva-jit-yaga*, where a man gives away all his property. He is emphatic in his declaration that a son can never be sold.

विश्वजित्यागि च सर्वस्वदाने गवादिद्वयस्य न देयम् । विक्रयस्तु सर्वं निषिद्धः ।

Yajnavalkya also (III. 236) makes the sale of a son an Upapataka sin.

RANENDRANATH BASU.

MOHAMMEDAN THEORIES OF FINANCE WITH AN INTRODUCTION TO MOHAMMEDAN LAW AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY by *Nicolas P. Aghnides*. Price \$4.00. New York, Columbia University

Since the year 1891 the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia has issued a succession of monographs on different questions of History, Economics and Public Law, and this is the seventieth volume of the series. In accordance with the character of the series it is meant for the advanced student and specialist, not for the beginner or general reader. No other work covering the same ground exists in any European language, although the subject of finance has been touched on incidentally in some translations of Mohammedan legal text-books. As the style is extremely concise, a great mass of information is condensed in the 535 pages of this volume.

The book consists of two parts, the first giving a brief account of Mohammedan law, and the second dealing with the proper subject-matter of the work, finance. The law of Islam rests on four bases, the Quran, the Sunnah, *Ijma'* and *Qijas*. As to the Quran all scholars, Muslim and European, are agreed that we have in it with scarcely any change the words uttered by Mohammad in a state of inspiration. But the Quran alone would not be sufficient for the decision of every question. It is supplemented by the Sunnah or rules of conduct derived from the acts and sayings of the Prophet. For a prophet is divinely guided in all his acts and sayings. "The only difference between the ordinary expressions of the prophet and his revelations consists in the fact that whereas the former are divine in content alone, the latter are divine in form also." Certain rules have been laid down by Muslim scholars for testing the genuineness of the traditions about the Prophet but European scholars without exception have considered these rules inadequate. "For instance, the rules in question have almost nothing to say concerning the subject-matter of the traditions. Thus a tradition which claims the occurrence of things existing only in the wildest imagination would be accepted as genuine if all the mechanical rules concerning its transmission were conformed to, since no higher criticism would be exercised as regards its content." Still Dr. Aghnides thinks that "for the most part the collections of Sunnah considered by the Moslems as canonical are genuine records of the rise and early growth of Islam." These collections, six in number were made in the 3rd century of the Hijra, and the most important of them, the *Sahih* of Bukhari, is revered almost as much as the Quran itself. Abu Hanifah, the chief of the Moslem legists, lived a hundred years before Bukhari, and the tradition which he used were collected by one of his students *Ijma'* or the agreement of the faithful is the third basis of law, and there has been some discussion as to whether only the agreement of professional theologians is required, or that of laymen as well. But it is about *Qijas* or analogy, the fourth basis, that most controversy has arisen, the school of Kufa founded by Abu Hanifah taking one side and the school of Madina founded by Malik-ibn-Anas the other. Not that Abu Hanifah was the first to use *qijas* but he was the first to recognise it as a general principle. "So long as the use of *qijas* was not given a formal recognition, but was resorted to occasionally when judgments were rendered, no controversy broke out. It was, however, a very different matter when Abu Hanifah openly declared *qijas* to be a legitimate basis of law and proceeded

to codify the law using *qijas* as one of his bases." Then there arose bitter opposition and the school of Abu Hanifah was accused of substituting personal opinion for revelation. The Malikite school of Madina preferred to use even a weak tradition rather than resort to analogy. But the life of Syria and Mesopotamia was so different from that of Arabia that no traditions could be found applicable to all cases and ultimately *qijas* was accepted by all schools of law. The determination of the right analogy to use gave rise to minute scholastic subtleties, somewhat resembling the subtleties of European mediaeval theologians. Dr. Aghnides, concludes this first part, which he claims contains much matter not previously given in any European language, with an account of the different Mahomedan schools of law.

Even in a short notice, it would not be right to omit to mention the valuable classified and annotated bibliography which follows.

The second part deals with the revenue and expenditure of Muslim states. A sharp distinction is made between Muslims and non-Muslims. The Muslims pay the *zakat* or alms, while the infidels pay the *kharaj* or land-tax and the *jeziyah* or poll-tax. "The *zakat* taxes are primarily a religious obligation as between every Moslem and God, and the function of state as regards them resolves itself into one of police, namely, of seeing that the obligation is performed." Their amount is fixed by religion and cannot be increased or diminished by the ruler. Hume remarks (in 1741): "It is regarded as a fundamental maxim of the Turkish government, that the *Grand Seignior*, though absolute master of the lives and fortunes of each individual, has no authority to impose a new tax: and every Ottoman prince, who has made such an attempt, either has been obliged to retract, or has found the fatal effects of his perseverance." There is a minimum of property, called *nisab* below which *zakat* is not payable, and this *nisab* must be free from debt. But there have been differences of opinion as to how freedom from debt is to be understood. "A person possessing 200 *dirhams*, a slave and a quantity of borrowed grain, (according to the accepted Hanifite view) pays no *zakat*, because the debt is applied to the *dirhams*. According to Zufar the debts of grain and slave are applied to the grain and slave he possesses, and a *zakat* is due on the *dirhams*." The property must have been in possession of the owner for a year before *zakat*, is due on it. "Should a person exchange his camels, on which *zakat* is to fall due at the end of the year, for other camels just a day before the completion of the year, he is not subject to *zakat* because camels are subject to *zakat* in virtue of their physical identity, but the camels received in exchange are not the very same animals and therefore are subject to *zakat* only after a year has elapsed since their acquisition." The payment of *zakat* may not be avoided after it has once been incurred, but it "may be lawfully avoided by the property owner before it has as yet become due. Thus if a person owning two hundred *dirhams* desires to escape paying *zakat* on them, the method is to give away as alms one of the two hundred *dirhams* just one day before the year has run out in order that the *nisab* may be incomplete at the end of the year." There is a difference of opinion as to whether honey is subject to tithe. According to Abu Hanifah it is. But "Al Shafii" in his more recent view and Malik exempted honey from tithe on the analogy of silk. The

Hanifite reply is that silkworms eat leaves which are not subject to tithe, unlike the bees which collect the honey from flowers and fruits on which there is a tithe."

The *jiziyah* is paid by *dhimmis*, that is to say by unbelievers who are living in a Moslem State and are under the protection of Moslems. Its collection is based on the divine words: "Make war upon such as those to whom a Scripture has been given, as do not believe in God nor in the last day, until they pay by their hands the *jiziyah* in order to be humiliated." The collection of the *jiziyah* according to the general Hanifite view is as follows: "When the *jiziyah* is collected from the *dhimmi* he is obliged to stand while the collector is seated, and he must wear the distinctive dress prescribed for the *dhimmis*. During the process of payment the *dhimmi* is seized by the collar and vigorously shaken and pulled about in order to show him his degradation, and he is rebuked in these words 'O *dhimmi*, or O enemy of God, pay the *jiziyah*!'" Other Hanifites recommend milder treatment but there is no doubt that the *dhimmi* must be humiliated, for this is God's own command.

The other tax paid by the infidels is the *kharaj* or land-tax. According to the Hanifites this is also paid by a Moslem who has bought land from a *dhimmi*. But Malik says that the Moslem must not pay landtax, for this involves humiliation, and a Moslem ought not to be humiliated. To this, the answer of the Hanifites is that the humiliation only arises when the tax is imposed for the first time, not when it is continued on land that was already paying it. *Kharaj* may be assessed either on the total area of the land, or on the area of the cultivated portion of the land, or on the produce. When any one of these three alternatives has been settled upon, one is not allowed to change it to another but it is continued for ever, and hence the tax may not be increased or decreased so long as the land continues the same with respect to its irrigation and advantages."

Dr. Aghnides devotes a chapter to the expenditure of the *zakat* taxes. "The *zakat* may not be appropriated for impersonal purpose, such as the building of mosques, bridges, repairing of roads, draining of rivers, &c." It must be allotted to individuals and even in the Prophet's time the division often gave rise to ill-feeling. On one occasion the Prophet said, "I give to a man although another may be more pleasing to me than he is, fearing lest he should fall headlong on his face into the Fire." Afterwards God sent down "Alms are only to the poor and the needy, and those who collect them, and to those whose hearts are won, and for ransoms, and for debtors, and for the cause of God, and the wayfarer." With reference to the class called *muallafah qulubuhum* those whose hearts have been conciliated, disagreement arose after the death of the Prophet. Abu Bakr was willing to continue the presents made by the Prophet, but Umar refused. These presents, he said, were only for the time when the Muslims were weak, now that the Muslims were strong the infidels might take their choice between Islam and the sword.

In so comprehensive a work limits of space only allow us to note a few points here and there. The general character of Mohammedan finance is thus described by Dr. Aghnides: "Mohammedan financial theory is an integral part of *fiqh* or Mohammedan law. Mohammedan law in turn is derived from the revealed sources of the Koran

and the Prophetic utterances and conduct, and its avowed object, as the doctors put it, is 'beatitude in the two worlds.' There is a body of revealed truth from which one must not stray, and to which one must adapt himself as best he can."

This learned work ought, we think, to form part of the library of every student of Muhammedan law. One remark in conclusion. The author says: "But for the rich collection of Oriental books of the New

York Public Library, the preparation of it is dissertation in this country would have been all high impossible." We do not know about private libraries, but the Allahabad Public Library only contain a poor and badly catalogued collection of Arabic works. As far as books are concerned it seems to be easier to study Islam in New York than in the city of Akbar.

H. C.

A FEW WORDS ON ART AND LIFE

FOR sometime past a controversy has been raging in the Bengali monthlies about the use and purpose of art and its relation to life. This old threadbare question has now assumed such a form that it can no longer be ignored.

Some have put forth views on the mission of the poet and the relation of art to life, the trend of which is summed up in this dictum that the poet should consciously strive to be useful. They seem to forget when they so eloquently speak on the mission of the poet that the true role of the poet is not leadership: he does not intentionally show the way to any heroic time to come. He may sing of heroes: he does not create them in actual life. It is an accident that his record of their prowess is their best monument. True it is that—

... "If Pindar celebrate Great
Hiero, Lord of Syracuse,
Or Theron, Chief of Acragas,
These despots wisely may refuse
Record in unending brass."

But it is true only because brass succumbs to time and stones may moulder away; while the poet's words handed down from age to age or the printed record, perpetually renewed, are more enduring. Pindar celebrated Hiero and Theron because it pleased him to do so—not to stimulate other sovereigns to follow in their foot-steps.

The millenium need not come a day the sooner for all the poets in the world. "Art for Art's sake" may be just as meaningless a formula as the war-cry of "art for the service of society." In fact all theories of art when handled as canons and formula are apt to become meaningless. The poet does not use the things of art for an ulterior purpose. His poetry follows no ideal

of subserviency. But neither does he—nor some would have it—sit aloof in the glory of his impenetrable mystery making lonely music amid the ruins of the world. The poet is no longer dishevelled, wild-eyed, half seer and half mad, pointing the road to some imagined Heaven. The detachment from all worldly things is no more true of the modern poet than of the most mundane of mortals.

One cannot even admit that Art is "for life's sake." At worst this is the masked apology of the propagandist. At best it only asserts—what is perfectly true but quite a needless truism—that Art like everything else subserves the ultimate purpose of the universe.

But to the artist Art has no extraneous purpose apart from its own expression. "Art for Art's sake," "Social Art" and "Art for Life's sake" are equally false in their isolated implications. Art is the effect, not the cause. Art is like a sunset or the flowers in the field. Like them, of course, it may produce results, but the results are incidental and variable. Lovers may kiss the sweeter for a sunset or a beautiful flower, but the sun does not set nor the flowers grow for them. Nor are the possible results of Art the reason of its being. The sea produces results. Earthquakes produce results. They do not *aim* at producing results. They are the expressions of the earth in the travail of its being. No poet, if he was a real poet, ever wrote in order to produce any effect whatever upon any one at all, not even his lady-love. Art is an inevitable product of a certain set of circumstances. It is one of the flowers of life—perhaps the finest.

The only conceivable purpose of exist-

once demands that every unit should come to its full self-realisation. No potential value must be lost. The claim of every individuality should be asserted. Every one of us strives unflinchingly to be himself. The poet too like any of us seeks to become himself. But there is more. Every intense individuality will express itself. It will seek to realise its approach to selfhood, its "becoming"—internally and externally as well. The artist's expression is Art. No individuality can escape this law. If there is no attempt at external expression, there is an inward refusal to be oneself—a shrinking from life. Poetry is the outward revelation of the poet's will to find himself. It is the effect of the causes that go to make up the potentiality of the poet: of circumstances in their widest sense, of the epoch in which he lives and by which he is, to some extent, conditioned; of the inherited past of the particular art in which he seeks expression; but far more intimately of the obscure and undecipherable impulses that constitute his personality in its widest and deepest sense.

To check or attempt to control this expression of the poet, by imposing upon him from outside any formula or theory on Art or Life, is to set back his inward self-expression and thus commit spiritual murder. The advocates of "Art with a purpose" should not forget that the personality of a man seeking self-realisation and expression is deeper than politics or nationality or religion. It is absurd to demand of a poet that he defend and identify himself with a cause, political, national or

religious, or that he even express it. Poet Nabin Sen's expression of himself is profoundly coloured by Hindu ideas and ideals. But he did not set out to glorify the "sacred tuft of hair" or versify the tracts of the Anti-cow-killing Society. His expression of himself is more than Hindu. I will even go so far as to say that his Hinduism is partly accidental, the result of external circumstances. But there is something deeper and more personal in his Art. There is himself. Some of his sincerest admirers are not Hindus at all. It cannot be his Hinduism which attracts them.

The critic should not also ask if a poet's expression, his poetry, is in accord or not with the accepted conventions of the world. For these are made by those and only those who have refused to live! Indeed the more the poet's work is in discord with these, the newer and more valuable in the sum total of spiritual evolution will be the personality of which it is the outward expression. The duty of the critic is to disengage from the poet's work the part of the poet's surroundings, the part of his historical place in his art, and, beyond and above these, the part of the man expressing himself. The poet, then, expresses himself because he must. He creates beauty, quite independently of all formulas on Art, and says to the world if he says anything: "Take it or leave it." And the world mostly leaves it, afraid for "the little house of cards it calls Society, the refuge of the Eternal No."

AMAL CHANDRA HOME.

TAGORE IN JAPAN

I WAS pleased to hear in London two years ago that Sir Rabindranath Tagore, alarmed by the violent temper of the European nations running counter to all the finer instincts of humanity so cherished by him, hurried to return to a region in India where, to use Sir Rabindranath's words, his great ancient civilisation had its birth. As I already expressed somewhere, I returned home from London, let

me say again, much dissatisfied with the Western life founded on individualism and often egoism or self-satisfaction; in fact, I returned to Japan, whose spiritual safety should require her to refuse the Western invasion with its long arms reaching out after exciting luxury or disruptive sensation. I said that the social community of the West was less harmonious and loving; and when one does not respect the others,

I said, there will be only one thing to come, that is strife, in action or in silence. And my prophecy has been, I dare say, amply fulfilled by the present European war. (Pray, let me speak as if we were not concerned in the war as one of the belligerents.) I feel justified on reading Ernest Rhys' study of Rabindranath Tagore to find in the earlier part of the book such a phrase: "The major energies of the Western world, as Sir Rabindranath observed them, were not constructive; they did not make for the world's commonwealth, and by their nature they must come into conflict sooner or later." He was evidently in the same thought with myself: As I said at the beginning, I was pleased that our Indian poet returned from Europe to a region in India, to use his words, "where the mind is without fear and the head held high, where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow walls, where the mind is led forward into ever-widening thought and action."

My first thought, or more true to say, my uneasiness of mind, on having right before us the Indian poet whose melodious strength, as the *Athenaeum* once observed, might recall familiar passages in the Psalms or Solomon's Song, is certainly that our modern Japan with her wholesale adoption of the so-called Western civilization which is turned perhaps to use and then left aside, quite forgetting at least in our cities the old meditation and service for attainment of the ideal of perfection, would reveal herself to Sir Rabindranath as London or Paris to be an ugly monster restless and tending to trouble, from which he might run away in haste. He confesses his first impression of Japan seen from the balcony of a house at Kobe in the following language:

"The town of Kobe, that huge mass of corrugated iron roofs, appeared to me like a dragon, with glistening scales, basking in the sun, after having devoured a large slice of the living flesh of the earth. This dragon did not belong to the mythology of the past; but of the present; and with its iron mask it tried to look real to the children of this age—real as the majestic rock on the shore, as the epic rhythm of the sea-waves. Anyhow it hid Japan from my view, and I felt myself like the traveller, whose time is short, waiting for the cloud to be lifted to have a sight of the eternal snow on the Himalayan summit."

As I expected, his two lectures, gracefully elaborated in phraseology, which he delivered before the students under the

titles of the "Message of India to Japan," and the "Spirit of Japan," with an impressively vibrant voice and an eloquence, emphasised by something foreign, which, as Rhys remarked somewhere, turned a brick-made hall into a place where the sensation, the hubbub and the actuality of the modern world were put under a spell, were in fact a strong reminder to us of the threatening dangers in our surrender, to use his words, before the screeching machinery and gigantic selfishness, the blatant lies of statecraft and the smug self-satisfaction of the prosperous hypocrisy of the West. When he laughed and sneered at the so-called Modernism ("True modernism is independence of thought and action," he declared, "not tutelage under European schoolmasters"), he doubted and even slighted the Western science which forgot that man's existence is not merely of the surface, and as he declared offhand, looked so powerful because of its superficiality, like a hippopotamus that is very little else but physical; and when he declared the spirit of the Western civilization to be poisoning the very fountainhead of humanity, and advocated that Japan should have a firm faith in the moral law of existence clear of the path of suicide of the Western nations, and spoke of the common spiritual heritage of the "whole of Eastern Asia from Burma to Japan," the large audience who were listening to him distinctly divided into two opinions; while some, adherents of the so-called Western civilization in Japan, called Sir Rabindranath merely a propagandist of negativism or willful dreamer who, in spite of himself, will surely fail to realise the fulness of his own nature, the others, delightfully awakened into the so-called Japanism or Orientalism endorsed by the exposed weakness of the present European war, thought that Sir Rabindranath agreed with their first principle in encouraging the real individualism to assert the inner development of the nation. The Japanese chauvinists (I admit that we have a great number of them here) were pleased to hear the Indian poet saying that the political civilization which had sprung up from the soil of Europe and was overrunning the whole world like some prolific weed, was based upon exclusiveness; he declared: "This spirit of extermination is showing its fang in another manner—in California, in Cana-

da, in Australia,—by inhospitably shutting out aliens through those who themselves were aliens in the land they now occupy." What Sir Rabindranath brought to the well-balanced intellectual Japanese minds was this : How can we properly check the Western invasion ? Again how can we keep our own beauty and strength grown from the soil a thousand years old and let them realize the fullness of their nature, not curtailing all that is best and true in them at the threatened encroachment of foreign elements ? After all, he only presents this great momentous question ; and like any other prophet, he does not answer the question, only pointing the way by his inspired hand unseen but sure ; it is our work to solve it.

Again I am glad to have him in Japan from a literary point of view ; his presence before us, as his presence in London encouraged many English poets who were in doubt how to return to an age like Chaucer's England, when there was only one mind, as Yeats remarked, and poetry was something which had never seemed strange, unnatural, or in need of defence, is in the highest sense meaningful, if as in fact our present Japanese literature is sauntering away from the spiritual wholeness of a symphony, becoming some individualistic scraps which only rebel against the soul's surrender to a divine instinct or real naturalness. I myself as a fellow-worker in the literary domain feel a great joy in reading his songs, again to use Yeats' words, "so abundant, so spontaneous, so daring in passion, so full of surprise," because first of all he teaches or hints to us, how to "rebuild our literature through the force of music whose heart is simplicity." I addressed to him one poem, part of which runs as follows :

"Oh, to have thy song without art's rebellion,
To see thy life gaining a simple force that is itself
creation.

Oh, to be forgotten by the tyranny of intellect :
Thou biddest the minuet, chansen and fancies to
be stopped,

The revels and masquerade to be closed ;
Thou stoopest down from a high throne
To sit by people in simple garb and speech.

In simplicity

Thou hast thine own emancipation ;

Let us be sure of our true selves.

There is no imagination where is no reality ;

To see life plain

Is a discovery or sensation.

Although he was pessimistic over the general aspect of Japan at the outset seeing quite a dominating westernization which is threatening Japanese civilisation, it seems that he soon found a Japan more true and more human, as he had hoped to find ; he says in one of his lectures :

While travelling in a railway train I met, at a wayside station, some Buddhist priests and devotees. They brought their baskets of fruits to me and held their lighted incense before my face, wishing to pay homage to a man who had come from the land of Buddha. The distinguished serenity of their bearing, the simplicity of their devoutness, seemed to fill the atmosphere of the busy railway station with a golden light of peace. Their language of silence drowned the noisy effusion of the newspapers. I felt that I saw something which was at the root of Japan's greatness.

Again he says :

Japan does not boast of her mastery of nature, but to her she brings, with infinite care and joy, her offering of love. Her relationship with the world is the deerer relationship of heart....Your national unit is not an outcome of the necessity of organisation for some ulterior purpose, but is an extension of the family and the obligations of the heart in a wide field of space and time. The ideal of "Maitri" is at the bottom of your culture,—"maitri" with men and "maitri" with nature. And the true expression of this love is in the language of beauty, which is so abundantly universal in this land.

I can assure Sir Rabindranath or anybody else that we are still sufficiently Japanese as in the olden time, whose hearts will at once respond to the joy and song of foliage and waters ; we daresay that we are quite ready to sing, as Sir Rabindranath sang once in "Gitanjali" :

"I am here to sing the songs. In this hall of thine
I have a corner seat.

In thy world I have no work to do ! my useless
life can only break out in tunes without a purpose.

When the hour strikes for thy silent worship at
the dark temple of midnight, command me, my
master, to stand before thee to sing.

When in the morning air the golden harp is tuned,
honour me, commanding my presence."

YONE NOGUCHI.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Triumph of Individualism

is the theme of an illuminating article appearing in the *Arya* for September. The conquest of individualism over conventionalism has been set forth in a masterly way in the article under review.

We read :

The individualism of the new age is an attempt to get back from conventionalism of belief and practice to some solid bed-rock, no matter what, of real and tangible Truth. And it is necessarily individualistic because all the old general standards have become bankrupt and can no longer give any inner help; it is therefore the individual who has to become a discoverer, a pioneer, and to search out by his individual reason, intuition, idealism, desire, claim upon life or whatever other light he finds in himself the true law of the world and of his own being. By that when he has found or thinks he has found it, he will strive to rebase on a firm foundation and remould in a more vital, even if a poorer form, religion, society, ethics, political institutions, his relations with his fellows, his strivings for his own perfection and his labour for mankind.

It is in Europe that the age of individualism has taken birth and exercised its full sway; the east has entered into it only by contact and influence, not from an original impulse.

And it is to its passion for the discovery of the actual truth of things and for the governing of human life by whatever law of the truth it has found that the West owes its centuries of strength, vigour, light, progress, irresistible expansion. Equally, it is due not to any original falsehood in the ideals on which its life was founded, but to the loss of the living sense of the Truth it once held and its long contended slumber in the cramping bonds of a mechanical conventionalism that the East has found itself helpless in the hour of its awakening, a giant empty of strength, inert masses of men who had forgotten how to deal with facts and forces because they had learned only how to live in a world of stereotyped habitudes of thought and customs of action. Yet the truths which Europe has found by its individualistic age were only the first obvious, physical facts of life such as the habit of analytical reason and the pursuit of practical utility can give to man. If its rationalistic civilisation has swept so triumphantly over the world, it is because it found no deeper and more powerful truth to confront it; for all the rest of mankind was still in the inactivity of the last dark hours of their conventional age.

The dawn of individualism is always a questioning, a denial. The individual finds a religion imposed upon him which does not base its dogma and practice upon a living sense of ever verifiable spiritual Truth but on the letter of an ancient book, the infallible dictum of a Pope, the tradition of a Church, the learned casuistry of schoolmen and Pundits, conclaves of ecclesiastics, heads of monastic orders, doctors of all sorts, all of them unquestionable

tribunals whose sole function is to judge and pronounce but none of whom seems to think it necessary or even allowable to search, test, prove, inquire. He finds that, as is inevitable under such a regime, true science and knowledge are either banned, punished and persecuted or else rendered obsolete by the habit of blind reliance on fixed authorities; even what is true in old authorities is no longer of any value because its words are learnedly or ignorantly repeated but its real sense is no longer lived except at most by a few. In politics he finds everywhere divine rights, established privileges, sanctified tyrannies which are evidently armed with an oppressive power and justify themselves by long prescription, but seem to have no real claim or title to exist. In the social order he finds an equally stereotyped reign of convention, fixed disabilities, fixed privileges, the self-regarding arrogance of the high, the blind prostration of the low, while the old functions which might have justified at one time such a distribution of status are either not performed at all or badly performed without any sense of obligation and merely as part of the caste pride. He has to rise in revolt; on every claim of authority he has to turn the eye of a resolute inquisition and when he is told that this is the sacred truth of things or the command of God or the immemorial order of human life, he has to reply, "But is it really so? How shall I know that this is the truth of things and not superstition and falsehood? When did God command it and how do I know that this was the sense of His command and not your error or invention or that the book on which you found yourself is His word at all or that He has ever spoken His will to mankind? This immemorial order of which you speak, is it really a law of Nature or an imperfect result of Time and at present a most false convention? And of all you say, still I must ask, does it agree with the facts of the world, with my sense of right, with my judgment of truth, with my experience of reality?" And if it does not, the revolting individual flings off the yoke, declares the truth as he sees it and in doing so strikes inevitably at the root of the religious, the social, the political, momentarily perhaps even the moral order of the community as it stands because it stands upon the authority he discredits and the convention he destroys and not upon a living truth which can be successfully opposed to his own. The champions of the old order may be right when they seek to suppress him as a destructive agency perilous to social security, political order or religious tradition; but he stands there and can no other, because to destroy is his mission, to destroy falsehood and lay bare a new foundation of truth.

We thoroughly agree with the views so powerfully expressed in the following concluding portion of the article :

It is no longer possible that we should accept as an ideal any arrangement by which certain classes of society should arrogate development and full social fruition to themselves while assigning service

alone to others. It is now fixed that social development and well-being mean the development and well-being of all the individuals in the society and not merely a flourishing of the community in the mass which resolves itself really into the splendour and power of one or two classes. The individual is not merely a social unit, nor does his existence, right and claim to live and grow found itself on his social work and function,—that he is not merely a member of a human pack, hive or ant-hill, but something in himself, a soul, a being, who has to fulfil his own individual truth and law as well as his natural or his assigned part in the truth and law of the collectivity. He demands freedom, space, initiative for his soul, for his nature, for that puissant and tremendous thing which society so much distrusts and has laboured in the past either to suppress altogether or to relegate to the purely spiritual field, an individual thought, will and conscience.

Bawa Budh Singh contributes an interesting article on

Punjabi Ballads and Songs

to the *Sikh Review* for August.

The writer tells us that the modern style and idiom are wanting in the old ballads. To the modern ear the diction may be rough and sometimes vulgar, but the *Idea* and the *Emotion* are there. And these really constitute the bulwark of poetry.

In Panjab, the old ballads have never been reduced to writing. The chief reason being that the local dialect never received the state support. At present the Hindus and Mohammedans are alienating their sympathy from their mother-tongue. Under such circumstances how can we expect the hidden treasures of a language to find their due place in the museum of the world literature? The Panjabi songs or ballads are as a rule mostly true songs—exhortations from a female to her lover or husband. We seldom come across any old ballad, or a love song in the form of an exhortation from a man to his lady love. This is the strain in which Panjabi songs are written and this style is somewhat general in India and rather in the east. The prevalence of this style is not to be misconstrued as showing that women of Panjab or the east are more fashionable and desperate lovers than their western sisters.

The Panjabi songs can be divided into two chief parts—(1) short ballads, (2) songs. The former generally consist of two or more lines and are in the form of exhortations or emotional outbursts of female hearts. They are generally sung in chorus to the accompaniment of some crude musical instrument, generally "Dholak" (a drum). Men have their own ballads which they sing on the occasion of fairs like Baisakhi, but these are mostly vulgar and have not much of beauty about them, although they depict the Jat mind in simple and forcible language. The length of songs are generally narrative, they narrate certain stories of incidents of love. Some of these songs are in the form of a dialogue, and occasionally more than two persons are introduced in the conversation. Most of the ballads are sung in adoration of "Ranjha," the idol of love and an ideal sweetheart

in the Panjab. Hir adores her cowherd lover in various forms. This love story attained so great a reputation in the Panjab that Saints and Fakirs also gave it a place in their compositions.

The songs are generally tuned to music but not properly versified. Some are written in blank verse, while others are with proper rhymes.

It is again difficult to define with certainty the authorship of such ballads. Some seem to have been composed by women while in others where metre and diction is regular the man's artful hand is clearly visible.

The language of the songs is Panjabi, but the Western Panjabi predominates. It is the Western Panjabi which is rich in ballads. All Panjabi romance sticks to the Chenab the eastern boundary of Western Panjab, its proximity to Lahore the Capital of Panjab naturally brought the romantic spirit of the song to the central Panjab, but the Eastern Panjab remained barren in this respect. We cannot find any Panjabi Poet of repute in the eastern Panjab. The language of the songs has traces of old Panjabi words now obsolete.

These songs beautifully depict the customs and the trend of human mind in those old times. They are grand in their simplicity, whether the song is a love ballad or a marriage ditty.

Here are some marriage songs :

At a boy's marriage a popular "Ghori" song is in the form of an exhortation from a sister :—

Oh my brother, thy sister has spun this very fine thread for thy turban which enhances thy beauty and thy father got it very carefully woven. Thy sister, Oh my brother, is ready to take over herself all thy misfortunes, thou mayst live for ages, and go to thy father-in-law's house with all glory.

The son of a weaver, friend of my beloved brother, whom he loves much, has brought these "Jora and Chuni," coat and a wrapper. Wear them, oh my brother, wear them.

My dear Mal or Nanda, thou lookst like the full moon, with a red mark "filak" on thy forehead, with an umbrella over thy head, and a betel leaf in thy mouth ; wear them oh my brother, thou wear them and I pay the price.

When nuptials of a daughter are to be celebrated the females sing :—

Oh daughter, why wert thou standing behind the sandal tree?

I was standing near my papa saying—"Papa speak, thy daughter has become of marriageable age and needs a consort."

Oh daughter, what sort of husband thou desirest? Oh papa (I want a husband who may be) like a moon amongst the stars, and a Krishna amongst the moons (handsome persons), I want a Kanhaiyalike husband.

The above song has succinctly put forth the emotions of a girl's heart. Krishna is still the ideal of love amongst Hindu women.

Another popular song "Sohag" is :—

A daughter implores her father :—Papa, send me into that house where masons build palaces.

Papa, it will be your great gift and charity, and great will be your praises. (The house may have) eight rooms and nine windows, and into each window I will put my heart. Papa marry me into that family, where Jats milk the she-buffaloes. I may keep milk of one to be turned into curd and churn that of the other that my hands be full of butter. Papa do so, it will be your great gift and charity to me and it will enhance your praises.

Papa send me into that family, where my mother-in-law has got good many sons, one may be betrothed and another married and so on, and I may witness happy ceremonies frequently. Papa marry me into that family where the mother-in-law is a kind and prominent figure and the father-in-law be a chief. I may sit on a low lady's chair in front of my mother-in-law and she would never show a wrinkle on her forehead (be always pleased) and so on.

The following love songs though simple are yet appealing :

"The handsome lover has white teeth and black eye brows and his features are beautiful beyond description. Oh wearer of a turban, do not go turning your back towards me, I am looking at thee at every step. Oh save me. The offended lover does not turn round and listen to my bewailings. I sit on a low chair, and wash the clothes with tears which flow like rain from my eyes. I have spent myself up in pacifying him—but the displeased lover does not heed my entreaties."

The following song is put in the mouth of "Sohni" while she was being drowned in the Chenab in her wild attempt to see her sweetheart Mahiwal :—

"Oh care-taker of the she-buffaloes, Oh love intoxicated Fakir, thy Sohni is dying by drowning. On the yonder bank stands my sweetheart and lover, while I am being drowned by the waves. If this life is gone, let it be sacrificed over my lover, but let my love with him remain untarnished, if God is not pleased to allow my raft "Kachcha Ghara" (unburnt pitcher) to reach the bank of safety where my lover stands.

In another song Sohni is made to say :—

Oh fish and turtles of the water, cut and eat you may all my flesh, but pray, do not touch the eyes as I have still left the longing to see my lover.

Take to thy wings oh black starling and take a long long flight. Go and tell my husband—"Thou hast forgotten thy bride and cheated her." Is it oh my husband, that I have become old or that thou hast forgotten me ?

No ! My Beauty, thou hast neither become old nor I have forgotten thee.

Quite so ! (then) why hast thou neither sent any letter nor any word about thy welfare ?

My darling, to what messenger could I entrust my letters or word about welfare ?

Is it that thou hast got no paper to write upon and no need to make your pen ?

If I were thee I would make the piece of my heart a writing paper and cut my fingers into pen. The black powder of my eyes moistened with my tears would form the adequate ink.

Fingers covered with rings, the little finger coloured yellow.

My offended sweetheart will not make peace, though I have employed a mediator.

Though forbidden, he will not listen, the stupid will not obey.

If our houses are side by side, and our fields adjoin each other ;

If my sweetheart's house be close by, I shall be able to live on having talk with him.

Though forbidden, he will not listen, the stupid will not listen.

With wildness in his eyes, he puts a low lady's chair (Pihra) down and sits besides me.

Though forbidden, he will not listen.

Female Education in India.

Some of the crying problems of female education in India have very well been presented in the following editorial notes appearing in a recent number of the *Indian Education*.

The eternal problem of female education is to find teachers. The Anglo-Indian communities of India have their full share of it. No sooner does an intelligent, attractive girl drift into the teaching profession than she is caught up by the claws of predestination and married. The Hindu community, with its surplus widows, might seem to a foreigner to be exceptionally well-placed for female education, but *a priori* reasoning as usual would be misleading. There is no profession in India where the widow is more impossible than in teaching. What is to be done ? Sometimes we have doubts about the education of women in schools at all.

One thing is certain, that extended female education, like other good things, will have to be paid for. The payment will come in the shape of added discomfort of life. The first effect of education is to give people a distaste for work and a taste for intellectual and other luxuries—the cinematograph etc. This presses heavily on a small income, such as most of the candidates for education enjoy. And education has no tendency, at least no direct tendency to increase the productivity of labour—there is not more to divide than there was before. Result—discomfort and discontent. We do not say the price is too heavy for the intellectual elevation, but it will have to be paid, and it will be heavier for the education of women than of men.

By the way there is much to be said for the San Francisco way of settling the female-teacher problem—as explained to us in San Francisco. They do not aim at having a permanent set of female teachers—middle-aged females get stale, they say. They look forward to a continuous stream of bright young girls flowing through their schools. They don't give them much training—just whack them into shape a little by a few practical lessons; no pedagogics, no psychology. Then they launch them in the schools: their temperament carries them on. They find inducement for the career in the effect on their own characters of a little teaching experience, it gives them firmness, qualifies them to manage their husbands and their own children. The American man prefers a certain firmness in woman, so all is well. And the children learn their rudiments as well as they do under the more complicated systems. But, like other institutions, this might not bear transplanting.

Religion, Politics and Collective Life

is the theme of a sober and well-written article contributed to the *East and West* for October by G. C. Whitworth.

"Some writers in the *Prabuddha Bharata*" says the writer, "have been arguing that Indian political leaders make a great mistake in seeking to found an Indian nationality upon political principles." So

Every Indian—Hindu, Musalman or Christian—

is asked to rally round the spiritual ideal, without in any sense giving up his particular creed; and to steer clear of the Scylla of narrow orthodoxy as well as of the Charybdis of Western prepossessions; eschewing indeed all bigotry and recognising that the same God is worshipped by all; and looking forward to the harmonious development of all creeds and faiths already existing or yet to exist.

The writer very ably points out some fundamental errors involved in the views put forward.

In the first place, the conception of politics is entirely erroneous. It was a German who said "War is not the sequel, it is the failure of politics. The sequel of politics is art, science, religion—all that goes to make what Aristotle called the good life—for the full development of which the State is the essential condition."

If we regard politics as a "game," as furnishing a field for personal distinction, for the exercise of power, for a career; if we associate with the term such factors as party spirit, greed of place, sacrifice of principle, abandonment of conviction, jealousy, corruption, bribery, rowdy elections, snap divisions, and so on, it is to be remembered that these things are not true politics, but an abuse of politics.

And if politics must be rejected as a foundation for nationality because of the liability to abuse, what are we to say of religion in the same capacity? Is it not equally liable to abuse?

The right view of politics is thus set forth by Mr. Whitworth:

Politics rightly regarded may be said to consist primarily of thought and action for the benefit of others. As soon as a man's sympathy and consequent action extend beyond his own wants and those of his family, he enters upon politics. Nor is his part in politics valuable only for what he can do for others. It is necessary also for his own social development. Or, as Mill puts it, his individual energy of mind and character must be developed all round and in all things and can only be so developed if the area of individual thought and will be extended to embrace the affairs of the whole community.

The writer goes on to say:

These advocates of nationality founded on religion when they tell us that the most fundamental task in the practice of religion is to detach the mind from all domestic relations and sense-enjoyments, when they extol asceticism, and say that renunciation is essential to spiritual realisation, forget that religion transcends intellect, and that a religion within the limits of intellect and sentiment is no religion at all, that the same moral rules cannot be preached to *sādhus* and to householders and that the highest *advaitism* cannot be brought down to practical life. Clearly nationalism cannot be founded on religion as thus conceived. It is a religion for the few, not for the many. A nation must consist of householders, not of *sādhus*: a nation of hermits is a contradiction in terms.

These writers fail to perceive that in relation to nationality the two things, religion and politics, meet together and become in effect one. The difference between them is that in the case of religion a more concrete divine sanction is appealed to, while in the case of politics what is really the same sanction is rather assumed than formally expressed. But the

mischievous result of the attitude taken is that politics, instead of being cheerfully welcomed as a part of religion, is grudgingly admitted as a thing evil in itself though unfortunately necessary. Politics, it is admitted, has its subordinate function, but its connection with religion is not recognised. And then we are told absolutely that religion is not only the great redeemer of all mankind from *avidya* and its endless miseries, but specially in India it is also the great nation-builder; and these two aspects of religion, the writers say, they seek to present before their countrymen. But politics being excluded, there are not two aspects of religion, but only one aspect. And religion under that aspect, if indeed it can redeem all mankind, certainly cannot build a nation.

Spirituality is a term of high association both in the East and the West, while worldliness is usually a term of evil association. But both terms are liable to be misused, and it would be no offence to language to speak of a spiritual worldliness. Let us not be too quick to condemn the world. After all, we have been placed in it by what we conceive to be a beneficent power, and we know that the world is what it is partly through our material, but still more through our spiritual energy.

Elements of collective life are but vaguely dealt with by the writers of the *Prabuddha Bharata*. We read:

Education is to be imbued with the national ideal and is not to be narrowly denominational. Poverty and insanitation are to be met by bringing organised intelligence and activity into the villages, and this is to be effected apparently by getting the middle classes to return to the villages which they are said to have deserted.

Under these heads it is only the vagueness of the proposals to which exception can be taken—the ideals seem to be sound and elevated.

In the present crisis of disorganisation, we are told, the remedy is to reinstate that scale of social values which embodied itself in past social distinctions, and then to invite the low to emulate the high along the real line of social worthiness.

This is pitiful.

The article under review is concluded with the following pertinent observations:

There is a special reason why India should be distrustful of her past. There are few questions affecting human society which are not open to argument—something can usually be urged in support of even the worst causes. Still there are a few questions which are really past all reasonable argument, and two of these at once spring to mind upon the mention of the two words "untouchable" and "infanticide." The first of these questions is well before the public at the present time and needs no discussion here. As to the second, I do not for a moment aver that infanticide is a common crime in India, but the word with its associations serves, as no other single word can, to bring to mind that preference for male over female offspring which is still a strong sentiment in India. As providence has not endowed parents with the faculty of the choice of sex, it ought ordinarily to be a matter of equal joy whether a son or a daughter is born to them. We know that that is very far from being the case in India. >

The Waste of Infant Life in India

is the title of a melancholy article appearing in the October number of the *Social Service Quarterly* which is a review of the annual reports of the sanitary commissioners of Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces, United Provinces, Assam and Burma for the year 1914.

The writer correctly begins by saying that

The Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner on the sanitary administration of a province and the health of its inhabitants would be one of the most valuable of public documents, if, besides the various statements of figures in the prescribed form and the description of the routine of administration, the Sanitary Commissioner presented, in an attractive and popular style, the general conclusions to be drawn from the facts and figures marshalled in the Report and the remedies suggested. This general inadequacy is most clearly brought home when one considers the manner in which the subject of infant mortality is treated in these Reports.

The following statistics clearly show the appalling infant mortality in the country :

In Bombay, the rate of mortality of infants calculated on the number of registered births was 198.81 per 1,000 in 1914, against 188.42 in the previous year. As many as 2,64,302 deaths were recorded among children under 5 years of age, giving a rate of 95.51 per mille. Among the measures adopted in Bombay for reducing infant mortality, are the giving to a number of poor women, during confinement, relief in the shape of necessaries and comforts such as milk, loaves, blanket, and charpais. A few municipal nurses and midwives are also engaged and they have to move about in localities entrusted to them and find out prospective mothers. They have then to attend on confinements among the poor and continue their visits even after the lying-in period and give advice on the care and feeding of infants. The advantages of these measures, which are in the experimental stage, however, barely reach the bulk of poor women in Bombay. In the Madras Presidency, the infantile death-rate was 196.5, the incidence of the deaths of infants being the heaviest in the city of Madras where the rate was 312.5. It appears from figures for preceding years that this incidence shows a marked tendency to rise; and as to preventive measures, they seem to be non-existent, for the Sanitary Commissioner finds it necessary to suggest that the Health Department of the Madras Corporation should see to this and try to discover causes with a view to adopting necessary remedies. In the United Provinces, the death-rate of infants was 233.5 as against a decennial average of 255. The chief preventive measure adopted in these provinces was an increase in the number of travelling dispensaries from 74 to 87. 793 *dais* were admitted for training in the essentials of midwifery and the care of children. In a few districts, leaflets on the feeding of young children were distributed.

The mortality among children under five years formed 60 per cent. of the total deaths in the Central Provinces. The rate of infant mortality was 263.89. The Sanitary Commissioner remarks that in many

towns a definite advance has been made by employing a municipal midwife or female sub-assistant surgeon. The Sanitary Commissioner also refers to the efforts made in Nagpur to secure a reduction of the mortality. The lady doctor of the city obtains information of as many labour cases as possible from the *dais* in attendance, and offers skilled assistance where needed. Her experience is that, although trained assistance is available, the employment of the *dai* is such a time-honoured custom that her services are preferred to those of another agency by the vast majority of people.

The rate of infantile mortality in Burma was 216.36. A marked increase was observed in nine towns, but the Report states that for none of the towns was any satisfactory explanation received from the health officers. In some cases, the increase was overlooked and not considered fit for comment. Other frequent explanations were the prevalence of "child's diseases" or convulsions or malaria. The Sanitary Commissioner is therefore justified in remarking that the study of the causes of infantile mortality in the Province is still in its infancy. The only information vouchsafed in the Assam Report is that, as in the previous years, the death rate was highest among infants under one year.

We thoroughly agree with the writer when he says in conclusion :

Here it will not be improper to comment on the more or less perfunctory manner in which the question has been treated in the Reports. The causes of the high mortality among infants may be as open to dispute as the means of its prevention. But that is no reason why the question should be dealt with in any but a thorough manner. It is apparent from the Reports that there is a diversity of views about the causes, but this is mainly due to the absence of systematic inquiry. The poverty, and not seldom the immaturity, of the parents, their ignorance of the proper ways of rearing children, and the insanitary surroundings in which the poor have to live necessarily make the life of infants very precarious. Under conditions like these—to which most mothers and children are exposed,—the surprising thing is not that so many infants die, but that more do not die.

A fuller knowledge of these and other causes will suggest remedies. As it is, the Reports do contain a record of measures adopted to remove the evil. But these measures are at best isolated and inadequate. Organized efforts are necessary and there is a heavy responsibility on all interested—parents, doctors, sanitary authorities, and the general public. The commencement of the campaign must be anti-natal. The care of the expectant mother takes the foremost place among the remedies. This presupposes in all who are concerned in the care of pregnant women the necessary knowledge of their proper treatment. We have yet to educate the masses of people in the best means of saving and preserving infant life, to open their eyes to the great extent of infant mortality, and to impress upon them the facts that the prevailing excessive mortality is a national disaster and that much of this waste of life can be, and ought to be, prevented. In this country, where the bulk of population is illiterate, it may be difficult to achieve much by trying to educate the mass of people through the Press or by lectures, but personal influence can be effective, and this work of promoting the health of mothers and the welfare of infants and children offers an ample field for the energies of those women who have received the benefit of higher

education. In addition to an educational propaganda and systematic house-to-house visiting, there is an urgent need for the provision of beds, wards, even hospitals, set apart for maternity cases, at least, in all towns. For, any suggestion like this about villages, most of which have to do without even a dispensary, would be premature. Hospital accommodation for pre-maternal cases may also be arranged for, but only in places where due provision has been made for the treatment of maternity cases. In brief, if from the commencement of pregnancy, healthy conditions of life could be made possible for mother and child, and proper attention could be secured for the feeding, clothing, and up-bringing of the infant throughout the first year of life, a large number of the lives of infants now lost from tetanus, debility at birth, acute lung diseases, and malnutrition might well be saved.

The Conservation of Life.

James Mathers contributes to the *Young Men of India* a thoughtful article under the above heading in which he tries to discuss the true meaning of life.

Man tries to interpret life according to his own temperament. Thus the materialist attempts to find life's secret in matter. The saint seeks its source and end in God. The ordinary man is content with vague and cloudy notions.

Much of the backwardness of India in things economic and material is due to the philosophic view of life which obtains in our country.

In the philosophic view, life is a dream, and true life only comes in the awakening from the dream. The world is a delusion, essentially an evil thing, and stands in the way of the true development of the soul. It is, therefore, something to be got rid of at all cost. Asceticism, seclusion from the world, forest life, meditation, and yogic practices are what this theory of life leads to. In ancient times in India an earnest attempt to conserve life in this way was made by not a few of her most gifted sons, and the Buddhist ideal of life follows the same path. Some aspects of Christian religious mysticism are also based on this ideal, especially certain ascetic types developed in mediæval times. But it is in India alone that the attempt has had a profound influence on the general life of her people. It has led to an almost universal lessening of the sense of the worth of the world and the world's work; and although many endeavours have been made mitigating the rigour of the theory in the interests of social and material progress—by such mediating philosophies as are embodied in the *Bhagavat Gita* and the commentaries of Ramanuja—still the effect is present in the whole general attitude of the people of India to the active side of life, and in the fatalistic acquiescence in events, which ever says, "What happens, happens." In a recent speech to the Mysore Economic Conference, the Dewan of Mysore traced to this fatalistic tendency of the race much of the difficulty that stands in the way of India's economic progress. How this is so may be gleaned from the words of a Spanish poet :—

Man dreams what he is, and wakes
Only when upon him breaks
Death's mysterious morning beam.
The King dreams he is a King
And in this delusive way
Lives and rules with sovereign sway :
All the cheers that round him ring,
Born of air on air take wing ;
And in ashes—mournful fate—
Death dissolves his pride and state.
Who would wish a crown to take,
Seeing that he must awake
In the dream beyond death's gate !
And the rich man dreams of gold
Gilding cares it scarce conceals ;
And the poor man dreams he feels
Want, and misery, and cold.
Dreams he too who rank would hold,
Dreams who bears toil's rough rubbed hands.
Dreams who wrong for wrong demands.
And in fine, throughout the earth
All men dream, whate'er their birth,
And yet none understands.
'Tis a dream that I in sadness
Here am bound, the scorn of Fate :
'Twas a dream that once a state
I enjoyed of light and gladness.
What is life ! 'Tis but a madness.
What is life ? A thing that seems,
A mirage, that falsely gleams,
Phantom joy, delusive rest.
Since is life a dream at best,
And even dreams themselves are dreams.

Such thinking in a people can but lead to a desire for death in the sense of a cessation of conscious existence and the extinction of personal individuality ; or, failing the hope of this, to a listless hopeless acquiescence in things as they are. And this latter is what in the main has actually happened in India. The chosen few may elect to tread the higher way to union with God, but the many are doomed to a seemingly endless whirl of cycles of existences, theoretical dreams, but very real and very hopeless to those imprisoned in them. India's pessimistic outlook on life and quietism have been the result. We need not stay to criticise this theory of life. The whole trend of modern thought condemns it, and the whole spirit of national feeling, and desire for economic and individual progress, that are so prevalent in India at the present time, are utterly contradictory to it.

The writer goes on to say :

To-day in the sciences dealing with mental and psychological processes, and in the science of religions, we are extending the boundaries of science as a whole, and in consequence revising many of the dictums of the natural scientists of last century. Then the tendency of science was to assert that there is no life after death. Death is the end of all things to the individual. The natural lesson from such a doctrine would be, "Eat, drink, and be merry, for death is the end of all." More, perhaps, than we realize, this philosophy of life has affected our Western political, social, and commercial idea. National self-assertiveness, social emphasis upon position and power, and the commercial instinct that would ever buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, oblivious of all other interests, rest ultimately on a latent belief in the supreme worth of this present life. But to adopt this attitude to life is to reduce human life to the level of the beasts that perish. Man has

more intelligence, more adaptability, more power, and more cunning, than the animals. That is all.

The proper out look on life should be as follows :

Life is immortal. What we are now experiencing here on earth is but one stage in a great journey, whose end is God. All life has a meaning, and its progress can be accelerated or retarded. Our central life has relations both with the physical and the spiritual sides of human existence. But while its relations to the physical side are merely temporal, while it inhabits the body, its everlasting seat is in the spirit of man. And just as there are laws of physical growth and health, so also there are laws of the well-being and advancement of the spirit.

Life cannot be lived alone. It is a social product, dependent at once for growth on God, the Giver of Life, and on communion with other lives.

The ascetic ideal is a mistake. Isolation leads to the death of the soul. It is in the rub and bustle of life that character is formed, and character is the food by which life grows. Not the man who hides his talent wins life, but he who puts it out to interest and reaps gain.

True life does not consist in getting, but in giving

not in love of self, but in love of others. The highest character is formed through the life of self-sacrifice for the good of others—family, nation, God.

It should be our privilege to be able to sing with the poet

Rejoice we are allied
To That which doth provide
And not partake, effect and not receive!
A spark disturbs our clod;
Nearer we hold of God
Who gives, than of His tribes that take, I must believe
Then welcome each rebuff
That turns earth's smoothness rough
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand, but go!
Be our joys three parts pain!
Strive and hold cheap the stair;
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the
throe!

For thence,—a paradox
Which comforts while it mocks,—
Shall life succeed in that it seems to fail:
What I aspired to be
And was not, comforts me:
A brute I might have been, but would not sink in the
scale.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India After the War : Self-Government for India

is the title of a telling article contributed to the *Nineteenth Century and After* by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Whitehead, Bishop of Madras. We make a few important cullings for the benefit of our readers :

With a few exceptions it is true to say that the desire for the maintenance of British rule is universal among the great mass of the peoples of India. On the other hand, the last fifty years have seen the rapid growth of an educated class throughout India who have received a Western education, are imbued with English political ideals, and by reason of a common language and civilisation have been inspired with a sense of National unity, and of which the Indian National Congress is the outward and visible sign. Among this class of educated men there has been growing up for the last half-century an increasing desire for a larger share in the government of their own country, a longing that India should have its place in the sun, and the vision of an Indian Nation, independent and self-governing, taking its place with the Colonies of Canada, South Africa and Australia as an integral part of the British Empire. If educated Indians desired a large share in the government of their own country before the War began, that desire will be far stronger when the War is over ; if the desire to realise the ideal of Self-Government and to play an honourable part in the history of the world was strong in the hearts of the Indian peoples before the Indian troops landed in France, it will become incomparably stronger after the War.

All Englishmen would acknowledge that these are honourable ambitions and that the vision of the India that is to be is a noble and inspiring ideal, and that there is nothing in this ambition or this ideal in any way inconsistent with perfect loyalty to the British Empire or with the full and frank recognition of the fact that for many years to come the strength and efficiency of the British Government are absolutely necessary if the ideal is to be attained.

There has undoubtedly been a conflict between the ideal of the Englishman in India and the ideal of the educated India during the last few years, and we must expect that the conflict will be more acute after the War. It is not due to the fact that the two ideals are necessarily irreconcilable, but simply to the fact that each of the two races naturally tends to look at the political situation from a different angle and to take a one-sided and partial view of the problem it presents. It is perhaps natural that this should be so, simply because Englishmen and Indians differ so widely in temperament and mental characteristics. We English people are by temperament suspicious of ideals : we naturally fix our attention on present facts and deal with them as best we can ; our whole interest is in the *status quo* : we live and work for the present and do not look forward to the future and that to a very large extent is the secret of our success in the building of the Empire. It has been said that England conquered India in a fit of absent-mindedness, and this is partly true : we did not come to India with any idea of Empire or with any intention of conquering India ; we came as traders : we established factories because they were necessary for the security of our trade ; we assumed the Government of Districts and States because it seemed necessary to do so for the security of our factories

and so we were led on by the practical necessities of the case step by step until at last there came out this Empire! We are doing much the same thing now; we are taking one step after another by the education of the people, the extension of railways and telegraphs, the spread of the English language, the training of the people in the arts of Government, the creation of a sense of unity among the peoples of India, and we are thus preparing the way for great political changes in the future; but we never trouble ourselves to look ahead or seriously to think what is the inevitable goal towards which we are tending. Sufficient unto the day is the good and evil thereof.

On the other hand, Indians are essentially idealists, their whole interest in the past has been centred in religion, philosophy, and the abstract sciences of logic and mathematics. They have never taken much interest in history; their tendency is to concentrate on ideals, to go back to first principles, to dream dreams and see visions, and largely to ignore the intermediate steps by which the visions and dreams must be realised.

On the one hand, the English officials do not at all realise what a natural and honourable ambition it is on the part of the educated class to desire a greater share in the government of their own country nor how splendid the vision is of a self-governing India; nor can they understand how difficult their position must necessarily be in India from the mere fact that they are foreigners governing a people with an ancient civilisation and history of their own. They forget that no educated and civilised people like to be governed by foreigners however well they govern, and that the desire for independence and Self-Government is a simple elementary fact of human nature. They have always imagined that because they have governed well, their Government must necessarily be popular.

Then, again, it is hard for us to realise the fact that India has a civilisation of its own, which it ought to develop upon its own lines. There are certain principles of thought, morality, social life and political progress which are common to all mankind. It is our duty and privilege to establish these principles in India; but, on the other hand, the exact form which these principles will assume in India is necessarily different from that which they have assumed in England. Our function is to sow seeds and let them grow in accordance with the genius of the Indian peoples. India has got its own contribution to make to the thought, the religion, the social and political life of humanity; but it can never make this contribution unless it is allowed ultimately to grow and develop upon its own natural lines in accordance with its own genius, and this is not possible without political Self-Government.

And then, again, it is difficult for Englishmen in India to realise that in spite of the facts of past history, it is still true that the ultimate basis on which the British Government in India must rest in the future, is the will of the Indian peoples.

Were the peoples of India ever to become fit for independence and wish for independence, the British Government would have done its work and would retire. The idea that we can ever maintain our Government by force against the general will of the Indian people is unthinkable. Even if it were physically possible, our conscience would never allow us to use force and shed blood to maintain a foreign Government in India, if the mass of the people wished for a Government of their own. And

the present War is making it doubly impossible for us ever to try to impose our Government upon the peoples of India by force.

At the same time the present War is surely striking proof that the British Government can take its stand upon the will of the Indian peoples with perfect safety. It has been a wonderful demonstration of fundamental loyalty of the great mass of the princes and peoples of India to the British Empire; and if it has revealed the loyalty of India to the people of England, it has also revealed to the people of India the value to them of the British Empire.

What possible lines of advance are there towards the great ideal of a Self-Governing India?

The first is obviously to increase the number of Indians in Government service and promote them continually to positions of greater and greater responsibility, with the idea that ultimately the British element in the Government will to a very large extent disappear and India be governed almost entirely by Indians. This is practically the policy which has been steadily pursued for the last sixty or seventy years. Lord Morley's reforms were a great step in this direction, and the further reforms which have for some years past been advocated by the Nationalist Party all tend to the same end. This policy undoubtedly is valuable, inasmuch as it serves to train a large body of Indians in the art of administration and to bring the Government more in touch with Indian thought and feeling; but on the other hand, as has been pointed out above, it cannot be regarded as a true solution of the problem that has ultimately to be solved.

One of the foremost Indian politicians remarked very truly a few months ago: 'Even if all the posts in the Civil Service were filled with Indians, that would not constitute Self-Government for India. Self-Government must begin from below. There can be no such thing as Self-Government until the people in every village have learnt to govern themselves.'

The second line of advance is the development of Local Self-Government in municipalities and villages.

It is a minor point but I venture to think that it is a mistake to discourage the serious study of Indian politics in our Indian Universities. We greatly need in India a large body of thoughtful Indian politicians of the type of the late Mr. Gokhale and a great deal might be done to create such a body of men for the State by fostering and encouraging the study of political and social questions in the Universities. I fully believe myself that a school of Political Science in each University, with a body of really able professors to teach the subject, would have a very wholesome and steadying effect upon Indian politics. It would create in each Province a sound body of public opinion; it would discourage wild and thoughtless talk, and it would be able to apply the universal principles of political science to the special conditions of Indian life and society.

A more important point is the cultivation of friendly social relations between Europeans and Indians. It may be true that social relations between Europeans and Indians cannot be quite satisfactory so long as there is political inequality; and it may also be true, as is constantly urged by Europeans, that Indian customs, especially the seclusion of women and the caste rules of the Hindus with reference to food, place great obstacles in the way of social relations between the two races,

At the same time it is a great exaggeration to say that there can be no social relations at all between the two races until these obstacles are removed. I can bear witness from my own experience of thirty years in India, both in Calcutta and Madras that a very large amount of social intercourse between Europeans and Indians is perfectly possible, and that such intercourse is of the utmost value to both parties.

We need a new attitude on the part of Europeans in India, both official and non-official, towards the peoples of India and their aspirations, a new ideal for our work, a new conception of the ultimate basis of our power. The all-important thing is, that after the War we should cease to talk of the population of India as a subject people, cease to talk of ourselves as a ruling race, cease the effort to impose upon the peoples of India a purely Western civilisation and cease to allow our policy to be dominated by the fear of weakening the position of the foreign bureaucracy.

The Voices of the Night.

Under the above heading a short but interesting article has been published in the *Westminster Gazette* penned by Horace Hutchinson. The writer tells us that the night is seldom if ever "stilly," in fact it is filled and alive with a perfectly astonishing number of sounds.

Says Mr. Hutchinson :

In the comparative calm of the night there is, for many minutes together, no single sound to occupy your attention strongly ; it is distributed, going from one of the little sounds to the other so quickly as to give them an illusion of coalescence, like the optical illusion of the kaleidoscope. It is thus even as you lean from your window. It is thus, magnified multifold, if you pass into that far closer communion with nature which you may establish if you come forth from your tenement of bricks and mortar, which is the fence that modern man has erected between himself and things as nature would have them be, and stand or lie silent on Mother Earth in the midst of all the rest of her children. Believe me you will not then find night "stilly," nor a time when all the good children of Mother Earth are asleep.

Certain of the sounds you will identify, or at least will believe that you assign to their real makers. Of such are the innumerable little patterings, as it were the sound of a scratchy pen travelling over paper, then stopping very short and abruptly—the scribe's idea, not too fluent in his mind. These are the footfalls of small nocturnal people going over the carpeting of dry leaves or among the stiff grass blades with hard-shod feet and talons. They may be feet of shrews or voles, or even of larger creatures than these ; but the majority of the pattering and the scratching will be done by the insects, because they are far more numerous and incessantly busy—the ants, the beetles, and so on. And generally it is the fallen leaves that play the part of sounding-board to it all. One of the many correspondents who are kind enough to write me on the subjects of some of these short essays in the *Westminster* describes this process vividly. "Walking," he says, "in my garden on a quiet November

evening, I used to be astonished by hearing a constant rustling of dried leaves on the ground, always ahead of me. It was too late for birds to be about. I wondered, could it be mice, and would they be so numerous and omnipresent ? I decided in the negative, and then tried by the quietest and slowest approach to stalk the mysterious beings who rustled the leaves. After many failings I at last succeeded, and discovered they were Darwin's favorite earth-worms, who were busy pulling the withered leaves into and down their holes, I suppose to provide themselves with nourishment during the hard weather which lay before them. It then became a pleasure, while promenading the garden by day, to notice the leaves in scores that were more or less dragged into the worm-holes. They were twirled round as we twirl a sheet of paper round a bouquet of flowers, and I think the stalk and narrow end were always pulled in first.

There is one mood of Nature and one only in which the night, for the watcher, is not filled with these innumerable, scarcely palpable sounds. When all the world is wrapped in the garb of snow the activities of very many of the nocturnal creatures are checked. This check of the activities occurs as a result of the low temperature simply, and we find it at times of a hard and crisp frost, no less. But the snow, besides being an enervator of vital forces, acts also as a muffler of all sound that creatures still have enough vitality to produce. It is not a time at which the watcher will care to remain watchful for long, by wood or fell. You will be the less tempted to dally because all except the louder voices of the night are hushed. It is, as it were, a dead world, or a world of arrested life. The very silence is so oppressive as almost to seem audible. You may go home, to your far more grateful fireside, with the impression that not a living thing has been stirring about you as you held your brief nocturnal vigil. And then coming forth the next morning and going to the same place, you will perceive the tell-tale face of the candid snow as it were riddled with wrinkles formed by the footprints of little creatures that must have been going to and fro all about you, even while you watched, though you saw and knew nothing of them.

Sir Robert Hadfield writing in the *Review of Reviews* presents some of the

Problems of Industrial Training

and tries to find out a means to solve them.

Says he :

In my opinion neither the scientific man nor the practical man wholly fulfils the required conditions for the direction of great modern affairs. By the practical man I mean the man who has received a good secondary education, but not special scientific culture and by the scientific man I mean the man who is completely instructed, but is a stranger to actual experience and practice.

It usually happens that the scientific man is as necessary as the practical man, but neither the one nor the other is a satisfactory organiser, because they do not unite in one head the combination of the two indispensable elements. It is therefore necessary to

arrange our educational courses so as to combine the two ; in other words, to find a third type of man in whom such knowledge will be united. The solution of the problem is not easy, but it is more than ever necessary that at the present time such a new type should be evolved and developed.

Until quite recently many mistakes were made, either because the scientific man had been installed in view of his special knowledge or, at the other end of the scale, the practical man was given the preference. In a general way neither of these types has been a success.

The scientists can certainly do excellent work in his laboratory, but generally speaking, he will only be able to render these services in this one capacity, because he has not had the opportunity to adjust his theoretical knowledge to industrial conditions. The practical man also in his vacation is able to do good work, but it is doubtful whether in these days he can ever furnish work of the highest order.

How then are we to obtain this important combination ?

Naturally the best path to follow is that of scientific education, but on condition that instruction furnished by practical observation is not neglected.

All things considered, the scientist will certainly be in a better position, but if he does not possess the necessary turn of mind and the natural qualities to which reference has been made, this education which should have given him a great advantage may cause his ruin. It may prevent him from attaining the height of success to which he might have reached by applying his knowledge to practical ends. He remains in the same sphere, and cannot emerge therefrom.

The combination of science and practice is of the greatest importance, but it is doubtful whether it can be obtained by education alone. In order to attain the highest degree of success a man requires something even more than education, that is above all he must show personal application.

The *Spectator* has an article on

The Higher Indifference

which provides interesting reading.

There is a sense in which we must all, in self-defense, cultivate indifference. Some indifference, both intellectual and emotional, is part of the necessary armour of the man whose mind and whose sympathies have been systematically developed. We have all certain subjects upon which we dare not think. We administer to ourselves the soporific of consciously induced indifference whenever they present themselves before our eyes.

But the higher indifference is no matter of narrowing areas. It is not an effort to avoid thinking, but an

effort made by thinking to avoid pain. Doctors often attain to it. They cannot turn away even from such ills as they cannot cure and cannot effectually assuage. They are not, however, more unhappy than other men, neither are they more hard-hearted. There is, of course, a minority of case-hardened doctors who are very brutal, but they form an almost negligible minority. The good medical man dwells—it is his duty to dwell—upon every detail of the suffering before him, and he offers sympathy to the patient which is in no sense insincere, but which does not interfere with his sleep or his appetite, his enjoyment of life or his scheme of the universe. He will never speak cruelly, he will never perhaps even think hardly, of any single case that he attends. His indifference is neither callous nor careless, but it serves him as a complete protection all the while that he is under fire from the enemy's guns. He induces it by will-power. In his endless fight with pain he could not afford to go unarmed.

To attain to the higher indifference is the moral ambition of a great number of very good people who are not doctors. Philanthropists, for instance, try, and usually succeed ; but some of them in their efforts fall into that lower indifference which, while it protects the professional benefactor from distress, also impedes his efforts, and sometimes renders him useless altogether. Either he becomes an indulgent cynic whose influence is never very great or good, or else he becomes an academic correctionist, a lawgiver whose law remains a dead letter—murmuring "Thou shalt not" over his office table, but little heeded by the accused persons who appear before his bar, and whom he is powerless to help or punish, being incapable of either sympathy or indignation.

Among the best strivers after indifference are the would-be stoics. Pride forbids them to be overcome by grief and pain, whether their own or another's. They pretend to great strength of mind. They think by allowing no show of feeling to master all emotion. They make no harsh profession of indifference. They try to keep their minds on what they describe to themselves as a "plane" above distress and conflict. In reality they do but make a strong effort of concentration, and in the effort occasionally break down altogether and injure themselves mentally. Nature will not have us to be proud. If we take trouble simply, crying out in moderation and admitting our misery, she will console us by that remedy of time in which no one ever put any faith, but which does heal, nevertheless, most of those who are not too proud to give in. Time is the great anti-faith-cure doctor, whom all his patients distrust but who fails seldom.

Certain mystics have lived, and we suppose do live now, in a state of mind which might be described as indifference. But all mystics, big and little, are in a sense refugees. They have fled before the terrors and puzzles of the actual. They have found a refuge, but they have chosen to live aloof from the waking world, and the waking world is uneasy in their presence. The refusal to suffer is not always an ignoble thing, but it is not so noble as endurance.

TO THE MEMORY OF Mr K. OKAKURA

Your great heart shone with the sunrise of the East
like the snowy summit of a lonely hill in the dawn.
Rabindranath Tagore.

Before the memory of this pilgrimage fades I want to record my impression of the days spent at Idzura. This place is sacred to the memory of one of the greatest of the sons of modern Japan, and one to whom Bengal owes a deep debt of gratitude.

The name of Okakura is probably well known to the readers of the *Modern Review*, so I need not say anything of his life work in Japan and the part he played in the Renaissance movement in Bengal. The thought of his influence is in my mind as I write, for I am staying with Rabi Babu at the seaside house of the late Mr. Okakura, one of those lonely great men who do so much to shape the thought and history of nations.

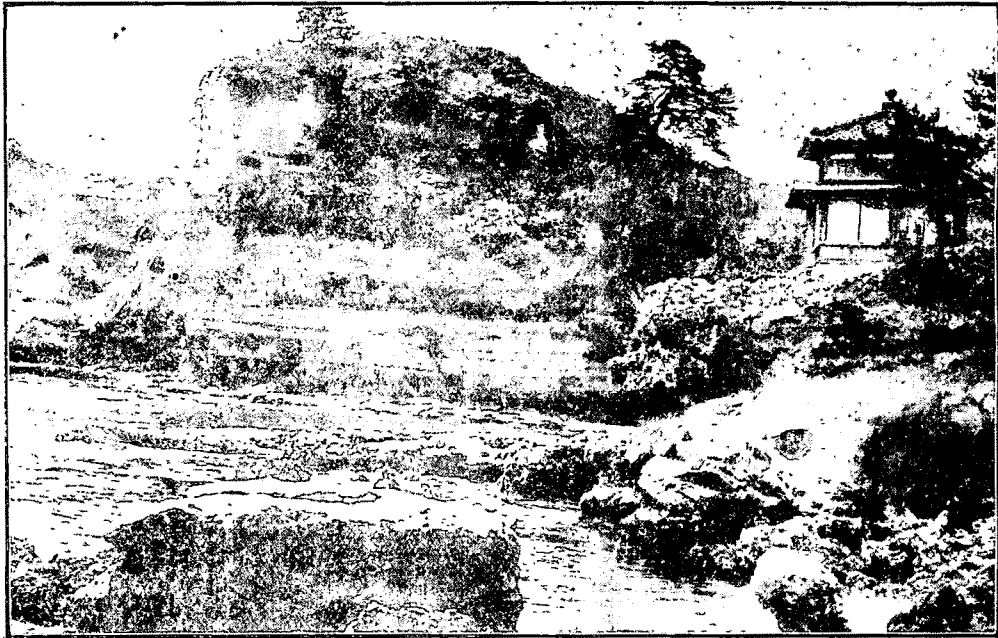
We started for Idzura from a beautiful place in the hills. There we had met the graduates of the Tokyo Women's University who had gathered together for part of their summer vacation in order to think of the deeper things of the spirit. These women students with their deep devotion had listened to the message of their Bengali guest, and had served him with their love and reverence. They stood on the station platform to bid him farewell, and garlanded him in Indian fashion with a garland of everlasting flowers from the hills.

When we entered the carriage which had been reserved for the poet, I saw a beautiful bunch of wild flowers by his seat. These had been placed there by the Station-master as a token of his respect for the visitor from India. This was an example of what has struck me so much in Japan, even when travelling by myself, when I have been able to observe the railway and tramway officials in their treatment of the common people, namely, that the Japanese remain human even when they become officials. All through our travels in this land of flowers we have seen how the official has still his human heart, and does not allow the fact that he is an official to turn him into a mere machine for the

carrying out of the orders of the higher authorities. It has more than once occurred to me that if only in India those of my own fellow countrymen who occupy the position of officials, could keep that human touch with those whom they are paid to serve, there would be more of happiness and contentment in India, though perhaps there might be less of efficiency.

The place we were bound for was the seaside residence of the Okakura family to which we had been invited by the widow and son of the late Mr. Okakura. The day was a rainy one, but fortunately the rain stopped just as we reached the station of Idzura. After leaving the station we had to pass through the village which is a fairly large one. The straggling street was lined on both sides by the village people, who could be counted by hundreds or even thousands. They had read in their daily papers that the Indian seer was coming to visit their village, and all had left their work and had come from their fishing boats and fields and their shops to have a glimpse of him as he passed. It was a remarkable sight to see these weather-beaten peasants and fisher folk standing in respectful silence as the poet passed by. It was eloquent of the close touch that there has been between the India of the sages, the land which gave to the world the Buddha, and Japan, which even in these present times has not forgotten the debt she owes to India. Japan still has in her heart of hearts a true reverence for this ancient land and ever the modern Western civilisation which she has acquired with such wonderful ease had not been able to rob her of her inner spirit of tranquility and reverence for beauty. As we passed through the rice fields on our way to the house outside the village, at every group of houses there were villagers standing silently watching as the poet passed.

When we reached the entrance to the garden we were welcomed by Mrs. Okakura who took us into the house. It stands on a rocky point at one side of a bay



LATE MR. OKAKURA'S SEA-SIDE HOUSE

This picture shows the artist's favorite room.

which holds in its quiet safety a little fishing village. In front of the house, overlooking the sea, is a small summer house which was the favourite room of the late Mr. Okakura. There Rabi Babu sat during the day, and wrote, or watched the fishing boats as they passed out of the bay into the open sea.

This evening, as I write, the music of the waves comes up from the bay and the shouts of the children playing on the beach mingle with the sound of the breakers of the sea.

We have just returned from the tomb of the late Mr. Okakura, before which incense filled the evening air with its fragrance. The tomb is a grassy mound with no stone on it, but a small garden by its side. As we stood before this green mound in the fading light a little fir tree was brought, and in the presence of Mr. Okakura's son Rabi Babu planted this tree in memory of his friend.

Then a bronzed fisherman came up and

placing some sticks of incense before the tomb made his obeisance before it. We were told that he was the fisherman who always used to accompany Mr. Okakura when he went out fishing.

Last of all the children of the family came and made their *namas* and as we turned away and walked back to the house they came round me and began timidly to sing the first lines of a Bengali song which I had tried to teach them the day before.

“জীবনে যত পূজা

হল না সারা

জানি হে জানি তাও

হয় নি হারা।”

They did not know the meaning of the words, but as they sang I felt how true they were and how even before the grave of this great man's mortality we could feel sure that his work is not lost nor his worship finished.

W. W. PEARSON.

GLEANINGS

A Danish Artist on the Ajanta Cave Paintings.

The annual Report of the Archæological Department of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions for the year 1914-15 A. D. is an interesting publication. We learn from it "that the view, advanced by certain antiquaries, that the Ajanta frescoes were in a state of rapid deterioration has proved on careful examination to be without any foundation. Sir John Marshall is of opinion that with adequate care the frescoes may last for several centuries more; while any attempt to remove them with a view to protect the frescoes will prove absolutely disastrous. During the visit of the Director General to Ajanta, M. Axel Garl, a Danish artist of great culture, was also asked to inspect the caves. His note on the art of Ajanta, which is attached to the Report, is of great interest." This note is reproduced below.

The water-paintings in the rock-caves at Ajanta exhibit the classical art of India. That is to say they represent the climax to which genuine Indian art has attained, and they show the way to be followed by Indian artists.

They belong to different periods and represent great varieties of style and different degrees of artistic value. But in these notes only the best of them are referred to, as they are to be seen in sadly damaged conditions, especially in caves Nos. 1, 2, 16 and 17.

I

The colours are deeper and often purer and the whole scale of colours is far richer than in other stucco paintings of similar dimensions (Egyptian tombs, Pompeyan houses, Italian churches from the Middle ages, etc.). Even though the many centuries may have given the rock-walls in Ajanta a harmonious veil of patina, which they did not perhaps possess fifteen hundred years ago, the combination of colours within the single groups, and in the individual figures show that the painters were guided by a highly developed sense in their blending of colours with a view to the total impression to be produced.

II

The composition of the wall paintings is exquisite. It is characteristic that the larger the figures are in proportion to the surrounding space, the better is as a rule the whole composition. It seems that the best artists have preferred to use the larger figures in their pictures.

The picture tells its story plainly in a manner which nobody can fail to understand. The eye is directed by the main lines of the composition towards the chief characters, which also attract our attention by their large size and by their carefully calculated position that has been given to them in the almost endless number and variety of figures.

Whenever superhuman beings, men, animals and plants are represented the three dimensions are observed with realistically executed contractions, and with true perspective in regard to lines and planes. But buildings and grounds are done without perspective, the walls being left unbroken and the plane remains undisturbed.

But however schematic and conventional these rocks and houses, gateways, pavilions, etc., look to us, they are excellently fitted to serve the purpose of dividing one picture from another on the same wall, of giving the setting of the picture, and of affording rest to the eye in the multitude and rush of figures.

III

The *form* is marked by a sharp and clearly accentuated outline. The contour is so true to nature and so well done, that combined with a perfectly correct volume it gives even in cases of the most difficult contractions a perfect impression of shape—even when the surface is nearly monochromatic with only a slight deepening of the colours along the edges.

Although no use is made of light and shade, the effect of shape, sometimes even of relief, is secured, and the plane is preserved as a matter of principle.

This technique which reaches its climax in a Bodhisattva figure (of more than life size in cave No. 1), bears a striking resemblance to that of Michael Angelo. If one placed a good photograph of this Buddha head by the side of a photograph of a figure from the Capella Sixtina one might be inclined to think, if no attention were paid to the different types of the figures, that they were painted by the same master.

A further aid in the matter of expressing form the Ajanta artists have found in an extensive use of ornaments. *Karas*, necklaces, bracelets, earrings, veils, ties, slings, flower garlands, etc., are drawn with such skill, are laid around a neck, a finger, a breast in such a manner, that the whole surface takes its form from it.

The folds of the garments, as well as their borders in all their simplicity are written with a remarkably sure hand and with an astonishing knowledge of the form underneath.

If the figures are moving such ornaments are used to give an impression of the speed. There are flying figures whose rapid movements are suggested most vividly, for instance by the heavy pendants swinging out almost horizontally.

IV

The figure style is highly developed and testifies to a thorough study of the human body. Every stiffness, symmetry or mere monotony has been

overcome. The axis of most of the figures changes several times from head to feet without any apparent disturbance of the natural poise and balance. And one meets an unlimited freedom in the choice of postures and movements. Even those that are most improbable get appearance of life and reality. A group of beings (in the vestibule of cave No. 17) are flying on without wings—with movements so large and free and with a poise so graceful, that one has no doubt that this is their natural manner of moving about.

This perfect freedom in the painter's handling of the human body places Ajanta one thousand years ahead of all other paintings that we know. There is no exhibition of the painter's knowledge of Anatomy, nor is there—with a few exceptions—any offence against Anatomy. The Hindu racial type is simply concentrated and intensified in this art; and thereby have been secured a gracefulness and an expressiveness in the representation of the human body the equal of which it is hard to find anywhere.

Figures like those of "Primavera" by Botticelli may be called the sisters of some of the female figures in Ajanta (in the cella on the right in cave No. 2).

V

Behind those masterpieces lies a great and thorough study of nature. Not only the individual painter's independent efforts to master the form of nature but also an experience and a tradition that have been cultivated patiently and industriously in an artistic school. And what we find here is not only great knowledge but also much practice. Everything in these pictures from the composition as a whole to the smallest pearl or flower testifies to depth of insight coupled with the greatest technical skill. That is what makes it possible for the artist to transcend reality as he does so often to express what is the distinctive aim of all oriental art, the soul, the spiritual side of the existence. He does not thereby violate the truth.

However unnatural and artificial an eye, for instance, may appear to the inexperienced observer, the connoisseur will discover with astonishment, that the anatomy of the eye is so well understood and so well reproduced in the drawing, that these strange and peculiarly curved lines cannot possibly represent anything else in the world except just a human eye.

A principle by which all Western artists are guided is to study nature and to learn from the antique. What has been said above shows that the ancient Hindu masters must have followed a similar way; combining the tradition of the school with individual study and practice. If genuine Indian art is to experience a renaissance it is that same principle which must still be followed. Europe got its renaissance through learning from the Greek antique. India will get hers if she turns to Ajanta and goes to school there.

Whoever wants to serve the cause of pure Indian art will find his masters here, in whose steps he must strive to go. He will do as they did, first of all study nature to master the secrets of form, volume and movement. But then he will go to Ajanta to cultivate his sense of deep and harmonious colours, of distinct and full composition, of expressive and pleasing lines and last but not least of genuine Hindu figure style. As he lives and studies among their works, he will catch something of their sacred fire, until in him he feels the heart vibrating while the hand draws a clear and bold line. That is why those

old Buddhist masterpieces so often leave on the observer the impression of a prayer or a hymn of praise.

An Effective Artificial Hand.

The construction of an artificial hand that shall be capable of natural movements and of the exertion of strength through attachment to the muscles of the fore-arm is now, apparently, approaching very near solution, owing to the investigations of two Swiss professors, Dr. Sauerbruch, a surgeon, and Dr. Stodola, a professor of mechanics, both of Zurich. The problem has two parts, a physiological one—the adaptation of the muscles to the artificial fingers, and a mechanical one—the construction of an artificial hand that shall be as strong and as capable of varied motion as the real one. Professor Sauerbruch relates his experiences in an article contributed to the *Medizinische Klinik* (Vienna). Despite the progress already made and the still greater progress likely in the immediate future, he warns us at the outset that the patient's own skill, as developed by practice, will remain an important factor in the successful use of artificial limbs. Says Dr. Sauerbruch:

"Of all limbs, the most delicate is of course the hand, and the most arduous problem, consequently, is to impart natural movement to artificial fingers. Even the artificial hand of the newest model, with its electrical springs, and so on, lacks the spontaneous faculty of seizing objects.

"We have had heretofore no surgical or mechanical solution of the problem. When I returned from the front, I met by chance Dr. Stodola, professor of mechanics at the Polytechnical Institute of Zurich. He suggested the possibility of constructing a normal hand, provided the surgical part of the problem could be satisfactorily solved. I immediately began to experiment with various animals and soon reached the conclusion that it was possible, after the amputation of a limb, to preserve in the remaining sinews and muscles sufficient plastic strength for purposes of motion. After this I operated on human bodies, and finally on six wounded soldiers, with most satisfactory results.

"That the operation may be successful, it is absolutely necessary that the sinews and muscles to be used be sufficiently retracted. The formation of a solid arm-stump is also of great importance. The problem is both surgical and physiological, and every case demands individual, careful treatment. If the operator proceeds too soon, he may lose all chances of success.

"After I had published Professor Stodola's and my own first results, my attention was called to the fact that in 1899 an Italian surgeon, Dr. Vanghetti, had described the theoretical and experimental basis of the process, and had given to the world his further researches in a monograph, published in 1906. After this, Professor Ceci, of Pisa, made three successful operations. To my great surprise I found, in the course of my own investigations, that as far back as 1867 Larrey had proposed to use the muscles of the stump to impart motion to an artificial hand. To come down to our own time, a Hungarian physician, Dr. Nagy, suggested, in 1915, that in the loss of single fingers, the sinews might be energized by enveloping them with skin. Professor Korte also has written me that he has experimented successfully on a Russian invalid, using the sinews of a fore-arm-stump for the vivification of an artificial hand.

"The Prussian War Department placed at my disposition a military hospital at Singen, and here our

success was beyond expectation, so far as the surgical end of the operation was concerned. We found, for instance, that in a plastically transformed forearm, by shortening its muscles by $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches, a lifting force of 22 pounds may be developed. The flexing muscles of a forearm-stump perform, on an average, a work of 2 to 3 foot-pounds. The fear that these



A CLAWLIKE SUBSTITUTE FOR A HAND.

Compare this device with the artificial hand shown in the next column.

wonderful results might be but temporary has not been justified. On the contrary, with constant use the strength of the artificial hand grows.

"The technical part of the problem has a long and successful history behind it. . . . Relying partly on the experiments of his predecessors, Professor Stodola constructed his hand, whose fingers are put in motion through a set of pulleys. The transfer of force to the single fingers does not depend upon the position of their neighbors. Thus it is possible to embrace completely objects of any shape, the fingers being able to conform to the irregularity of the surface.

"We have, of course, to admit that, so far, most of our artificial hands have been constructed with an insufficient knowledge of the physiology and anatomy of that limb, and are therefore practically useless for the new purpose. Henceforth, surgeon, physiologist, and technician will have to work together.

"In brief, in view of the results so far obtained, I



A LIFELIKE ARTIFICIAL HAND.

The upper picture shows how the hand is shut with the forearm bent. Below, on the reader's left, is shown the method of attachment. In the third picture the wearer is bending the arm with the hand open. The forearm muscles control the fingers.

am justified in making the statement that the surgical part of the problem can be considered solved, and that there is no doubt that, in the course of time, the technicians will satisfactorily solve their part of the task also.

"Almost every trade develops its own hands. Thus, the weaver, after losing his arm, is again able to work, if he can, at will, open and close two hooks, modeled after thumb and forefinger, this motion being necessary to fix properly the treads at the weaving-loom. With the new method we are confident that we shall solve this problem of vocational differentiation.

"And let us not forget the psychological result. How happy our invalids will be in regaining their former appearance!"—*The Literary Digest*

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE PRESS AND THE PRESS ACT. K. Vyasa Rao, B. A. As. 10. Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras.

This is a pamphlet with the object of whose publication we are in entire sympathy, though in some matters of detail we cannot endorse what the author says. Its publication is very timely. The writer puts his case against the Press Act of 1910 ably, and has succeeded in proving that it was not a piece of panic legislation but one undertaken quite deliberately, possibly as a sop to the Anglo-Indian bureaucratic Cerberus. The Press Act must go. If the bureaucracy will not agree to its total repeal, the executive should be deprived of the power given by the Act of demanding, exacting and forfeiting a security without any reference to a judicial tribunal. At every stage there should be the intervention of a law-court. No security is to be demanded except in pursuance of the judgment of a judicial tribunal, and so on. But these are only suggestions by way of compromise. The Indian demand is for the repeal of the Act. We do not accept the author's suggestion that the Penal Law against the press may be made severer if the Press Act be repealed (pp. 37, 53). The Penal Code is already more elastic, vague and rigorous in the case of conductors of newspapers than it ought to be.

The importance of the press is very well brought out in the following sentences :—

"In the progressive evolution of political institutions, if the 'Government' has come to be recognised as the supreme static force of a society, the press has at the same time come to be acknowledged as its vital dynamic force. It may pass for a maxim now-a-days that just as order without a settled government is impossible, so is progress without a free press impossible..... We in India have only the Crown represented by the executive, as our legislative chambers are no more than a part of the mechanism of the executive. Under such conditions, the press in India is practically the only other estate of the Realm, besides the Executive. No statesman, who is more than a mere official, can afford to conceal from himself the fact, that the constitutional status of the press in British India as an estate of the Realm deserves to be protected from subordination to the executive."

The author exposes the absurdity of the provision which enables the executive to demand security even before any offence has been committed, by asking :

"Will a government feel justified in asking security of a medical or legal practitioner, because he may commit an offence in following his profession? Does it demand security of its own servants, because they may offend against the law of bribery? Does it demand security of a merchant, because he may employ false weights and measures or sell injuriously adulterated articles, or pass gilded brass for solid gold? Of which professional man, of which public servant, of which banker who receives public money does the Government take security as a preventive

punishment in advance? How then can it be justified that if one should start a press or a journal he should be liable to furnish security, merely because the executive desires to control the press more than it controls anything else?

It may be contended that the function of journalists differs from that of other men in that the former may disseminate opinions or principles subversive of the state. But may not any author, or any man who opens his mouth to speak, do the same? Why not then take security from all citizens? Military officers and soldiers may try to subvert the state, as they have done in all countries in some age or other. But no security is taken from them. True, rebellious officers and soldiers may be court-martialled and punished. But offending journalists may also be prosecuted under the ordinary criminal law.

MUSLIM HOME. Part I. A present to the Married Couple. By H. H. Nawab Suttan Jahan Begam Sahiba, C. I., G. C. S. I., G. C. I. S., Ruler of Bhopal, India. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co. 1916. Cloth, Pp. VI 74. Clearly printed on antique wove paper.

In this lucidly written book, Her Highness the Begam Sahiba of Bhopal gives an exposition of the teachings of Islam on the conjugal relation, and shows what rights women have, or rather ought to have, according to Muhammadan Law. Muhammadans who are already married and those who are about to marry will be benefited by a perusal of the book. Non-Musalmans, too, will do well to read it; as it will give them a correct idea of the position of women in Islamic society, and will teach them to respect women and treat them kindly.

"The last word of advice which the Holy Prophet of Arabia had to give to his companions and through them to the whole world was to respect and maintain the sacredness of female right. 'The rights of women,' how nobly he exhorted, 'are sacred; see that women are maintained in the rights attributed to them.' 'Fear God, in regard to the treatment of your wives, for verily they are your helpers, you have taken them on the security of God.'"

Regarding the positions in life and duties of man and woman Her Highness writes :—

"In all Islamic teaching one does not fail to find a clear tendency to create equality between woman and man. The two sexes are, however, meant by nature, to perform separate duties and, therefore, do differ in their nature and constitution.

"If woman was, therefore, given the charge of domestic duties, man required to fight the hardships of the times. To secure peace and safety to life and property consequently fell to the lot of the stronger sex, who got therefore, a sort of precedence over the other. This one superiority in man was a necessary sequel of the respective part man and woman had to play in the propagation and protection of mankind; otherwise they were meant to be equal to each other in every other respect."

There can be no question that the rearing of

children is the peculiar duty of women. But surely they ought to and can do their social and public duties in addition to the domestic ones. For examples to clinch our argument we need not go far; Her Highness is herself a noteworthy example. In times past in India the Sultana Razia, the Empress Nur Jahan, Queen Ahalya Bai, &c., did their public duties well. In Bengal and elsewhere many women have managed big estates with great ability. In all countries in which women have the franchise, they do their political work as well as men.

The late Mr. W. T. Stead wrote in the *Chicago Chronicle*, December, 1903:—

"It is one of the advantages of monarchies that they afford women an opportunity of displaying their capacity for the direction of the affairs of State seldom possible to their republican sisters. Queen Victoria was a signal instance of this. She was, during the latter years of her reign, the most experienced member of the groups which govern the Empire. No male sovereign ever took a closer, more constant, more conscientious part in the direction of the State than did Queen Victoria, who, oddly enough, although exercising political functions absorbing her life, had a crazy horror of any other woman devoting even a fraction of her time to the study of political questions. She was a most brilliant example of what woman can do in the realm of statesmanship and the most ruthless opponent of the interference of woman—excepting herself—in political affairs.

"Queen Victoria was not alone among capable women who sit on thrones. The dowager Empress of Russia, the Queen regent of Spain, Queen Natalie of Servia, Queen Carmen Sylva of Roumania form a distinguished group of women whose political capacity was at least as their husbands'. To mention only one instance: it is an open secret that if the dowager Empress of Russia were but allowed to have had her way there would have been none of that interference with the constitutional liberties of Finland which stain so black a blot upon the present reign."

The book consists of the following chapters: Man and woman and their relative position, Marriage, Polygamy, Nuptial Rights, Mutual fidelity and love. Some measures to avoid ill-treatment and keep peace in the family, Separation between man and wife, *Khula*, *'Iddat*, Inheritance, and Kinsmen.

Her Highness's observations on polygamy are reasonable so far as they go. She shows that the teaching of the Quran strongly recommends monogamy, and that polygamy is allowed only under special circumstances, up to a certain limit, and under safeguards. But it cannot be denied that these circumstances have generally been lost sight of and the safeguards have not been of much avail, so that in modern times, among civilized peoples, perhaps the Musalmans are more polygamous than others. The authoress looks at the conjugal relation more from the point of view of the propagation and preservation of species and the maintenance of women than from any other. This has prevented her from seeing that even under the most favorable conditions polygamy prevents the development of the finer and finest phases of man's nature in relation to woman and of woman's nature in relation to man. Just as the ideal of womanly virtue is for a woman to be devoted to one man, so is the ideal of manly purity to be devoted to one woman, be she barren or the mother of children, be she sickly or healthy. In a polygamous

society, or in one in which polygamy is or can be practised without legal prohibition or social obloquy these inter-dependent and complementary ideas of manly and womanly purity cannot reach full development; consequently a certain coarseness of tone as regards the sexual relationship cannot but characterize such a society. The ideal is for one woman to be the devoted wife of one man who is devoted to her alone. The condition of a prostitute is the worst imaginable. She is worse than a mistress, a mistress is worse than the legally married wives of a polygamous man, and these co-wives are worse than the single and only wife of a devoted husband. Of course illicit polygamous relations are worse than legal polygamy.

The Begam Sahiba expresses the opinion that "Virtue in woman should be given the chief consideration in the selection of a wife," and quotes "the following wise words of our Prophet" in corroboration:

"A woman may be married by four qualifications: one, on account of her money; another, on account of the nobility of her pedigree; another, on account of her beauty; the fourth, on account of her virtue. Therefore look out for a woman that hath virtue, but if you do it from any other consideration, your hands be rubbed in dirt."

The authoress also quotes the saying of Muhammad: "The world is provision, and the best provision of this world is a virtuous woman."

All these sayings of Muhammad may be commended to those who exact a "price" for their sons from the brides' parents.

Husbands, irrespective of the religion they profess, will do well to remember Muhammad's saying: "The best man among you is he who is best to his wife." Also the verse in the Quran where it says: "Women are a garment to you and ye are a garment to them." (Chapter ii, 187). The Begam Sahiba's explanation of this last sentence is worth quoting. "As garments are intended to cover person and things to be concealed, men and women are said to be as garments to each other, that they may hide each other's failings; and it need hardly be said how much this duty is necessary to the well-being of society."

As regards the duty of the wife to obey the husband, the authoress writes:—

"The husband is to be obeyed even above the parents. Obedience to parents is enjoined upon all children alike,.....but in view of the rights of the husband, married women are not bound to the same duties towards their parents as their unmarried sisters; for a woman her first duty is to her husband, which is also her highest duty. But it must be remembered that parents or husband shall only be obeyed so long as obedience to them does not constitute a sin in the sight of God. Holy Prophet has said that 'no obedience is due to a creature in respect of any sin against the Creator.'"

Islam allows divorce "only in extreme cases where there is no help left. The Holy Prophet is reported to have said: 'The most hateful of lawful things in the sight of God is divorce'."

One of the most beautiful traditions contained in the book is "the following tradition from the Holy Prophet":

"Abu-Hurairah reports that a man said, O Prophet of God, who is most worthy to do good to? The Prophet said, Thy mother. He said, And after her? He said, Thy mother. The man said, Then after her? The Prophet said, Thy mother. The

man said Then again after her? The Prophet said, Thy father."

R.C.

THE TALE OF THE TULSI PLANT AND OTHER STUDIES is the title of a book from the pen of Mr. C. A. Kincaid, a Bombay Civilian. The book contains faithful Puranic accounts of the three well-known plants held in high regard by the Hindus, viz., the Tulsi, the Bel, and Sami Tree and a few exceedingly interesting carceos of Maharatta history and Chivalry. The tales regarding the plants are taken from the Puranas as well as from the stories current about them in the Bombay Presidency. Mr. Kincaid's study of Maharatta history has not been with a view to find fault with everything that is Indian. He appreciates the chivalry and heroism of the Maharattas and does not share the opinion with so many European writers of Indian History that Shivaji was a freebooter or those illustrious Maharatta Statesmen and Generals who followed him were actuated by feelings of self-aggrandizement and plunder. The author is thoroughly familiar with the highways and byeways of Maharatta country and history and has tried to put a romantic surrounding to them.

The get-up of the book is good but it bristles with misprints.

RANENDRANATH BASU.

SOME FACTORS AFFECTING THE COOKING OF DHOLL (CAJANAS INDICUS) by B. Viswanath, T. Leśhmana Row, B. A., and P. A. Raghunathswami Prangar D. A., Assistant to the Government Agricultural Chemist, Madras.

Everyone is familiar with the fact that cooking qualities of different dholls (Rahar in Bengal) like all other pulses, vary considerably. Some cook very quickly and others taking a long time to reach the desired stage and it is the common object of all consumers to have a kind of the former type. The present memoir is one of the publications of the Chemical Series (Vol. IV, No. 5, April, 1916) of the Department of Agriculture in India, Pusa, and the authors have dealt with the following factors affecting the cooking of Dholl:

(1) The effect of the composition of the water upon the rate of cooking.

(2) (a) The influence of the fat content.

(b) Differences in the rates of cooking due to variety.

(c) Differences in the rates of cooking due to methods of preparing the dholl.

(3) The influence of various Salts on the liquefaction of Starch.

The following results of their experiments may be interesting.

1. Dissolved Salts, such as are found in natural waters exert a marked influence on the time taken to cook dholl.

2. Calcium and magnesium salts and the chlorides of hydrogen and sodium exert a strong retarding effect. Whereas alkalies and alkaline carbonates have the reverse action.

3. Whether the action exerted by any Salt is a retardation or an acceleration, the effect is approximately proportionate to the concentration, i.e., the harder the water the slower is the rate of cooking.

4. The addition of Sodium bi-carbonate or sodium Carbonate to a hard water materially hastens the cooking.

5. The rate of cooking of dholl is approximately proportionate to the rate of solution of the dholl substance, i.e., to the rate of solution of the proteid and starch.

6. The proportion of proteid to starch dissolved is not constant but varies with different solutions. Alkalies and alkaline carbonates dissolve a greater proportion of proteid than starch as compared with pure water, whereas hydrochloric acid dissolves a greater proportion of starch. In addition, alkalies and alkaline carbonates greatly accelerate the rate of cooking.

7. The rate of solution of the proteid appears to be the factor which mainly controls the rate of cooking.

8. The fat content of the dholl plays a very important part with regard to the rate of cooking.

9. Dholls of different localities have varying rates of cooking.

These results have been obtained under conditions prevailing in south India but the conclusions arrived at, in the opinion of the authors, will hold good generally.

We wish the authors every success in their future investigations.

DEBENDRA NATH MITRA, L.Ag.

JAINISM NOT AN ATHEISM AND THE SIX DRAVYAS OF JAINA PHILOSOPHY by Mr. H. Warren, Hon. Secretary, The Jaina Literary Society, London. The Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah. Presented by Kumar Devendra Prasad, Editor, The Jaina Scripture Gift series, Arrah (India). Price—A Careful Perusal.

Mr. Warren is an eminent writer on Jainism. The booklet under review contains his two essays originally published in some Jaina periodicals. The first of them which has been translated into vernaculars and distributed among the people, aims at to prove that Jainism cannot properly be called an *Atheistic* religion as is generally believed. More can be said on both the sides of existence and non-existence of God than what Mr. Warren has actually said in refuting the latter view, but the kernel of his essay is good and right which we are glad to reproduce:—

"Jainism does not deny the existence of God (Paramatman). God is described in Jaina scriptures, but there is a difference between the description of God as given in these books and the description given in the religious books of other faiths. The chief difference is that while God is described in the books of some other faiths as being a creator and ruler, God is not so described in the Jaina books. God according to the Jaina description is an all-knowing and perfectly happy soul with infinite capacities of activity, a pure and perfect soul without any material body, a being that cannot perish or become degenerate."

THE IMPORTANCE OF VEGETARIAN DIET by Chhaganlal Paramanandadas Nanavaty, Assistant Manager, The Bombay Humanitarian Fund, Published by Lallubhai Gulabchand Jhaveri, Honorary Manager, The Bombay Humanitarian Fund, 309, Shroff Bazar, Bombay. (Intended to be freely distributed.) Pp. 31.

The Bombay Humanitarian Fund alias The Shri Jivodaya-jnana-prakashaka Fund at Bombay is the only well-organised body deserving of mention in India which earnestly advocated the vegetarian diet following the line adopted by the Order of the Golden Age, London (153, 155, Brompton Road, S. W.) of which the Herald of the Golden Age is an organ well-known to those who are familiar with the movement. The booklet under notice is apparently compiled from the

various pamphlets issued from time to time by the said Order of London; and so it supports from various points of view the necessity of vegetarian diet describing the evil consequences of animal food of which the people are completely blind. So rightly observes Sir William Earnshaw Cooper:—"In arts and science, in medicine and surgery, and in social culture, the human race has progressed by leaps and bounds in comparatively recent years, and yet there is one vital question, indeed, the most vitally important of all that still remains almost uncared for, unconsidered, and regarded as of no moment in the economy of human existence. In working out his own earthly destiny, it seems strange that Man should, consciously or unconsciously, overlook and neglect that very thing upon which the material body itself depends for the accomplishment of the great purpose of life—Food.

It has been truly said that the proper alimentation of human body is not in the least understood by our great scientists, and, if this be so, it may well be asked—what is the use of learning, of scientific discovery, and of intellectual development, if the comparatively simple matter of bodily nourishment remains an unconsidered item in the life's economy?"

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

HINDI.

SHREE VAISHNAVA edited by Shree Jagannath Das, Bharatpore. To be had of the Manager of the "Shree Vaishnava", Ajmere. Annual subscription—Rs. 2.

This has now been started as the chief organ of the Vaishnavas and has taken the place of the "Vaidik Sarvasva." The issue under review consists of 29 pages and contain some thoughtful articles besides the usual pages devoted to the present Vaishnava organisation. The poem "Vinita Vinga" is nicely written and instructive. Each issue is priced at as. 3. The journal could have been priced a little less.

AROGYA AUR USKAI SADHAN by Mr. Lakshman Narayan Garde. Published by the Granthaprakashaka-Samiti, Benares City. Crown 8vo. pp. 82. Price—as. 6.

This is a translation of a book written by Mr. Gandhi in Gujarati, which has been much appreciated and has been translated in Marathi as well. The book embodies Mr. Gandhi's personal experiences about health and hygiene and has thus a speciality and attractiveness about it. Simple but most useful hints have been given on all the subjects which affect health. The book does not repeat the stereotyped rules of hygiene and is for that reason particularly fascinating. Mr. Gandhi has devoted careful attention to hygienic rules in his own way. The book will no doubt prove very useful. The style and get-up are good.

SOOM KAI GHAR DHUM by Pandita Rupnarayan Pandeya and published by the Hindi-Grantha-ratnakar office, Hirabagh, Bombay. Crown 8vo. pp. 35. Price as. 3.

This is based on a Bengali farce. A miser who is alive has been proved to be dead by the machinations of certain bullies in spite of his own protestations to the effect that he is alive. The way in which the plot for the purpose has been arranged is very skilful. There is much to laugh at in the book. At last the

miserly habits of the hero are removed and he is a reformed man.

BAL VIVAH KA AIK HRIDAYDRAVAK DRISHYA by Mr. Krishnalal Varma. Published by the Secretary of the Jain Swaitambara Conference at Darwaha, Distt. Yavatmalah, Suror. Crown 8vo. pp. 20. Price—as. 1, Rs. 5 for 100 copies.

The book has ended tragically in the untimely death of a promising young man on account of his early marriage. There is much in the book which will instruct the general public and a distribution of this pamphlet among them can do some real good.

SAYAJI CHARITAMRITA by Pandita Shree-a-r Sharma. Published by Bhagavadadatta Sharma, Kara-i-Bagh, Baroda. Demy 8vo. pp. 179. Price—Re. 1.

This is a comprehensive biography of the great Ruler of Baroda, Maharaja Gaekwar. All the aspects of his life have been carefully dealt with and no important feature of his memorable career is overlooked. Occasionally details have been given about the special institutions organised by the Gaekwar. The printing and get-up of the book are very nice. A genealogical table of the Gaekwar family has been given and in several blocks in the book increase its attractiveness.

UPVAS CHIKITSA by Babu Ramchandra Varma. Published by the Hindi Grantharatnakar office, Bombay. Crown 8vo. pp. 170. Price as. 14. Cloth bound. Re. 1-2-0.

All that could be said on the system of cure by means of fasting has been mentioned in this book and the writer has sought to prove the great efficacy of fasting. It has been suggested that medicines are after all not of much use. The subject has been thoroughly discussed. The book will no doubt be a very nice addition to the medicinal literature of Hindi. The theory propounded in it is not altogether unknown to Hindus, but such elaborate publications based on modern scientific investigations must be very welcome. The get-up of the book is very satisfactory.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

We have received three small books from the Broach Sanitary Association; one is a bulletin giving vital statistics, and the other two, pamphlets on Cholera, and Malarial Mosquitoes. They are written to enlighten people about Sanitary needs.

GRIHINI DHARM by Sankalchand Ranchhod Shah, printed at the Parmar Printing Press, Rajkot. Cloth bound, p. 55. Price Re. 0-6-0 (1916.)

The trite sayings about a woman's duty, ever now and then paraded, fortified with Sanskrit verses, and expressions worn threadbare by now, find a place in this book; we trust it has pleased its author, if none else.

VAITAL PANCHAVISI, by Jagiwan Dayalji Modi, printed at the Lohana Printing Press, Baroda. Thick cardboard, pp. 183. Price Re. 1-8-0, (1916).

Students of old Gujarati should feel very thankful to Mr. Modi for publishing this book. Till now it was thought, that old Gujarati possessed very little prose but this book helps to remove that impression. This compilation consists of two parts: verse and prose: both treat of the celebrated stories of vaital; the prose portion seems to have been written accord-

ing to the publisher somewhere after Samvat year 1629. It need not be said that it is written by a Jain. We are sure that the text and its modern Gujarati version would prove of use to philologists.

K. M. J.

MARATHI.

GITADHARMA OR RAHASYAKHANDAN by Mr. Y. V. Kolhatkar, B.A., LL.B., Publisher: The Aryabhushan Press, Poona, Pages 248, Price Re. 1-8.

This is a fairly exhaustive attempt at refuting the interpretation placed on *Gita* by Mr. B. G. Tilak in his *Magnum Opus* in Marathi, the *Gitarahasya* the appearance of which on the literary stage of Marathi last year kicked up a lot of dust and irritated not a few readers of orthodox type to such an extent that a stream of criticism has been ceaselessly flowing since then both in the press and on the platform all over the Marathi-speaking country. The unprecedented, phenomenal as one would like to say, sale of Mr. Tilak's work is due more or less to several causes, the chief of which, it cannot be denied, is Mr. Tilak's unrivalled popularity and the high position he has occupied in the estimation of the public. But the excitement produced by his work has also an intrinsic reference to the doctrine enunciated and expounded by Mr. Tilak in his work, which has given a rude shock to the popular understanding about Mr. Tilak, who was hitherto looked on as a staunch and blind follower of orthodoxy, and when such a man came forward with an unflinching and unblushing heart to question the correctness of the traditional interpretations placed on *Gita* by commentators like Shankaracharya and others, orthodox Shastres and Pundits as well as several graduates of the old way of thought naturally felt the shock as a bolt from the blue and they could not restrain their feeling while giving expression to their indignation chagrin and disappointment much in the same way in which Julius Caesar is said to have uttered his last words 'Et tu Brute!' when he saw his dear friend Brutus dealing the fatal blow to that renowned Roman Consul. The whole controversy which has caused such immense commotion when briefly put, turns on the question whether the *Gita* preaches Renunciation after attainment of 'knowledge' as Shankaracharya has interpreted it or whether it enjoins Karma Yoga, a life of activity in its restricted sense of disinterested work. Mr. Kolhatkar, the author of the work which forms the subject of this review, follows the line of thought which characterises the Pandit class entirely, and firmly holds the first view and with the whole orthodox world at his back boldly challenges the latter view which is championed by men like Sir Ramkrishna Ehandarkar and other scholars of the new type, and which is so forcibly and clearly voiced for the first time by Mr. Tilak in his work. Mr. Kolhatkar produces no other authority in support of his view excepting the lore of commentators and the inspira-

tion of his unnamed *Guru*. Indeed his confidence in the correctness of his own view based on tradition is so strong and unbounded that it has often overstepped all laws of controversy and set reason at naught. While arrogating to himself the correct knowledge of Vedanta Mr. Kolhatkar has in his overweening confidence denied even a fair modicum of it to his adversary, which is not just. It would be superfluous for the reviewer in a periodical to enter into the details of the discussion which has occupied hundreds of fairly large-sized pages of books written by controversialists. A reviewer can at best attempt to present a resume of such controversy and make a few suggestive remarks about the comparative merits and demerits of the two views placed before him. To my mind there is much of common ground, ground of agreement, between the two seemingly opposite views. Both Mr. Tilak and Mr. Kolhatkar agree in so far that it is knowledge of Self that makes for Salvation or Moksha. The difference comes in when Mr. Kolhatkar asserts that activity after the attainment of that knowledge is neither necessary nor significant. Mr. Tilak, on the other hand, is prepared to concede so far that a man after having attained that spiritual knowledge may not, if he chooses, interest himself in the activities of the world and his choice of an inactive life will surely not come in his way of attaining Moksha, but he would prefer a *Dnyani* to be actively engaged in some self-less work rather than waste the sweetness of life in the desert air of Renunciation, of wrapping himself in contemplation in complete indifference to the interests of the world in which he moves. So that the real question when reduced to such a small dimension is, as one writer has very aptly put it, one of preference, and one really wonders why there should be so much fuss made over such a simple question. Works like the *Gita* have as much a practical value as they have their metaphysical significance, and looking at the peculiar circumstances of India at present, the former, i.e., the practical or ethical value of *Gita* should appeal more to our people. The greatest need of India at present is that of men who look upon the teaching of the *Gita* in its practical light, rather than attach a mere metaphysical significance to that divine song. It is enough for us to see that while interpreting *Gita* in this light of practical use, no violence is done to the sentiment of the original author of the *Gita*. Within these limits modern commentators have as much right to interpret old works as commentators of old like Shankaracharya.

Though Mr. Kolhatkar has completely lost sight of this view in his controversy with Mr. Tilak and consequently his book is devoid of all living interest, still it has its own value inasmuch as his criticism is likely to prove useful in balancing one's judgment and strengthen one's confidence in the possibilities of the future achieved by means of strenuous and self-less disinterested work.

V. G. APTE.

NOTES

Patna University Bill.**WHAT PATNA UNIVERSITY IS
INTENDED TO DO.**

In introducing the Patna University Bill Sir C. Sankaran Nair said that "as soon as the new province of Bihar and Orissa was constituted in 1912 it was recognised that in order to make it a self-contained province it was necessary to furnish it with two institutions in particular, viz., a High Court and a University." Previous to this the *Beharee* had written in the course of a leading article:—

We have always pointed out to the public as well as to the Government the absolute necessity of expediting the establishment of the Patna University and this we have done, not because we hate the province of Bengal from which we have separated ourselves, again, not because we dislike the present administration of the Calcutta University, but because we are anxious to make our province fully self-contained. The idea of our having a separate university has its origin in our King-Emperor when he announced the formation of the province of Behar as a separate entity; and thereafter later on when it was more distinctly announced by Lord Hardinge the surmises of the thoughtful people were that the Calcutta University would be the prototype of the proposed one. We had not then clamoured for a name which would be utterly incapable of exercising its controlling influence independent of the bureaucratic influence and to this day when we request our Government to establish the Patna University, we do so with the full knowledge that the University we shall get will be equipped with all the improvements that have made the Calcutta University so distinctly enviable in the eyes of the other Universities. We want a University which should be similar to the Calcutta University.

In the Imperial Legislative Council, when Sir C. Sankaran Nair had finished speaking, Mr. Krishna Sahai of Bihar rose to support the Patna University Bill and observed in the course of his speech: "The establishment of a separate University for Bihar and Orissa will make the province fully self-contained."

It is clear then that both Government and the people of Bihar intend and desire that the Patna University should make the province "self-contained" in education. The use of the expression "self-contained" by Sir Sankaran Nair, Mr. Krishna Sahai and the *Beharee* alike is rather a curious coincidence. The people also desire, as we

find it stated in the *Beharee*, that the new university should be similar to the Calcutta University.

What is "self-contained"?

The question is, will the Patna University, as it is going to be constituted, make Bihar and Orissa "self-contained"? Even the best and most lavishly endowed universities in the world do not teach all subjects. Cambridge and Oxford do not teach *all* the subjects in which the University of Birmingham, for example, specialises. Harvard does not excel in every one of the subjects in which Columbia excels. Nor are even powerful and prosperous independent countries "self-contained" as regards education. Previous to the war there were German students in Great Britain and British students in Germany. Technology is certainly not as well taught in Great Britain as it is in Germany. Forestry is another subject in which Germany excels. As regards India, not to speak of any single province, the whole country is not self-contained in education. Government recognise the fact by closing the Imperial Services to all Indians who are graduates of Indian Universities only, and giving appointments in them to a very few who have graduated in foreign Universities.

So, though it is a legitimate ambition to wish to make a province self-contained in education, it is also certain that the Patna University cannot make Bihar and Orissa self-contained in any broad sense. But even in the narrow sense in which the existing Indian Universities have made five provinces self-contained, the Patna University will not make Bihar and Orissa self-contained. For neither from the speech of Sir C. Sankaran Nair, nor from the Patna University Bill itself, can anybody be encouraged to hope that this new University will have anything to do with teaching Medicine, Engineering, or Commerce. In another respect this new University will be glaringly deficient. At present there are collegiate classes in Bankipore and Cuttack for teaching women students up to the Intermediate standard of the Calcutta University. Among the University and

External Colleges which are mentioned in Sir Sankaran Nair's speech and the Bill as constituent parts of the University, we do not find these classes mentioned, nor is there any proposal contained anywhere for the establishment of a Women's College. Unlike Bombay and some other parts of the country, Bihar is a *pardah*-stricken province and even in *parda*-free Bombay people have felt the need of a separate college for women. So in Bihar the co-education of men and women is out of the question. But if there be not co-education there should be arrangements made for the separate higher education of women. At present there may be no demand for the higher education of women among the indigenous population of the province, and the demand among them even for the elementary education of girls may be small; but at least for the girls' schools of the province lady teachers will be required who have received higher education.

The cry of "Bihar for the Biharis" is very popular in Bihar. But how will the province get Bihari doctors, Bihari engineers and Bihari school mistresses in sufficient numbers unless there be a Medical College, an Engineering College and a Women's College as component parts of the Patna University?

It would be a narrow and illiberal policy for any college in any province to close its doors to students from any other province. But no medical or engineering college in any province of India is sufficiently large to admit all the students of the province who want to be admitted; and as a matter of fact every year they have to refuse admission to a considerable number of students. It cannot, therefore, be expected that any such professional college will be able to admit and train a sufficient number of Bihari and Oriya students.

SPECIAL NEEDS OF THE PROVINCE.

In no province of India, and certainly not in Bihar and Orissa, have the people been able to sufficiently exploit its material resources. Industrially the whole country is in a backward condition. For different provinces, the lines of industrial advance may be somewhat different. In the new province large coal-fields and other mineral-bearing areas have been included. What would be more appropriate and necessary than to have a college teaching mining

engineering, mineralogy, metallurgy and allied subjects? Again, there are extensive agricultural areas, producing rice, wheat, sugar-cane, indigo, &c. What is more necessary than to have a faculty of agriculture in the new university with a college devoted to the teaching of the subject? True, we have the college at Pusa. But it does not and will not form part of any university, and does not grant university degrees. There are large forest areas in Orissa and Chota Nagpur, making it extremely desirable to make the highest education in forestry available in the province. Lastly, Orissa has a long sea-coast. When the ancient maritime and mercantile history of Orissa is properly written by some Oriya scholar, the maritime and commercial enterprise and achievements of the province will be fully understood, and her present and future possibilities measured to some extent. If the Oriyas were sufficiently educated and had a government under popular control, they would certainly try to have some good harbours along their sea-shore. A progressive government ought certainly to make arrangements for teaching ship-building and navigation to the people of Orissa.

But the new University is not going to meet the special needs of the province. It will for the most part turn out pleaders and clerks, who are undoubtedly required; but was a new university needed for the purpose?

UNEQUAL FACILITIES FOR THE SUB-PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS.

The province of Bihar and Orissa consists of three sub-provinces with the attached Native states. Their area and population are:—

Sub-province	Area in sq. m.	Population
Bihar	42361	23752969
Orissa	41789	8928316
Chota Nagpur	27679	5754008

The district of Santhal Parganas geographically forms part of Chota-Nagpur, Manbhum geographically and linguistically forms part of Bengal, and a portion of Purana, too, forms part of Bengal. But all these tracts have been included in the administrative sub-province of Bihar, thereby making it appear larger and more populous than it is. Still Orissa contains more than one-third of the population of Bihar, and Chota Nagpur contains one-fourth of the population of Bihar. But Bihar will be served by 5

colleges, Orissa by one and Chota Nagpur by one. Among the Colleges to be entirely supported by Government, two are in Bihar, one is in Orissa (not so well-equipped as Patna College), and none in Chota Nagpur.

But it is when we look at the areas of the sub-provinces that their unequal educational facilities appear still more glaring. Bihar and Orissa are about equal in extent; and if the artificial appendages of Bihar are taken away, Orissa is a more extensive tract than Bihar. But Bihar is to have five times the educational facilities of Orissa. Chota Nagpur has two-thirds the area of Bihar and would appear larger still, if the Santhal Parganas were added to it. But Chota Nagpur is not to have even one-third of the educational facilities of Bihar. The greater part of Orissa consists of small Native states; as the ruling chiefs are mostly like small land-holders, and under the administrative control of the Commissioner of the Orissa Division, and cannot have separate universities or colleges of their own, we have naturally taken Orissa to mean the whole region denoted by that name, both "British" and "Indian."

In questions of educational facility area is an important consideration. For this reason in official educational reports one sometimes finds it stated that in such and such a province there is one school in every three square miles or in every six square miles. Institutions situated at a great distance from the students' home are not of any use to the majority of them, who are poor. Hence it is important to bear in mind that Government is going to provide in Orissa one college for an area of 41,789 square miles, and no State college in Chota Nagpur but only an aided Christian mission college, for an area of 27,679 square miles. The language of Bihar is not the language of Orissa, and it is but one of the principal languages of Chota Nagpur. It is, therefore, all the more necessary that each sub-province should be sufficiently provided with educational facilities within its own borders.

If we examine the facilities to be enjoyed by the different districts of the province, the number of colleges strike us as extremely inadequate. The five districts or rather towns, of Patna, Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur, Cuttack and Hazaribagh, out of a total of twenty-one districts, are to

have colleges. At present Monghyr has a college, but it is to be abolished. In Bengal, with which the new province is still educationally connected, there are only about half a dozen districts, like Rangpur, Bogra, Faridpur, Dinajpur, etc., which have not got colleges. But active efforts are being made in Rangpur and Faridpur to start colleges and in a few years, it is to be hoped, that no district of Bengal will be without a college.

COLLEGIATE EDUCATION MADE STATIONARY!

The most astonishing feature of the Bill is that it practically makes university education stationary in the province. And this in a province of which Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, with his 17 years of service there, speaks in his presidential address at the Bihari Students' Conference as follows:—

"Bihar has been 50 years behind the other provinces in taking to English education, and must make more exertions than they to come to the front line and take her legitimate place in the march of national progress."

As we are concerned here only with university education, let us see how far behind some of the other provinces of India the new province lags. According to the Bill it is to have only seven colleges. With this figure and some others taken from the *Statistical Abstract for British India*, Vol. V, 1915, we have prepared the following table:—

Province.	Population.	Number of Colleges.
Bengal	45,483,077	51
Madras	41,405,404	39
Bombay	19,672,642	15
United Provinces	47,182,044	49
Punjab	19,974,956	19
Bihar & Orissa	34,490,182	7

With three-fourths of the population of Bengal the new province is to have less than one-seventh of the number of colleges in the latter. With more than three-fourths of the population of Madras it is to have less than one-fifth of the latter's number of colleges. With nearly double the population of Bombay and Punjab it is not to have even half the number of colleges each of them possesses. With nearly three-fourths of the population of the United Provinces it is to have one-seventh of its number of colleges.

"But," the reader may exclaim, "surely Bihar will have more colleges in the near future as years roll on!" No, if the Bill passes in its present form. For the Bill lays it down definitely that

(2) No educational institution shall be admitted as a college of the University, unless the following conditions are complied with, namely :—

(a) the college buildings are situate within one mile from the Senate House of the University.....

(3) No educational institution shall be admitted as an external college, unless the following conditions are complied with, namely :—

(e) the college buildings are situate in one of the following towns, namely :—Muzaffarpore, Bhagalpore, Cuttack, or Hazaribagh ;.....

It may be contended that in these five towns of Patna, Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur, Cuttack and Hazaribagh, there may be more colleges in future. Yes, it is *possible*, but not very probable. We shall say why.

It will be conceded that in the new province Government are following a policy with regard to university education which is not more progressive than that followed in the rest of India. Therefore in Bihar Government may be expected not to encourage the establishment of colleges in larger numbers than elsewhere. Patna has and is to have three colleges. Its population is 136,153. No other town in India with a population nearly equal to it, has three or more than three colleges. In fact, the towns of Allahabad, Lahore, Lucknow, Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, which have more than three colleges each, are more populous than Patna. Though more populous than Patna, Ahmedabad, Amritsar, Benares, Cawnpore, and Karachi, have not got three colleges each. It is, therefore, not probable that Patna will be privileged to have more than the colleges it has, unless the Bill is changed or a more liberal policy followed.

As regards the other college towns in the Province, Bhagalpur is the most populous among them, and its population is 74,349. No town in British India with approximately this population has more than one college. In Bengal, which has more colleges than any other province of India, the only other town besides Calcutta which has more than one college is Dacca, which has a population of 108,551. It is not probable then that Bhagalpur or the less populous towns of Cuttack, Muzaffarpur, and Hazaribagh will have more colleges than one each.

It is a strange principle that the Bill has adopted, namely, that those towns which have colleges now may have more, but those which have not got any must not have even one! This is tantamount to saying, those who are sufficiently or in-

sufficiently fed may have more food, but those who are absolutely starving must not have any! It is almost an accident that some towns have colleges and others have not. Darbhanga is more populous than Cuttack, Muzaffarpur and Hazaribagh, and its Maharaja is sufficiently rich to maintain a college, nay, even a university. Gaya is more populous than Muzaffarpur and Hazaribagh. Why should it not then have a college? Chapra, Puri, Arrah, Bihar, Ranchi, Bettiah, Sasaram, Balasore, Purulia, Jamalpur, Hajipur and Bhadrak are more populous than Hazaribagh. Why should not they then have colleges, if they or some patrons of learning can find the money? In Bengal, not to speak of small towns like Uttarpara, Bankura, Barisal, Comilla, &c., which have colleges, the populous villages of Daulatpur and Hetampur have colleges. In fact, in connection with the location of colleges, the question of the populousness of a place need not arise at all. If a village be healthy and accessible and if the funds for maintaining a college be forthcoming, it would be more preferable to locate a college in or near a village than in or near a crowded town, though crowded towns also must have their educational facilities.

If the relative healthiness of the towns of the new province be considered, we shall find many which are more healthy than those in which there are colleges. In 1915 the annual death-rates per thousand of the five college towns were: Patna 23, Muzaffarpur 39.2, Bhagalpur 22.2, Cuttack 21.2, and Hazaribagh 20.5. Hazaribagh appears to be the healthiest. But there are towns which are healthier than Hazaribagh, and therefore healthier than the other four college towns. We will mention a few with their death-rates per mille in 1915: Deoghar 17.9, Giridih 15.9, Ranchi 14.8, Lohardaga 19.4, Purulia 14.1, &c. We have counted 44 towns with a lower death-rate than Muzaffarpur. It is not then on the ground of superior healthiness that it can have the superior privilege of having one or more colleges denied to many other towns.

Ranchi was once chosen by the Bengal Government to remove the Calcutta Presidency College to. Later it was proposed to start a model college there. But now this very healthy place is not considered worthy to have a college even in the distant future. Another healthy town, Puru-

lia, the healthiest in the province in 1915, has already expressed an earnest desire to have a college. The local organ, *Manbhum*, wrote on July 10 last, in expectation of the visit of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to the town :—

In the whole province of Chotanagpur there is only one college and that is in Hazaribagh which is conducted by the Dublin University Mission. In Orissa there is a Government College, so also in Patna. Can not Chotanagpur rightly claim one for her? The students who pass from this district as well as from Singbhum choose to go either to Calcutta or to Bankura except those who secure Government scholarship, as they are forced to join the colleges of the province of Bihar and Orissa. But when the Patna University will be opened and the schools of this Province will be affiliated to that University where will they go? They will either have to go to Cuttack or Patna, and we all know how our students are treated there. They are not allowed seats in the hostels attached to the colleges, consequently they have to manage for themselves in a place where they have no acquaintance. It is for these difficulties which beset our students that a Government College should be established at Purulia, which is centrally situated and unlike Hazaribagh having direct railway communication. Would not any one of our esteemed townsmen explain the situation to His Honour?

Nor can the difficulty of controlling and supervising colleges at a distance from the seat of the university be adduced as a ground for practically putting a stop to the establishment of more colleges. If colleges at Hazaribagh and Cuttack can be controlled from Patna, why should colleges in places which are nearer and more accessible be impossible to control? Of course, should it be thought at any time in future that there were more colleges than could be properly supervised and controlled, the remedy of founding one or more new universities could be applied at once. And it is an officially sanctioned and prescribed remedy. For one of the objects of the projected Dacca University is to reduce the number of students under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University. And as regards the Patna University Bill, the last paragraph runs as follows :—

The constitution of the new University will enable the Province of Bihar and Orissa to obtain a University of its own, and will effect some reduction in the large number of students now under the jurisdiction of the University of Calcutta.

It is to be hoped no official apologist of the Bill will say that seven is the maximum number of colleges which one university can properly guide and control. But should such an absurd statement be made our reply would be : "The time has come

then to give Orissa and Chota Nagpur a separate university each." It is the express desire of His Majesty the King-Emperor that the light of knowledge should brighten the homes of his subjects in all parts of his Empire. No servant or servants of His Majesty ought to stand in the way of the fulfilment of this desire.

We do not say that Colleges can or must be founded all over the province at once. What we do say is that it should be made practicable for every district and every considerable town to have a College; and certainly it should not be made impossible or all but five towns to have a college. How have the districts of Gaya, Shahabad, Saran, Champaran, Darbhanga, Monghyr, Purnea, Sonthal Parganas, Balasore, Angul, Puri, Sambalpur, Ranchi, Palamau, Manbhum, and Singbhum offended, that they are to be by Act of the Governor-General in Council debarred from having colleges? What have the towns of Darbhanga, Gaya, Monghyr, Chapra, Puri, Arrah, Bihar, Ranchi, Dinapore, Bettiah, Sasaram, Balasore, Purulia, Jamalpur, Hajipur, Bhadrak, Madhubani, Mokamah, Kendrapara, Durnaraon, Motihari, Purneah, Sahibganj, Sambalpur, Siwan, Jajpur, Deoghar, Buxar, Sheikhpura, Khagaria, Giridih, Katihar, Sitamarhi, &c., done to merit the punishment of being prevented from having colleges?

The Case of Monghyr.

In his introductory speech Sir Sankaran Nair said :—

The Committee had proposed the expenditure of very considerable sums for the improvement of most of the external colleges which will be admitted to the privileges of the University, but here also, owing to the financial stringency, it has been decided to proceed at once on the basis of the colleges as they exist at present.

The Committee were of opinion that the Diamond Jubilee College under private management was a small and weak institution, and the Government agreed with the committee that we would not be justified in spending the very considerable amount that would be required to equip and maintain it efficiently. It has not been therefore proposed to include it in the new university.

This means that most of the external colleges are in an unsatisfactory condition; but the Committee have allowed all except the Diamond Jubilee College at Monghyr to remain. If *their* weakness could be tolerated, why could not the weakness of the Monghyr College be tolerated? It may be the weakest college in the province; but

that is no reason why it should be destroyed. This Spartan principle of killing the weak does not commend itself to us. The teaching of Christ is to take particular care of the weak. Christian servants of the King-Emperor ought to follow that teaching. If Government cannot spend money for the improvement of the Monghyr College, why could not the leaders of Bihar, including those of Monghyr, be asked and given time to raise a definite amount to make it equal at least to the weakest among the colleges which have been allowed to remain?

We have spoken of the destruction of the college at Monghyr because according to section 11 of the Bill,

11. Notwithstanding anything in any other law for the time being in force, no University established by Act of the Governor-General-in-Council shall, after the commencement of this Act admit any college to any privileges whatever, and any privileges granted to any college prior to the commencement of this Act, shall be withdrawn on the commencement of this Act.

The Case of Patna.

Sir Sankaran Nair has said that in Patna "no colleges will be affiliated to the university which are not situated within one mile of the council house at Patna." In the Bill the words "Senate House of the University" are used instead of "Council House." We do not know whether the Council House is to be used also as the Senate House, or whether a Senate House is to be built hereafter. In any case, we are not sufficiently conversant with the topography of Patna to be able to say whether within one mile of the Council House there are sufficiently large, open and unoccupied plots for the foundation of colleges. We hope there is no magic in the words "within one mile of the Senate House." In this age of Motor cars and Telephones, perhaps two or four or ten miles would do as well. We know from Sir Sankaran Nair's speech that the Secretary of State had agreed to the establishment of two more colleges at Patna, but the idea had to be dropped owing to financial difficulties. But these financial difficulties may not be everlasting. Therefore there should be some provision in the Bill according to which it may be easy to establish these colleges at Patna when the financial stringency is over. And as the Secretary of State had sanctioned the establishment of a Mission college, the foundation of a Hindu or Sanskrit College and of an Islamic College

ought also to be provided for in the Bill. This is better than to have to pass in future a supplementary Bill for founding one or more colleges.

Self-Government and the Bill.

In reply to a question asked by Mr. B. N. Sarma in the Imperial Legislative Council Sir C. Sankaran Nair said that "the Government of India look forward to an extension of local Self-government, but have not laid down any definite scheme for introduction after the war."

Then again, in the important Circular to Local Governments, addressed by the Government of India on the relation of local bodies to educational institutions within their jurisdiction and on other educational matters, it is said :—

6. As stated above the attitude of the [Decentralisation] Commission regarding the control of education is on the same general lines in respect of all classes of local bodies. Their objects throughout is to give to such bodies a greater share in the control of such classes of education as are entrusted to their care and by so doing to enlist a greater degree of interest and enthusiasm in the educational administration under their charge. They recognised that the majority of educational officers consulted were of opinion that this policy would lead to loss of efficiency but they considered that this view should not prevail against the recognised public policy of educating the people in self-government, and they were further influenced by the consideration that primary education (with which local bodies were chiefly concerned) should be adapted to the needs of the people and that this could best be affected by securing for local bodies more direct responsibility for its evolution and management. This consideration is in accordance with the views already expressed by the Government of India and the Secretary of State and the policy which it represents may be accepted as the guiding principle which, as far as practical conditions permit, should regulate the relations of local bodies toward primary education.

In Sir C. Sankaran Nair's reply to Mr. B. N. Sarma "an extension of local self-government" is stated to be intended by Government. In the Circular quoted above "educating the people in self-government" is declared to be "the recognised public policy." We are, therefore, entitled to ask that this just, statesmanlike and liberal attitude towards self-government be maintained in the case of the Patna University Bill in particular and of University education in the country generally.

The Curzonion Universities Act of 1904 officialised the Universities to a far greater extent than was the case formerly. The Patna University Bill reduces popular

influence to a nullity and makes the official element supreme. So the new university is going to have a much worse constitution from the point of view of self-government than the existing ones. If the Bill is to pass in its present form, it would be better to make the university a department of the Bihar Government in name also as it is to be in reality. There is no beauty or utility in having two authorities in name while in reality there is only one.

We need not repeat our observations in our last issue on the constitution of the Patna University and on other matters relating thereto. The senate should be enlarged to a body of at least 100 members, of whom at least 60 should be elected. Its resolutions should be binding on the syndicate, which latter body should consist of a clear majority of members elected by the senate. The Vice-Chancellor should be an elected officer, as in the Benares Hindu university. He should not have more powers than the Vice-Chancellors of the existing universities. In the Bill he has been made too much of an autocrat and practically a whole-time paid officer of the Government. And it is difficult to see how a mere mortal man, as the Vice-Chancellor would most probably be, would be able to conscientiously and satisfactorily discharge all his duties, which are :—

(2) The Vice-Chancellor shall be the principal executive officer of the University, and shall, when present, preside at every meeting of the Syndicate or of any other University body (except in the Senate when the Chancellor is present) of which he is a member. (3) The Vice-Chancellor shall be charged with the due carrying out of the provisions of this Act and of the Regulations. (4) The Vice-Chancellor shall appoint and control all officers and servants of the University other than the University staff. (5) The Vice-Chancellor shall have the right of visiting and inspecting the external colleges. (6) The Vice-Chancellor shall decide finally all matters of discipline in the University, and such matters of discipline in the colleges of University as are not delegated to other authorities by the Regulations.

The Bill proposes to confer on the Chancellor certain powers which that officer does not enjoy in the other Indian universities.

Irresponsible power can seldom be exercised properly. Not only are checks necessary, but, as no man or body of men can be a repository of all wisdom, help in the shape of criticism, suggestion and advice is also needed. One may say, without possessing any knowledge of their working, that syndicates, as collections of erring mortals,

may sometimes go wrong; but concrete examples of the mistakes and even the perversity of such bodies would not be at all difficult to bring forward. They must therefore occasionally require the help of the senate. But the latter has been made only a deliberative body. It has been lost sight of that men do not deliberate with all their earnestness, intelligence and wisdom when they know that their deliberation would not practically influence the course of affairs. Earnest discussion in the senate, by the elected representatives of the public, of problems of high education, arouses interest in such questions among the people at large and is an effective means of educating them in the consideration of such matters. The public would lose this indirect but important advantage if the Bill passes in its present form.

What the Colleges would teach.

Regarding the standards up to which and the subjects which the university colleges and external colleges would teach Sir C. Sankaran Nair says :—

As to the courses of study it is intended that the University is to undertake the whole of the science teaching of the University colleges at Patna, law teaching and the Honours B. A. and the Post-graduate work in arts subjects. Provision is to be made for a system of intercollegiate lectures in the B. A. pass and so far as is possible in the junior classes at Patna, but the external colleges will teach in arts subjects only up to the Pass B. A. and to the intermediate science in science subjects. As exceptions to the above the Cuttack College will provide teaching for the Honours B. A. and the pass B. Sc., and the Bihar National College will provide teaching for the pass B. Sc. On this question also there was a difference of opinion among the members of the committee. It is, no doubt, possible to give Honours and Post-graduate instruction of some kind at various centres as is now done elsewhere and to so arrange the examinations that the students could pass them without any further or better training, but the majority of the members were of opinion that the higher branches of University study required the scientific co-operation of a number of the best teachers working under the best conditions and a considerable body of students with such natural capacity and so well equipped as to be fit to receive advanced instruction. As these conditions do not exist in the various other colleges nor are they likely to arise, it is believed, for many years to come, the Government have come to the conclusion that the external colleges should teach the various subjects only up to the B. A. pass standards and science subjects only up to the standard required for the intermediate examination.

We emphatically and entirely dissent from the conclusion at which the Government have arrived. The power of colleges

to teach any subject up to a high standard is entirely a matter of resources in men and money. Let the university only fix the number and qualifications of the professors required and give an idea of the sort of laboratories and libraries necessary for teaching a subject up to a certain standard. If any college can satisfy these requirements, let it have the privilege of high teaching. It is absurd to take it for granted that only Patna would be found upto the mark. As the Government have so severely limited the number of colleges, it is their bounden duty to equip all these colleges properly, so that they may all be able to teach at least up to the Honours B. A. and Honours B. Sc. standards, which are after all not very high standards. What is the good of keeping these external colleges alive and continuing to call them colleges, if they are to be practically no better than glorified high schools?

Every well-informed educationist knows that even lower standards are taught better and in an inspiring manner, if a master mind does the teaching. The students of the first year class of a well-equipped firstgrade college may have the advantage of being taught by professors of great ability, but if a college is doomed to teach a subject only up to a low standard, it is but seldom that its students can come under the influence of very able professors. The inestimable advantage of freshmen coming under the influence of master minds is so well understood that at Cambridge and other leading universities many professors who have achieved distinction by original research lecture to freshmen.

Second and third grade colleges are, no doubt, better than no-colleges at all. But where the number of colleges is so small, each college should be equipped as a first grade college. It may not be possible to do it now, but it can be done after the war. The present temporary financial stringency can never be a sufficient reason for permanently crippling the external colleges.

The province has an area of 83,181 square miles, that of England being 50,874 square miles. The population of Bihar-Orissa is 34,490,184, that of England being 34,045,290. In England the University of Oxford has 22 Colleges and 3 private Halls, and Cambridge has

17 Colleges and 1 Hall. Then there are the Universities of Durham, London, Victoria (Manchester), Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, and Sheffield. London University has 24 colleges giving instruction in 8 faculties. There are also University Colleges at Exeter, Reading, and Southampton. There are besides seven special Agricultural Colleges in 7 places in England. We do not forget that the new province is not England. But surely one or two colleges for higher teaching (and that too not very high) are not sufficient to meet even the present demands of a province much more extensive than England and slightly more populous than the latter. Governments as well as peoples ought to have reasonable ideals and legitimate ambitions. We are sorry to find that the Government of India have set before themselves so low an ideal of its educational duties towards the new province.

Regulations.

The Bill lays it down that

(2) The first Regulations shall be framed by the Local Government. The Senate may, from time to time, make new or additional, or may amend or repeal the Regulations.

(3) The Syndicate shall have power to draft and propose to the Senate Regulations to be made by the Senate, and it shall be the duty of the Senate to consider the same.

(4) All new Regulations, or additions to the Regulations, or amendments to, or repeal of, the Regulations, shall require the previous sanction of the Local Government, which may after the opinion of the Syndicate has been taken sanction, disallow, or remit the same for further consideration.

From the character of the Bill it would be easy to guess the character of the Regulations to be framed by the Local Government, and, as official influence is sure to be supreme in the Senate and the Syndicate, the additions and amendments to them or the repeal of any of them is not likely to improve their character to any appreciable extent. Everything coming from an official source is not, of course, to be condemned. But at the same time the utter absence of popular control and criticism cannot be held to be desirable. It would be of some use if the Regulations to be framed by the Local Government were published for public criticism and suggestions.

It is not clear whether the new University will fill its colleges through the door

of the Matriculation or of the school final examination, or whether the Principals will be empowered to impose some other test or qualification on candidates for admission to their first year classes. This is a very important matter, and on it will depend the supply of undergraduates to the University. The popular view is, and it is a just and reasonable view, that the Education Department ought not to have any direct or indirect power to check the spread of high education such as school final examination may be made to confer on it.

Residential Colleges.

In the course of his introductory speech Sir C. Sankaran Nair said :—

The main feature of the scheme is that there should be a central residential and teaching University at Patna. This represents the form of University from which according to the present ideas the best educational results may be expected to follow. Some of the members of the Committee desired to have a University established which was entirely of this description, but the majority were of opinion that there were other considerations which precluded the establishment of such a University. There were several colleges in the province situated at a considerable distance from Patna at which students were being already educated for a University career and from which it was impossible to expect a complete migration of students to a Central University. It was accordingly decided that in addition to the university Colleges at Patna there should be a series of external colleges at various centres outside Patna itself. The Central University at Patna, therefore, and the external colleges are to be united so as to form a single University governed by common regulations and under the same general control.

It is a piece of good fortune that the University has not been made a centralised and purely residential one. Residential Universities and Colleges are more costly than non-residential ones, and therefore they are utterly unsuited to the requirements of an extremely poor country like India. If the Scottish Universities had been residential like Oxford and Cambridge, University education would not have been more widespread there than in England. When Sir C. Sankaran Nair observes that the central residential University "represents the form of University from which according to the present ideas the best educational results may be expected to follow," he merely repeats and echoes the prevailing Anglo-Indian bureaucratic idea, for which there is little justification to be found in the facts of recent

University development in Great Britain, not to speak of the continent of Europe. We are not blind to certain advantages of residential institutions. But if from residential universities alone, according to the latest and most authoritative opinions on the subject, "the best educational results may be expected to follow," how is it that in England, in none of the Universities founded after Oxford and Cambridge has there been an exact reproduction of the form or model of those mediaeval Universities? Englishmen are independent and self-governing. If the residential idea had been the best and most up-to-date they would not have departed or permitted any departure from that idea in any of the new Universities. For the best educational results the residential form is not essentially necessary; but it may be required by the bureaucracy to serve some political purpose of theirs. But that is a different matter altogether.

State Control of Universities.

This brings us to the question of State control of Universities. Anglo-Indian bureaucrats hold that university education in India must be subject to interference and absolute control by the State if it is to be in any way "effective and efficient." In our opinion that is a wrong view. The following paragraph lends support to our opinion.

At the annual meeting of the University of London Graduates' Association on March 16, the president, Sir William Collins, said that the two cardinal vices of higher education in Germany were the identification of the University with the State by State-appointed and State-paid professors, and the bestowal of degrees by the professors on their own students without independent examination. This led to the worship of the State and a belief that it could do no wrong, and propagated this doctrine in the rising generation.

What is bad in and for Germany can not be good in and for India. May we not hope that British Statesmen and officials in India will not copy from an enemy country any harmful ideas and think that they can be good for the British Empire.

The Patna University Bill, a Menace.

We have written at some length on the Patna University Bill, as we think the educational interests of not only the Province of Bihar and Orissa but of the whole of India may be prejudicially affected by it.

For sometime past there has been a demand, on the part of official and non-official Anglo-Indians, as expressed in their organs, for legislation amending the Indian Universities Act of 1904 in such a way as to still further weaken the power of the non-official Indian element in the senate,—to make it, in fact, a quite impotent factor. The Patna University Bill gives the public some idea of such amending legislation. The bureaucratic method is to introduce retrograde measures first in provinces where public opinion is comparatively less pronounced than where it is more articulated. The Patna University Bill may therefore be taken as the thin end of the wedge. The cause of high education in India would suffer most seriously if the existing universities were fashioned after the model of the Patna University. The quality of high education might or might not, then, improve, but its spread would certainly be arrested.

It is, therefore, the urgent duty of the educated public all over India to discuss the Bill in all its aspects and bearings and to send representations on it to the Government of India.

The Duty of the Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur Leaders.

As for the leaders of Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur, their duty is to make their voice heard distinctly against all the retrograde and obstructive features of the Patna University scheme. They should print copies of the Bill and Sir C. Sankaran Nair's speech, and send them for opinion to such Indian Vice-Chancellors and ex-Vice-Chancellors as Dr. Sundar Lal, Dr. Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Dr. Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterjee, Sir Gooroodas Banerji, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, &c., and to the Indian non-official members of syndicates, Indian Principals of unaided colleges and other Indian educationists. When these opinions are received, they should be summarised and forwarded to the Government.

As things are, Bihar is educationally in a very backward condition, Orissa is in a worse position than Bihar, and the condition of Chota Nagpur is the worst. And the Bill proposes to give fixity to this deplorable state of things. Public opinion and the press are not at all strong in Bihar, they are weaker in Orissa and al-

most non-existent in Chota Nagpur. It is all the more necessary, therefore, for the leading men of each of the three sub-provinces to do their part like men. And the weakness of the new province increases the responsibility of the older provinces. Duty towards brethren and self-interest alike require that they should exert themselves to the utmost.

An Educational Circular to Local Governments.

Replying to a question put by the Honourable Mr. Sastri, the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nair has made public an important educational circular of the Government of India. It is dated the 19th September, 1916. We have already quoted a paragraph from it in which it is declared to be the recognised public policy of the Government to educate the people in self-government. That declaration is in welcome contrast with the spirit of the Patna University Bill. The whole circular appears to breathe a different spirit, as a few examples will show.

It is proposed in paragraph 488 of the report of the Decentralisation commission that

Divisional "Commissioners should have the power to call for information from Inspectors of Schools, to express views, and to stop any action of the Education Department within their divisions which they consider undesirable. In paragraph 502 it is proposed that every Government college, secondary school, training and technical school should have a Board of Visitors of which the Commissioner, the Collector and the local Sub-Divisional Officer as well as non-officials should always be members, and that no new Government college, secondary school or training or technical school should be started and no alteration should be made in the status of an existing institution without the Commissioner and Collector being consulted. It is further proposed in paragraph 539 that the Collector should always be entitled to call for any information which he thinks fit from any officer of Education Department and to have such information given to him spontaneously in matters of importance.

"The replies of local Governments to show that Commissioners and District Magistrates can, under existing practice, already call for information from educational officers; that there are already facilities for consultation and that important educational schemes are not likely to be initiated without taking the views of executive officers. These arrangements appear to the Government of India to be satisfactory, but they would impress upon local Governments the extreme importance of the recommendations made by the Commission, the advantages of unofficial consultation between executive and educational officers, and the desirability of regarding the Inspector and the District Deputy Inspector as the

educational advisers of the Commissioner and District Magistrate respectively."

The circular then proceeds to observe that *At the same time the Government of India are opposed to any rigid rule whereby a Commissioner can stop action by the Department of Public Instruction as such a rule would tend to substitute official conflict for official co-operation; and by fostering official co-operation it would be possible to render any such procedure superfluous.*

The circular also enlarges the powers of local bodies in respect of primary education.

In their dealings with primary education the Commission would vest local bodies with very considerable latitude in such matters as the provision of buildings, the hours of attendance, the grant of holidays and of prizes, the levy of fees and the disbursement of grants-in-aid. In most parts of India local bodies are already in possession of fairly wide powers in these respects and where this is not the case the Government of India agrees that efforts should be made to evoke the interest of local bodies in primary school administration by the withdrawal wherever reasonably feasible, of such restrictions on their action in respect of the above-mentioned matters as may be at present imposed by local rules or educational codes. As regards the educational establishments the same principle should be observed as that accepted by the Government of India in their resolution of 28th April 1915 on local self-government policy in respect of local establishments generally, namely, that while such matters as have acting and travelling allowances, pensions or provident funds and maximum salaries should be governed by rules prescribed by the local Government, the local bodies should have a free hand in the creation and filling up of appointments and in the punishment and dismissal of the occupants. Similar discretion should be allowed (as is already the case in most areas) in respect of the opening and closing of schools, but it should be understood that the Collector should have power to order the opening of new primary schools where he considers this to be necessary and it will be open to local Governments to require if they so wish, that the closing of a school should be subject to the sanction of the Collector or the Director of Public Instruction.

CURRICULA IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

8. The Commission further recommend the exercise by local bodies of a somewhat similar discretion as regards the adoption of curricula in primary schools. The present practice is for the local Government on the advice of the Department of Public Instruction to prescribe the curriculum, and it is understood that a certain measure of choice of subjects is sometimes permitted. The Government of India desire to see this latter practice emphasised and made more general. Course of various kinds may be prescribed by the Department of Public Instruction and the adoption of them with or without any alterations (subject

to the intervention of the Collector in cases where considerations other than educational may be involved) may be left entirely to the local bodies. Text-books which are not approved by the Education Department should not be prescribed without the sanction of the Collector, but a free choice should be given for the selection of text books from lists of approved works adopted by the Department, care being taken to prevent too frequent and unnecessary changes.

Biharis and Bengalis in Bihar.

The progress of every province depends on the cordial co-operation of the different sections of its inhabitants, so long as sections exist; and we have no doubt the spirit of co-operation will ultimately prevail everywhere. From this point of view it is a matter of sincere satisfaction to note that that able and public-spirited citizen, Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narayan Sinha, has been returned to the provincial council by a Bihar constituency. Equally satisfactory is the choice of the Bihari students of the distinguished teacher and historian Professor Jadunath Sarkar to preside over their last conference held at Darbhanga. We should have been better pleased if we had not to speak of such occurrences as noteworthy, as they ought to come about quite as a matter of course.

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's "Practical" address.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar calls his presidential address at the Bihari Students' Conference "severely practical." Practical it is, not in the sense of wanting in idealism, but in the sense of showing the way to the realisation of some ideals. The first lesson which students should learn from his address is that they should remain students even when their academic career is over and they "have ceased to prepare for any examination." Prof. Sarkar considers himself a student still. His observations in connection with social service by students should be borne in mind by "leaders," demagogues and journalists.

In this connection, I deprecate the prevailing custom of appealing to the students as if they were the saviours of society and must act as drudges at every work of social utility. Social service of the type I shall describe later, is allowable in a student, and is indeed necessary for the completion of his education; but it should normally be restricted to his leisure hours and should not be out of proportion to his period of necessary toil for school or college.

Regarding the social service which stu-

dents may render without any interference with their proper duties, the professor observes :—

There is one way in which every student can help the expansion of education and thereby repay his debt to the community.....Every young man should during the long vacation privately teach the three R's to ten of his neighbours and thus help to diminish the appalling mass of illiteracy in the country. The cost in primers and slates will work out at 1½ annas per pupil. No great sacrifice is required on the part of the teacher ; all that we need is the spirit of social service in the workers and organisation on the part of the leaders. I, therefore, propose for your consideration that in every town and large village there should be a small local committee, which would enrol the names of volunteer teachers during holidays, supply them with books and slates and furnish reports of their work, showing the number of teachers, pupils and days of actual work, and the cost. Such statistics should be laid before our Conference and printed in its report. The Central Committee should subsidise the work by bearing half its cost, the other half being raised locally.

Our students may also utilise their holidays to spread light in their villages, by talking on sanitation and other useful matters, and keep small stores of medicine for distribution among the poor in cases of emergency or epidemic. Organisation on these lines will yield the happiest results at a small cost.

There is another matter in which our students can influence society and set a very effective example. They can take a vow never to attend a dance by professional women, or a play in which actresses of the disreputable class take part. If this is done, then in a few years, when the young men of to-day will have become the heads of their households, they will refuse to allow *nautches* at any ceremony in their families, and social purity will be easily effected.

In Prof. Sarkar's opinion,

Our supreme need to-day is the modernisation of Bihar,—casting off the methods, habits, thoughts and practices of the declining days of the Mughal empire and Nawabi rule, and adapting ourselves to the modern world, modern methods, modern ideas, and above all, the modern spirit,—that modern spirit, which feels a divine discontent with things as they are, and restlessly seeks to make them better,—that modern spirit which is not satisfied with second-hand information, but tries to penetrate to the very roots of objective truth, by experimenting, analysing, and looking at everything in the focus of light concentrated on it from all directions.

The paragraph which immediately follows the above extract has been taken by some journalists to mean that Prof. Sarkar condemns the endeavour to gradually make the vernaculars the vehicles of instruction in all grades of educational institutions :—

The English language is the key to this modern knowledge, and English literature is the surest medium for acquiring this modern spirit. Judging from the actual growth of our vernaculars as they stand to-day, it will be many years before a fairly *high* modern education can be imparted *solely* through the medium of our mother-tongue. We must

be taught and examined in a foreign and painfully acquired language. It is an abnormal phenomenon ; it is an unpleasant fact ; but it is a fact, and we must face it in our generation, though our children may probably be better off in this respect in their days.

But we do not see any such condemnation here. He rather looks forward to the day when the normal method of instruction through the vernaculars will replace the present "abnormal phenomenon." Moreover, we have not forgotten his article on the Teaching of History in a previous number of this REVIEW, in which he described how he used the vernacular of Bihar to teach history to his students in Patna College. And he says in another part of this very address that Bihar can be modernised "only by imparting modern knowledge, *through the Vernaculars or English.*"

He administers a well-merited rebuke to the "reactionaries of pretended orthodoxy."

I fail to understand the pessimistic cry that has been raised by some of our elders, "Enough of English education ! All the ills of our country are due to it. Replace it by the indigenous teaching of our ancestors." The reactionaries who say so, call themselves lovers of orthodox Hinduism. I am myself a Hindu and I have studied ancient Hindu literature and history. I can say that true Hinduism never shrank from truth of any kind ; true Hinduism produced the universities of Takshashila and Nalanda and the schools of Mithila and Benares. These opponents of English education do not want to go back to the free and fearless quest of truth which marked the period of Hindu greatness, but to the superstitious and slackness of the 18th century, when the Mughal civilisation had lost its vital force and society was sunk in darkness corruption and lethargy. These old women of modern India want to issue an edict like the late Dowager Empress of China, ordering the people to "return to the learning of Confucius," i.e. to be again what they were in 2000 B.C. No greater calamity than this can befall Bihar or the Hindu community.

These reactionaries of pretended orthodoxy are only playing the game of the insidious enemies of India's progress who cry, "Cheap education is nasty and worse than illiteracy." To-day it is needless for me to refute this theory. Every European country has made primary education free and compulsory.

He then examines the question whether college education is necessarily bad when it is cheap.

Take the case of Scotland. Only a hundred years ago, many a poor Scotch student used to go to the Edinburgh University from his village home carrying a sack of oatmeal on his back, hire a small bedroom, keep the sack in one corner of it, and live on the oatmeal. Here was education as cheap as could be imagined. Thomas Carlyle, when a boy of 14, had to walk a hundred miles alone on foot to his university and live there in the same humble style. To-day, no doubt, this "discipline of poverty and self-

denial," as Froude calls it in his "Life of Carlyle," is not so austere; but, thanks to the Carnegie endowment, no Scotch student has now to pay his fees. Is Scottish education, then, nasty because it is cheap? Are Scottish graduates worthless because their entire college expenses do not come up to the price of "the latest flannel checks" of the young aristocrats of Oxford and Cambridge? On this point I shall not presume to say anything of my own, but simply quote a very recent pronouncement of Sir Harry H. Johnston, a distinguished colonial governor, explorer and statesman: "[The present British] politicians, therefore, saddled with the inadequate education I have characterised, acted like the fox in the fable who had lost his tail; they were desirous that we should all be tailless. They, therefore, saw to it that all the avenues to public education were controlled by their contemporaries at Oxford or Cambridge. In short, to such [men] the world teaching of Oxford was the Ark of the Covenant, just as an education at Eton or Harrow was supposed to make a better officer on the field of battle, a more upright and intelligent minister of state than the education at a Scottish, a Midland or a Welsh University." He then shows how very prejudiced such a view is. English philosophy and the English public services bear witness to the efficiency of cheap Scottish education. When we look around ourselves we find Scotchmen filling the places of all the bankers, jute mill managers and assistants, and marine engineers in India. If these are the deadly fruits of the tree of cheap knowledge as it grows in Scotland, let the tree be transplanted to India by all means; we are ready to risk our lives by eating such fruits.

The professor concludes his address to the students with an inspiring call to idealism.

I have hitherto spoken to you in a practical spirit. But that does not mean that I despise ideals. On the contrary I hold that we shall all be the better for choosing and pursuing a particular ideal for our individual selves, for vowing to live "the life dedicated" as Lord Haldane called it in his Rectorial Address. The outer world may seem hostile to us; our circumstances and environment may be discouraging; but, no true heart will falter for that reason. The ideal will ever be before our mind's eye, though it may be lost to our material vision now and then. To such the noble lines of Matthew Arnold about the scholar-gipsy will ring true:

"Why faintest thou? I wander'd till I died.
Roam on! The light we sought is shining still.
Dost thou ask proof? Our tree yet crowns the hill,
Our Scholar travels yet the loved hill-side,...
Still nursing the unconquerable hope,
Still clutching the inviolable shade."

The possession of "prohibited" or "seditious" literature made penal.

In our "Notes" in the last number we quoted a paragraph on "seditious literature" from the Bengal Police Administration Report for 1915 and observed that it "seems to foreshadow, at least to seek to prove the need of, further repressive legislation." We also ob-

served: "The law of sedition in India is such that classical works and others of undoubted authority and value may be brought under it; and the possession of these may be made penal under the new law indirectly demanded. And if there be an official demand, there will be an official supply."

What we anticipated has come to pass not in the shape of a new Act but in the form of a notification under the Defence of India Act, as the following telegram from Simla published in the dailies will show:

The Government of India have issued a notification under the Defence of India Act prohibiting the possession of documents containing any words, signs or visible representations which instigate or are indirectly (a) the use of criminal force against His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India or against public servants generally or any class of the public or any public servant, or (b) the commission or abetment of anything which is an offence against Sections 121-A, 122, 131, 435 and 436 of the Indian Penal Code, or of the offence of robbery or dacoity or anything which is an offence under the Indian Arms Act 1878, the Explosive Substances Act 1908 or Section 27 of the Indian Army Act 1911. No person shall knowingly have in his possession or under his control any prohibited documents in such circumstances as afford reasonable grounds for believing that he is about to publish or circulate such document, and whoever contravenes the provision of this rule shall, unless he can prove that he had such documents in his possession or under his control for a lawful object, be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to three years and shall also be liable to fine. No Court shall take cognisance of any contravention of this Rule save on complaint made by an order, or under an authority from the Governor-General-in-Council, the Local Government or some officer empowered by the Governor-General-in-Council in this behalf.

Our opinion that even classical works may be considered seditious according to the Indian law of sedition finds support from the following prophetic words of Lord Morley:

Let us look at it as practical men who have got to deal with the government of the country. Supposing you abolish freedom of the Press, or suspend it, that will not end the business; you will have to shut up schools and colleges, for what would be the use of suppressing newspapers if you do not shut the schools and colleges? Nor will that be all. You will have to stop the printing of unlicensed books. The possession of a copy of Milton or Burke or Macaulay, or of Bright's speeches, and all that flashing array of writers and orators who are the glory of our grand and noble English tongue, the possession of one of these under the peculiar and unfair notions of Government will be like the possession of a bomb, and we shall have to direct the passing of an Explosives Books Act. All this and its various sequels and complements make a policy, if you please; but after such a policy had produced a mute, sullen, muzzled, lifeless India, we could hardly call it, as we do now, the

brightest jewel that ever sparkled in an Imperial Crown. No English Parliament would permit such a thing, and the last man to acquiesce in such a policy is Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India.

"The Mecca Revolt."

The Review of Reviews writes:—

THE MECCA REVOLT.

It is quite evident from the Indian press that the Mecca revolt has not commended itself to the Indian Muslims. They say that the holy places of Islam must be held by a strong Muslim Power capable of defending them against any non-Muslim attack. Since the Sheriff who has headed the revolt is not strong enough to maintain his independence, they consider that his action has placed the safety and sanctity of Mecca and Medina in jeopardy. Resolutions to this effect have been passed at meetings convened in Lahore, Lucknow and Calcutta, and Muslim organs like *The Mussalman* of Calcutta have expressed themselves in sympathy with them. *The Statesman* of Calcutta and other Anglo-Indian journals are seeking to discount these views by saying that the agitators represent nobody; but such a man as the Raja of Mahmudabad, who represents the Muslim community of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in the Supreme Legislative Council, cannot be so described.

In the present state of affairs it is very difficult to ascertain the true Moslem feeling in the country.

"Impatient" Internationalism.

The following cutting from a Japanese paper will be read with interest:

COLOURS OF THE NATIONS BURNED IN NEW YORK.

Unfurling Banner of International Industrialism.

New York, June 1.—An American flag and the Colours of many other nations were burned to-night in a "melting pot" in the yard of the Rev. Bouck White's Church of the Social Revolution. The "ceremony" was conducted by Albert Henkel, introduced as "an artist." After the Colours had been destroyed, Henkel unfurled the banner of "international industrialism."

The flag burning was preceded by services in the church, at which one of the speakers was the Rev. Mercer Green Johnston, who recently resigned as rector of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church at Newark, N. J., because, he said, some of his vestrymen wanted him to run his church "like a grocery store."

After the church services White announced the congregation would adjourn to the yard and "witness the birth of internationalism."

After a speaker had declared, no moment could be "more auspicious for the merging of all nations into international commonwealth," Heinrich Weber, who spoke in German, renounced the flag of his fatherland and cast it into the flames.

Weber was followed by natives of Great Britain, Russia, Japan, Italy, Sweden, Roumania and Greece, who cast the Colours of their countries into the "melting pot." Then Henkel cast the American flag into the fire.

The "Pan-Turanian" Movement.

A Special Correspondent of the Central News Agency states:—

For some years a new movement has been noticeable in Turkey, known as "Yeni-Turan"—New Turan. Its object is to revive Turkish nationality at the expense of the Moslem religion, and on this basis to unite in a general federation all the Turco-Tartar and kindred races, Bulgarians included. Its promoters are hostile to Islam, on the ground that (so they say) Islam tends to destroy the feeling of nationality, and has prevented the formation of a "Turkish" civilisation: they want to "make the Turkish national soul independent of Islam." Islam in fact, has no place in their programme unless some fragments of it, much modified, are to survive in the new Turkish "national" religion.

The movement has both a literary and a political side. The former seeks, among other things, to glorify the history of the Turanian races: Ghengiz Khan is made a hero and a statesman by those who dream of restoring his empire. The political side concerns the Arab race. Bitter hostility is shown to them. They are a "misfortune" for Turkey; they must be Turkish; their "khands" must become Turkish colonies, their history and customs must be forgotten; above all, their language must be forbidden and replaced by Turkish. All this has been constantly advocated by Turkish nationalist writers, and a Turk preaching in Syria has declared that the existence of the Prophet was a fiction invented by the Arabs.

Yeni-Turan is worked by a society, subventioned by the State, known as "The Turkish Hearth"; and behind it are the Committee of Union and Progress, whose leading men are not Moslems in any sense and who, as a Government, have been denounced by Moslems for many acts contrary to the Sheriat.

The movement is, of course, warmly encouraged by Turkey's German task-masters. Since Germany discovered that it was impossible to seduce from their allegiance the great Moslem populations embraced in the Empires of France and Britain, her enthusiasm for Islam has cooled remarkably; while the world now knows (thanks to the capture by the famous circular agents) that all the time Germany was seeking to destroy the Moslem religion in her late African colonies. Germany, in fact, is to Islam the most dangerous of all enemies, the enemy who poses as a friend.

Information supplied by a news agency is at all times liable to be coloured and vitiated by the political bias of the agency or by the political influence and pressure to which the agency or its correspondent is subjected. This is particularly the case in these days of international strife and hatred. Hence it is not certain to what extent the above description of the Pan-Turanian Movement is correct, or whether there is such a movement at all. All that can be said that such a reaction against Arabian influence must come in some period or other of a Moslem nation possessed of vitality.

There is an element in human genius which is common to all races. Hence the religion and culture of one race may be imbibed by another. But there is also an element of individuality in the genius of each race which distinguishes it from that of other races. The Christianity of all Christian races has the same Semitic origin. But the vigorous individuality of many western races has enabled them to divest their Christianity of what was peculiarly Semitic in it. As for the civilisations of countries like England, France, Germany, &c., they are not derived from Palestine, but largely from Greece and Rome, and moulded by the national genius of the peoples inhabiting those countries. In Moslem countries, Arabian religion and culture still hold supreme sway, though, of course, in actual life an Indian Musalman's beliefs and practices are not identical with those of a Chinese Musalman. There are, no doubt, exceptions, as for example, the Sufis of Persia. Sufism is not Arabian in spirit. Still Musalman nations have less national individuality than Christian Nations.

National movements rest on a firm belief in the fact that on the whole every country was, is, or can be equal to any other country in all essential expressions of the human spirit. For this reason an Indian Nationalist in the widest and truest sense, while not rejecting any truth from any quarter and while advocating world-wide exchange and interdependence in all spheres of human thought and activity, cannot be content to remain forever in spiritual, intellectual, political, industrial, or any other kind of bondage to any nation, ancient or modern. We Indians must justify our possession of a soul, of mind and heart and bodily powers and skill, by expressing ourselves in religion, in art, in science, in philosophy, in literature, in political institutions, in social customs, and various other ways.

If there has been a Pan-Turanian Movement in Turkey, it must be because the Turks or some of them have found that they have souls possessed of individuality distinct from those of the ancient and modern Arabs, and they want their souls to find unfettered expression in all ways.

Rise of Wages in America.

Agnes C. Laut writes in *Maclean's Magazine* that in America,

Wages have risen automatically 10 per cent. for unskilled labour all over the country; and skilled labour is commanding prices that seem almost incredible. In some of the munition factories men are earning on piece work £6 to £8 a day. That is—the workman is in many cases earning as much in a month as he formerly earned in a year. He is earning as much in a month as a foreman, or book-keeper, or teacher, or preacher, earns in a year.

In India, a *mistri* of any sort earning from Rs. 90 to Rs. 120 *per diem* is unimaginable.

Conditions of Legitimacy in Government.

Grizot, in his Lectures on Civilisation in Europe, thus describes the conditions of legitimacy in Government:—

"The conditions of legitimacy are the same for the government of a religious society as for that of any other; they may be reduced to two: The first, that the power should attach itself to and remain constantly in the hands of the best and most capable as far, at least, as human imperfection will allow of its doing so; that the truly superior people who exist dispersed among the society should be sought for there, brought to light, and called upon to unfold the social law, and to exercise power: the second, that the powers legitimately constituted, should respect the legitimate liberties of those over whom it exercises itself. In these two conditions, a good system of forming and organising power, and a good system of guarantees of liberty, consists the worth of government in general, whether religious or civil; all governments ought to be judged according to this criterion."

Royalty the Sovereignty of Right.

The French thinker and historian pursues a similar line of thought in another lecture, where he dwells on that aspect of royalty which is "the personification of the sovereignty of right."

"Royalty is quite a distinct thing from the will of a man, although it presents itself in that form: it is the personification of the sovereignty of right of that will, essentially reasonable, enlightened, just, and impartial, foreign and superior to all individual wills, and which in virtue of this title, has a right to govern them. Such is the meaning of royalty in the minds of nations, such the motive for their adhesion.Conceive to yourselves the smallest assembly of men, I will not say a people: conceive that assembly under submission to a sovereign who is only *so de facto*, under a force which has no right except that of force, which governs neither according to reason, justice, nor truth; human nature revolts at such a supposition,—it must have right to believe in. It is the supremacy of right which it seeks, that is the only power to which man consents to submit. What is history but the demonstration of this universal fact? What are the greater portions of the struggles which take place in the life of nations, but an ardent effort towards the sovereignty of right, so that they may place themselves under its empire? And not only nations but philosophers believe in its existence and incessantly seek it. What are all the systems of political philosophy, but the

search for the sovereign of right? ... I affirm, and the nearest common sense will acknowledge, that the sovereignty of right completely and permanently can appertain to no one; that all attribution of the sovereignty of right to any human power whatsoever, is radically false and dangerous. Hence arises the necessity for the limitation of all powers, whatever their names or forms may be; hence the radical illegitimacy of all absolute powers, whether its origin be from conquest, inheritance, or election..... This principle being laid down, it is no less certain that royalty, in whatever system it is considered, presents itself as a personification of the sovereign of right. Listen to the theocratical system: it will tell you that kings are the images of God upon earth; it is only saying that they are the personification of sovereign justice, truth and goodness. Address yourself to the juris-consults; they will tell you that the king is the living law; that is to say, the king is the personification of the sovereign of right, of the just law, which has the right of governing society. Ask royalty itself, in the system of pure monarchy; it will tell you that it is the personification of the State, of the general interest. In whatever alliance and in whatever situation you consider it, you will always find it summing itself up in the pretension of representing and reproducing the sovereign of right, alone capable of legitimately governing society. There is no occasion for astonishment in all this. What are the characteristics of the sovereign of right, the characteristics derivable from his very nature? In the first place he is unique; since there is but one truth, one justice, there can be but one sovereign of right. He is permanent, always the same; truth never changes. He is placed in a superior situation, a stranger to all the vicissitudes and changes of this world; his part in the world is, as it were, that of a spectator and judge. Well! It is royalty which externally reproduces, under the most simple form, that which appears its most faithful image, these national and natural characteristics of the sovereign of right."—Guizot, *Civilisation in Europe*, Ninth Lecture.

Lincoln on the Paramount Political Purposes of Government.

Having defined the paramount political power of government, Lincoln also defined the paramount political purposes of government in his first message to Congress, delivered July 4, 1861. Mark his words:

"This is essentially a people's contest... It is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government *"whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from the shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuits for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life."*

This is also the English theory of the State, namely, that the state exists for the people. In fact in England the state and the people are practically identical. Though in India that is not yet, still there is no

insuperable difficulty in the way of the state here conforming entirely to the ideal of English theorists and of Lincoln, in opposition to the doctrine promulgated by the German writer Treitschke that the state is greater than the people and the people exist for the state. The English theory is coming to be recognised in India, too, though very very slowly.

Bankura Sammilani Famine Relief Fund closed.

The Bankura Sammilani Famine Relief Fund is now closed. What further help may have to be rendered, will be given from the balance in the Treasurer's hand. We tender our sincere and respectful thanks to all the generous donors who have enabled us to relieve the distress of hundreds of famine-stricken men, women and children.

Helping the Filipinos to self-government.

The Philippine Islands came under American rule about 18 years ago. The whole of the archipelago is now under civil government. The central government is composed of the Governor-General, who is the chief executive and president of the Philippine Commission, and eight Commissioners (three Americans and five Filipinos). The Philippine Commission constitutes the upper house and the *elective* Philippine Assembly the lower house, of the legislative body. The members of the Assembly hold office for four years, and the Legislature elects two Resident Commissioners to the United States, who hold office for the same term. Those are members of the United States House of Representatives, with a voice, but not a vote.

The islands are divided into 36 provinces of which 31 are regular and the rest special. The government of each of the regular provinces is vested in a provincial board composed of a governor and two vocals. The governor is the chief executive of the province and presiding officer of the board. *He and the vocals of the board are all elected by popular vote*, just as if our provincial governors and lieutenant governors and their executive councillors were elected by our votes. The government of towns is practically autonomous, the officials being elected by the qualified voters of the municipalities and serving for four years. For other details of the advanced state of self-government in the Philippines the readers may consult our notes and

articles in previous numbers and the chapter on the Philippines in Mr. Lajpat Rai's book on the United States of America.

The Jones Bill introduced in the United States legislature proposed to confer complete independence on the Filipinos not later than four years from the passing of the bill. On the wide-reaching effects of the measure, as the Filipinos hoped it would be passed, the Hon'ble Rafael Palma writes in the *Philippine Review*:

The independence of the Filipinos under the conditions proposed in the Jones Bill represents a notable progress, the scope and results of which in the sphere of international politics may not even be understood or appreciated to-day in the United States. It signifies not only an act of reparation, an abandonment of the imperialist doctrine which constitutes the profession of faith of the great powers, but also the adoption of a new dogma that implies the renunciation of acquired rights, where these rights are not founded upon morality and justice. It signifies, moreover, the noble and loyal fulfillment of all the engagements implied in the voluntary acceptance of a trusteeship for the Filipinos, and the inauguration of a new method for the peaceful and legal solution of the question of one people's dependence upon another. It furthermore signifies the reaffirmation of the principle enounced in the Declaration of Independence, that peoples should always be governed by their own consent, never without their consent.

The Jones Bill has not been passed in the form in which it was originally drafted; but even in the form in which it has become law, of which we are going to give the reader some idea, it would greatly help forward the Filipinos on the road to complete self-government and ultimate independence; and for this reason the Americans are entitled to a large part of the credit which is implied in Senor Palma's observations quoted above.

The Springfield *Republican* says that it is a fact of importance to Americans that the Filipinos seem to be satisfied with the passage of the Philippine Government Bill for the "contentment of a people with their government is one of the final and conclusive tests of the character of that government." Then, briefly summarizing the bill this journal notes that

in place of the present Philippine Commission, which is abolished, the Filipinos are to elect a Senate. The House is already elected by the people, and, with the election of the Senate, the electorate is to be increased by about 600,000. As about 200,000 Filipinos vote now the new law will grant voting rights to about 800,000. The office of Governor-General is retained and there is to be a vice-governor, an American, whose duties are to be fixed by the Governor-General. The functions of the legislature are limited so as to provide that the coinage, currency, and immigration

laws shall not be made without the approval of the President of the United States. Finally, all Americans residing in the Islands who desire to vote must become citizens of the Islands. The *Republican* points out also that the preamble of the bill fixes no specific date for the granting of independence, but simply states "that it has always been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a suitable government can be established therein." Therefore, enlarged powers of self-government are granted "in order that by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may the better be prepared fully to assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence."

The enactment of this law has furnished the occasion for Mr. Manuel Quezon, Commissioner of the Philippine Islands, expressing himself as follows in a statement which he has issued to the press:

"He flies in the face of history who ignores the fact that no people ever stop or even hesitate in the middle of the road once they begin to struggle for their liberty. Every advance made is an encouragement to take further and faster steps.

"Beginning from to-day we shall use this legislation to remind the American people that they have promised us independence, and when the government provided for in the act is established we shall run that government in a way that will show the world that we are in fact a nation, capable of fulfilling our obligations to ourselves and other peoples, and fully competent to live an independent life. We are bent upon convincing the American people within the next year or two that a stable government can be established in the Islands. Then having fulfilled the condition imposed, independence will be forthcoming."

United Provinces Conferences.

Recently the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh have given proofs of much civil vitality and activity. Not only were there held last month political, social and industrial conferences in those provinces, but, as Mr. C. Y. Chintamani stated in his able, informing and lengthy presidential address at the political conference at Jhansi,

No fewer than four special provincial conferences have been held between the last and the present sessions of our regular annual Conferences—the memorable Conference of the 30th May, 1915, held to protest against the House of Lords' action in regard to the constitution of an Executive Council in these provinces, the Municipal Bill Conference held at Cawnpore, the Educational conference held at Lucknow, and, last in point of time but not the least in importance, the Hindu Conference at Benares. Our grievances remain unredressed and we are alive to the necessity of continued effort, but we may claim without immodesty that the United Provinces can no longer be looked down upon as a sleepy hollow and that, however slow-footed the Government may be, the

exponents of Indian opinion at any rate have fairly awakened to a sense of their public duties.

Regarding the future position of India in the Empire Mr. Chintamani said :—

I associate myself wholly and entirely with my esteemed friend the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in an observation he recently made, that we will put up with much suffering before we shall accept the domination of the colonies over us, and I feel sure that in saying this I am expressing the unanimous opinion and feeling of all members and every member of this Conference. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will lose no time in informing His Majesty's Government of this keen feeling of India.

Mr. Chintamani did well to dwell on the deplorable state of education in the U. P., the most deplorable among the major provinces, and to criticise the restrictive policy pursued, in the paragraph quoted below.

In the face of such a situation, which is no credit to anybody concerned and which is a public peril, is it not incredible that a restrictive policy should be pursued in the blameless name of Efficiency, a word which seems to bring much comfort to the mind of the official educational reformer, as the more doubtful word Prestige stands for so much in Indian politics generally? No one of us is an advocate of worthless education, this is only a convenient assumption of officialdom to belittle the value of our criticism of its policy. As our Conference has declared year after year it is our conviction that in the present state of the country and of these provinces, the governing principle of educational policy should be the wider diffusion of education, and efficiency should be secured to the greatest extent compatible with such diffusion. Insist upon elementary board schools if you think that the agency of aided private schools must be discarded, but do not discourage the latter unless and until you open an adequate number of the former. Carry out your policy of restricting the size of classes, but do so only to the extent that the number of schools and colleges allows of your giving effect to it without turning into the street large and increasing numbers of young men who may become desperate in the absence of facilities for education and of sympathy. See by all means that students do not breathe an unwholesome political atmosphere, and bring them up in proper discipline, but do not deprive them or their teachers of legitimate freedom, do not follow a policy of suspicion of all and sundry, and do not think that wisdom lies in substituting departmentalism for popular control in increasing measure. Give our young men better education most certainly—we shall bless you for that—but educate all our young men, an increasing number of them as year succeeds year—and to this end, adopt a policy of freely encouraging and liberally assisting private effort to supplement the resources and activities of the state. And pray cease to treat the department of public instruction as the cindrella of departments. There are several other departments on which you may practise economy when you are in that mood or under that necessity, not only without detriment to the public weal but with great advantage. If, for instance, you spend a little less on your C.I.D., you will find to your agreeable surprise that you will hear less of

that unrest which apparently gets so much on your nerves. Trust the people, educate the people, be just to the people, and you will be free from all anxiety and your C.I.D. will find its occupation gone.

These words should be pondered over not by U. P. officials alone, but by the bureaucracy all over India; for the educational policy is everywhere the same.

The full meaning and implication of the words, "a situation, which is no credit to anybody concerned," should be properly understood. If the Government have not done their duty to the best of their ability, neither have the people who possess education and means.

Conferences in Bombay.

Bombay has also recently held some conferences. Over the political conference, the Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah presided. In the course of his masterly presidential address, he said :—

Is it possible or natural as a rule for members of Parliament to grasp or grapple with questions affecting the internal administration and progress of India? When it was found that that was not possible in the case of Australia, Canada and South Africa, with few millions of population, would it not be miraculous if they continued to manage successfully the affairs of India by Parliament sitting in London? Having regard to the rapidly growing wants and demands of the people and the tremendous progress and changes that India is going through every few years, is it possible to govern India from Whitehall or Downing Street? To those who know India and understand India, it is clear that she no longer will merely obey, but wants to manage her own affairs. Peace, prosperity and security which satisfied her a decade ago are no longer enough. The Soul of Young India has been roused and it yearns for Political Freedom. However well our physical and material wants may be provided for, that is not sufficient, India wants to raise herself to a status which will command the respect of the Nations of the World for her and which will be befitting her National honour and self-respect. It is not now a question of a few posts; it is no longer a question of a few grievances or reform of internal matters of administration, it is a question of complete change of policy. The question at issue is not merely of details but it relates to the fundamental structure of the Government and we require a statesman to deal with the present situation and re-fashion and reconstruct the constitutional form of the Government of India. It is said that there is dissatisfaction in the Country; it is said a Political agitation is kept up which is embarrassing to the Government; it is said that the Home Rule League movement is not desirable; but what is the cause of it all? Surely, those are not merely the signs of an excessive imagination as explained by some people for want of better knowledge. It is quite clear that this is due to the awakened political consciousness of the people, who demand a new polity and resent—and rightly resent—

the differential treatment which is meted out to them socially, commercially and politically. It is a mistake to construe this resentment as a mark of disloyalty. It will be wisdom to root out the fundamental causes of dissatisfaction and discontent.

He is right in thinking that "the key-note of our real progress lies in the good-will, concord, harmony and co-operation between the two great sister communities. The true focus of progress is centred in their union." But we do not think the spirit which subtly pervades the following sentences in his speech, is one which can produce good-will, concord, harmony and co-operation :—

There is but one question besides the question of cow-killing and street music which has proved not only a thorny question but an obstacle which kept the two communities hitherto apart. But the solution is not difficult. It requires a true spirit of conciliation and give and take. The Mahomedans want proper, adequate and effective representation in the Council Chambers of the country and in the District and Municipal Boards, a claim which no right-minded Hindu disputes for a moment. But the Mahomedans further require that representation in the various boards and Council Chambers should be secured to them by means of separate electorates. This question of separate electorates from top to bottom has been before the country since 1909, and rightly or wrongly the Mussalman community is absolutely determined for the present to insist upon separate electorates. To most of us the question is no more open to further discussion or argument as it has become a mandate of the community. As far as I understand the demand for separate electorate is not a matter of policy but a matter of necessity, to the Mahomedans who require to be roused from the coma and torpor into which they had fallen so long. Differences in details such as method of securing to Mahomedans their adequate share in the Council Chambers, Municipal and District Boards should not be allowed to create an "impasse" and one side or the other must give in. I would, therefore, appeal to my Hindu friends to be generous and liberal and welcome and encourage other activities of Mahomedans even if it involves some sacrifice in this matter of separate electorates.

The "true spirit of conciliation and give and take" does not appeal to the Hindus alone to *give in*. No Mahomedan leader, so far as we remember, has ever said in what respects, even in provinces or places where the Musalmans are in a majority, they are prepared to be conciliatory and to "give in." Both in matter and manner Mr. Jinnah's views are not such as would promote harmony.

In 1910 Mr. Jinnah's political outlook was perhaps more widely national than now. For in that year he moved at the Allahabad session of the Indian National Congress :

That this Congress strongly deprecates the exten-

sion or application of the principle of separate communal electorates to municipalities, district boards or other local bodies.

But in spite of what appears to us to be a defect in his masterly address, it was a very weighty pronouncement, lucid, reasonable and convincing because of the note of sincere conviction which rang through it. His scheme of provincial autonomy, apart from its intrinsic merit, gains in authority from the fact that it is the constructive demand of an able lawyer, legislator and leader, the president of the first United Bombay Provincial Conference, and the President-elect of the ensuing session of the All-India Moslem League.

The "New India" Cases.

The High Court of Madras has not been able to give any redress to Mrs. Annie Besant in the matter of the forfeiture of the *New India* security. In the other case in which the legal power of the Magistrate to demand security from her was called in question, two of the three judges have expressed the opinion that the Magistrate has acted *ultra vires*, but all the same they have pronounced the opinion that they have no power to undo what the Magistrate has done. Mrs. Annie Besant may have redress by bringing a civil suit against the Magistrate ; and that she says she will do.

The Chief Justice of Madras has in the course of his judgment said that the keeping of printing presses and the publication of newspapers in India are extremely hazardous. So they are. Even if Mrs. Besant had won both her cases, it would not have shown that the Press Act of 1910 was not a very stringent and repressive measure. For not many editors have the financial and intellectual resources of Mrs. Besant to be able to fight in the way she has been doing ; nor are all of them cast in the heroic mould. Her defeat makes the case against the Press Act stronger. And the divergency in the judgments of the three judges as regards the particular articles in *New India* which have and which have not offended against the Act, shows the extreme uncertainty of the scope of its principal section. If three trained lawyers who are judges of the High Court, can differ so widely, what are we poor editors to do? As things are, our existence depends entirely on the forbearance of the executive. That is a very precarious and

humiliating position. The Government of a country cannot be progressive, nor can the people advance, so long as the press is subject to such uncertain and humiliating restrictions. The Press Act should be repealed, and the law of sedition should be altered and liberalised, and brought into harmony with the view that nothing is seditious which does not directly or indirectly foster disloyalty to the sovereign and to the British connection.

Mrs. Annie Besant has rendered signal service to the cause of liberty in general and of liberty of the press in particular by bringing her grievances before the High Court. Her intellectual powers, forensic ability and courage cannot but extort admiration. Her determination to appeal to the Privy Council shows that she will leave nothing undone to make it a fight to the finish. It cannot be a normal state of things which requires anybody to spend so much money and energy and make such sacrifices merely to obtain justice.

One indirect good result of the case relating to forfeiture of the *New India* security, has been the declaration of the Madras Government through their Advocate General that they are not opposed to the propaganda of Home Rule, so long as it is conducted in a proper way. A similar declaration was made by the Bombay Government when Mr. Tilak was made to show cause why he should not be bound down to be of good behaviour. But the difficulty is to find out what in the opinion of the executive would be the proper way. To thoroughly convince the people that Home Rule is wanted and that Home Rule would be better than the present form of administration, concrete illustrations must be given. The danger lies in giving these illustrations. There are officials who are not prepared to admit that what they do can be productive of bad results. There are some others who may allow editors to point out the evil consequences of laws, regulations, ordinances, executive orders, &c. But there are perhaps no bureaucrats who will admit that any of them *can* have any bad motive in any of their official acts or measures. They draw the line there. They will not allow any ascription of bad motives. But does official position raise men's natures to such a high level that they become incapable of acting from bad or unjustifiable motives? Or are official motives inscrutable?

Public Spirit in the Provinces.

Madras, we believe, is the only province which has regularly held district conferences, and provincial conferences, too, as a matter of course. For some time past it has been ringing with the Home Rule cry. Home Rule literature is also being circulated there widely. In previous notes we have spoken of conferences held in the Bombay Presidency and in the U. P. Home Rule lectures are also being delivered in the Deccan. Mr. Sastri has been delivering Home Rule lectures in the U. P. One wonders what is wrong with Bengal. There is no political activity in this province. Social and Industrial Conferences have not been held here for many a year. There is some social service in the province, no doubt. But that is not a special feature of Bengal. It exists elsewhere, too, and in the Bombay Presidency, judged from this distance, it seems better organised than here. Women's education is a thing to laugh at in Bengal. As Bengalis we should like very much to know in what kind of public activity Bengal is equal to the most advanced of the other provinces.

Can it be said that Bengal is so immersed in the deeper things of life that no surface activity is apparent? We do not know. Is earnestness growing among us? It is difficult to say.

The Non-official Councillor's Memorandum on Post-war Reforms.

The Memorandum presented to the Government of India by nineteen elected non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council is a very important document. It has been signed by members representative of the landed aristocracy, who are ordinarily called by Anglo-Indians the "natural leaders of the people," by those who represent the educated middle class and the professions, by Musalman representatives and those who represent Indian commerce. The signatories have taken time by the forelock and have thus shown commendable zeal for the public good. Differences of opinion there must be as regards details. But the essence of the demand for self-government cannot but be endorsed by the whole of thinking India. Some of us want more than what the honorable members have asked for, but certainly we cannot be satisfied with anything less.

The ways of some Anglo-Indian journalists are extremely laughable. When Babu Surendranath Banerjea, in the capacity of secretary to the Indian Association, sent a representation to the Bengal Government on the question of internments, these men said that he was not a representative man, as he had not been returned to the Imperial Council! And now these same journalists say that the nineteen gentlemen who have signed the memorandum represent only themselves, although they have been elected to the council by their constituencies! Who then, is a representative, please? Obviously he who echoes the opinions of these journalists. The great offence of some of these gentlemen is that they are lawyers. But what is a legislative council? An assembly, we suppose, whose main business is to make laws. Perhaps in the opinion of Anglo-India, *lawyers* are the least fitted to make *laws*. And as for such matters as the constitution, the work of administration, &c., lawyers can never understand them. For that reason the British nation have placed at the head of its affairs Mr. Asquith, a lawyer. They have even perpetrated the absurdity of making Mr. Lloyd George, another lawyer, their War Minister; and wonder of wonders! he is doing his work well too.

And as for the representative character of lawyers, it is well known that they do not at all belong to India, they drop from the planet Jupiter to attend law-courts on each day during which these tribunals remain open; and they attend council meetings also from their homes in Jupiter.

Baroda Administration Report.

It is always a pleasure to read the Baroda Administration Report. It is so neatly printed and well got-up in every respect, and clearly written without any mental reservation or concealment that one likes to keep it and study it at leisure with profit. In the volume for 1914-1915, Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, the Dewan of the State, has given an exhaustive account of all departments of the administration and all forms of the activity of the Baroda Government. Considering that the population of Baroda is only 20,32,798, which is exceeded by many Bengal districts, the many-sided activities of the state embrac-

ing all spheres of the life of the inhabitants of Baroda, cannot but excite wonder. There is no British district which has to do so many things with only its own internal resources to fall back upon; and yet Baroda does well all that is done in British districts, and in addition does well many things which are not attempted in many or most of them. Baroda has its Palace, its Army, its Legislature, its Judiciary, its Police, its Prisons, its Court of Wards, its Religious and Charitable Institutions as a State department, its Finance department, its Revenue and Settlement department, its well-developed Local Self-government scheme, its Industries (including Agriculture, Co-operative Societies, Factories, Forests, &c.), its Public Works department (dealing with buildings, roads, bridges, electric installations, state gardens, irrigation, water-works, drainage, forest works, state furniture works, railways, and Baroda city improvement trust), its Education department (dealing with all kinds and stages of education, ordinary and technical, for both sexes and all castes of the population, and providing the state with a Museum and numerous libraries), its department for Medical Relief, Sanitation and Vital Statistics (under which are a Lunatic asylum, a Leper asylum, a Maternity ward, Bacteriological, chemical and other laboratories, Ambulance, arrangements for Meteorological observations, etc.), &c.

"The practical working of the separation of the executive and judicial functions was explained in the report of last year and there has been no change in the system during the year." The Conciliators are one of the most interesting institutions in the State. They have been doing good and useful work.

The members of the Baroda Legislative Council are given the right of interpellation, moving resolutions and requesting permission for the introduction of Bills.

"It is interesting to note that one of these Bills was a new Draft for the Infant Marriage Prevention Act wherein it was proposed to raise the marriageable age for boys to 18 years and to repeal the provisions relating to the granting of permission to perform infant marriages. The proposal of such a bill by an elected member is a significant testimony to the wide-spread and increasing interest shown in social progress among the masses."

The number of religious and charitable institutions under direct Government management was 44 :

"Itinerant religious preachers were attached during the year to certain temples in Baroda and Amreli districts, their duty chiefly being to go about in the respective Mahals from village to village and to enlighten the villagers by preaching on religious and social questions."

"The public Institutions Act, which has been enacted with a view to ensure proper administration of religious and charitable institutions, is gradually leading to a general improvement in their working and is, as time goes on, meeting with more and more appreciation on the part of the people."

"During the year under report, there was a marked increase both in the number of Institutions and the pupils attending them. The attendance also was more regular.....This satisfactory increase of about 28,345 pupils may be ascribed to a genuine popular demand for secondary education, the systematic enforcement of the Compulsory Education Act and the raising of the compulsory age limit and standard."

The Central Library had at the end of the year 53,790 volumes against 49,329 of the preceding year.....During the year under report there were 3 prant libraries, 35 town libraries, 385 village libraries and 62 reading rooms, as compared to 2 prant, 35 town and 325 village libraries and 62 reading rooms, of the previous year."

"The Visual Instruction Branch, specially opened with a view to give instruction to the masses by means of cinematograph demonstrations, continued to do its work with good results. In all 128 shows were arranged (17 in Baroda city and 111 in the four Prants) and about 56,400 men took advantage of this opportunity."

The two most important and interesting chapters in the report are Chapter V dealing with local self-government and Chapter X calling attention to certain defects, wants and problems. The chapter on local self-government gives a connected account from the commencement and shows what Baroda has done in local self-government. In the development of local self-government the generous wish of H. H. the Maharaja has been that the village should once again be self-ruling. The Dewan's history shows that in the Baroda State the organization of the village Panchayats preceded the establishment of the Local Boards. The system of local self-government was built up from below upwards. Eloquent testimony is borne to the capacity of the villagers to work together for the common good under intelligent guidance. The whole chapter makes very hope-inspiring reading. We commend it to the attention of Indian publicists, leaders, Home Rulers, and British Administrators.

Throughout the report the Dewan has frankly pointed out defects and loose screws where they exist, and his concluding chapter is devoted entirely to the work

of criticism and of offering suggestions. This feature of the report is creditable alike to him who submits the report and him who receives it. To be able to speak disagreeable truth and to welcome such truth telling are somewhat rare qualities. A state which has such a Ruler and such a Minister cannot but have a future brighter far than its present condition.

The last chapter is devoted to a consideration of the steps to be taken for developing the material resources of the people, the eradication of malaria, the promotion of the economic and especially the industrial interests of the state, particularly in the direction of the cultivation and manufacture of cotton, increasing the narrow resources of the local bodies and the activity of the village panchayats, finding out the best method of recruitment for public service (the Dewan inclining to the adoption of a competitive test as a normal method of recruitment for the higher service), and the improvement of administrative methods.

Some Anglo-Indian papers have made much of the defects pointed out by the Dewan. But in what country are there not defects in the administration? Are not the progressive spirit and steadily increasing achievements of Baroda more conspicuous than its defects? Anglo-Indian journalists have laid special emphasis upon two statements of the Dewan and drawn conclusions therefrom unfavorable to Baroda. One is: "The Bombay Presidency whose cotton area is about eight times that of Baroda, contains more than forty times the number of cotton mills that are to be found in Baroda." But it should be borne in mind "that in Baroda, peace, order, and good government have been established later than in British Gujarat, and commercial enterprise is, therefore, somewhat belated." Moreover, for obvious reasons, outside Indian and foreign capital have not yet flowed into Baroda to the extent that it has into British Gujarat. But the Baroda State is watchful and the report itself contains evidence that steps will be taken to set right what is wrong. Besides, we ought not to forget that, as regards cotton itself, "the area under cotton has increased from 624,000 acres in 1905-06 to 890,000 acres, or about one-fourth of the total cultivated area in 1914-1915. The approximate yield of lint has increased from 16,800 bales to 213,000

bales,..... During this period, the area under cotton in the Bombay Presidency (including Native States) has increased from 57,50,000 acres to 70,00,000 acres, and the yield of raw cotton from 12,00,000 bales to 18,40,000; compared with which the rate of progress in Baroda is by no means unsatisfactory." As for all kinds of manufactures, "the number of factories of all kinds has also increased, from 57 in 1903-04 to 156 in the year under report... The advance made is therefore neither discouraging nor unsatisfactory."

The other statement of the Dewan out of which Anglo-Indian journalists have sought to make capital is that the Census figures of population for 1911 show but an insignificant advance over those of 1901, and compared with 1881, there has been a decrease of nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. This is no doubt a regrettable thing, but Baroda is already trying to bring about a better state of things. What, however, ought to be borne in mind is that decrease of population during some decade or other is not peculiar to Baroda. In British India in some Bengal districts there has been continuous decrease. During the period 1901 to 1911 there has been decrease in population in Coorg (5,631), Punjab (355,381), and United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (510,233), and in Baroda an increase of 80,106.

"The Mysore Parliament in Miniature."

Such is the name *The Mysore Patriot* gives to the Mysore Representative Assembly and says:—

Monday the 9th of October 1916 will hereafter be regarded as a red letter day in the political and administrative annals of Mysore. The gracious Royal Rescript read by the Dewan announcing the holding of another session of the Assembly every year is the second "Magna Charta" of Mysore, the first being the order of His Highness the late Maharaja Sri Chamarajendra Wodeyar Bahadur of revered memory. The importance of the step taken at present by His Highness, our beloved Maharaja, cannot be overestimated. It is an act of the highest and broadest statesmanship and of the deepest political grace and clemency. We consider the institution of a regular second session every year as a great and marked advance in the political privileges of the people.... We may now venture to prophesy that in the rejuvenated Representative Assembly lie the germs of the future Parliament of Mysore. With the growth of the Representative Assembly, it will serve the same purposes which the Parliaments of Western nation have been doing.

Quite true.

Address of the Dewan of Mysore.

The Address of Sir M. Visvesvarayya,

Dewan of Mysore, to the Dasara Representative Assembly is a very lucid, comprehensive, informing and interesting document.

The privilege of asking supplementary questions has been accorded to the members of the legislative council.

With a view to stimulate interest in the work connected with public measures in rural areas, the Deputy Commissioners and certain heads of departments arranged for conferences in various parts of the State at which questions connected with the Economic Conference, Village Improvements and Co-operative Societies, and the wants of the people generally were considered and discussed. In some cases conferences were held also at the head quarters of *hobils*. In all 95 conferences were held.

Among other events connected with the forest department was the deputation of an officer to America to make special study of forest subjects.

The total number of private and public institutions taken together was 7,258 with an attendance of 239,112 pupils as against 6,137 schools with 217,007 pupils at the close of the previous year. Of the total number of pupils 198,077 were boys and 41,035 girls.

Excluding 30 new schools sanctioned in connection with compulsory education, about 1,100 new primary schools were started during the year. The repair of village school buildings received special attention.

The compulsory education scheme was brought into operation in 12 new centres during the year, making up a total of 27 compulsory centres. Thirty new schools have been started in this area and about 3,600 boys of the compulsory age were induced to attend school. Comparatively little compulsion was used, notices of warning being served only in 82 cases where parents had failed to send their boys to school. Considering the eager desire for education evinced by the people and the number of applications received for the introduction of compulsory education, the scheme bids fair to be a success, its expansion being limited only by the rapidity with which the necessary funds and supply of teachers could be made available. Sanction has been given to the extension of the scheme to 41 new centres during the current year.

In the course of his address the Dewan observes:—

We are now utilising the services of the rural population in a small way in village improvement work and in connection with minor tanks, water supply and other local works. The co-operation which the village people have shown is very creditable to their sense of public spirit; and, with a proper organization, many useful works can be carried out to promote public convenience and material prosperity in rural areas.

He has also given a definite idea of the work actually done.

At the close of the last official year, 8,171 village committees were working in the several districts.

The population served by the committees was 4,514,244 or roughly three-fourths of the entire population of the State. The system of devoting half-a-day's labour every week for tidying up village sites and carrying out works of communal benefit has been

followed by 3,825 committees representing a population of 2,059,453. Village libraries have been started or newspapers are being subscribed for, by 3,670 committees. The amount spent for works of permanent improvement such as wells, roads, etc., was Rs. 96,153, out of which a sum of Rs. 46,563 was sanctioned as Government grants-in-aid, the remainder being contributed by villagers either in cash or by labour. The improvement of village cart-tracks has received considerable attention and it is reported that a length of 750 miles has been laid out or repaired since the scheme came into operation. The progress made in this direction in the Bangalore District is particularly marked. Tree planting formed a special feature of the work done in the Chitaldrug District.

Where Mysore leads, why cannot others follow?

Address of the Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University.

The address delivered at the first meeting of the Senate of the Mysore University by Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya, M.A., M.L., C. E., amply repays perusal. He is of opinion that

The subject of Indian History and Archaeology including a history of our own State and the Southern Indian States, especially the Empire of Vijayanagar ought to be specially cultivated. It may perhaps be advantageous to associate the work of the Archaeological Department with the University.

The existing universities ought to take note of what he says regarding the study of Indian philosophy.

Greek philosophy, the Philosophy of Kant and Hegel, or the works of a score of English, French and Scottish schools whose names are now almost forgotten, were from time to time prescribed to the Indian students of Indian colleges. But it was not even suspected that Vyasa and Sankaracharya were at least as worthy of study by the Indian student and as near to present-day beliefs and thoughts of Hindus, as Pythagoras and Heraclitus, whose existence and opinions are certainly not less remote and mythical than those of the Indian sages. We are often reminded of our inferiority in the scale of nations in certain respects. I believe we are in no danger of forgetting it, for it is written in such large characters on our material surroundings and daily routine that he who runs may read. But, if only for our admitted poverty in so many things and to cherish our self-respect, we should maintain with particular care what there is of real worth in us. If as many scholars cultivated our Indian Philosophy as European scholars who devote themselves to Greek Philosophy or even to our own Philosophy, they would have brought it into vogue and fashion, so as to be more zealously studied and understood.

The Nizam's Archaeological Department.

The creation of an Archaeological Department in Hyderabad in 1914 marks a new departure in the history of the monuments of the State. The annual report prepared by its first superintendent of Archaeology, Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., is full of interest. The photographs of the Ajanta caves and other remains have been very artistically

reproduced. In our "Gleanings" section will be found a note on the Ajanta cave paintings by M. Axel Jarl, forming one of the appendices to the report. M. Jarl's opinion is sure to be found very encouraging by all devotees of Indian art. It was Mr. A. Hydari, Secretary to the Nizam's Government, General, Police and Judicial Departments, who, when he visited Ajanta, brought M. Jarl with him. Mr. Hydari's enthusiasm and interest in Archaeology have been of very great benefit to this newly created department.

Defence of India Act *Ultra Vires*.

It came out in the course of the discussion in England, by the Joint Committee, of the Government of India Consolidation Act Amendment Bill that some 30 Acts passed by the Government in India were *ultra vires*, their list being headed, according to Sir Courtenay Ilbert, by the Defence of India Act. India has done great good by publishing a report of the deliberations of the Joint Committee, and we hope it will be able to publish the full list of these 30 illegal Acts. In the meantime, is there not sufficient journalistic enterprise in India to cable to some London correspondent and get the list out by cable? We hope full use will be made of the information already at our disposal by instituting test cases against the internments under the Defence of India Act. As for the Bombay Governments' order prohibiting Mrs. Annie Besant from entering the Bombay Presidency, there is no doubt that its validity will be tested.

Internments in Bengal.

Apart from the chronic grievances of long standing which are more or less common to the whole country, Bengal's acutest grievance at present is the internment of several hundreds of persons under the Defence of India Act. Lord Carmichael has stated in a speech that an officer qualified to be a high court judge sifts the evidence against each "suspect" before he is interned and the *detenu* is allowed an opportunity to say what he has got to say against the evidence. We have in previous issues shown why and how this procedure is not sufficient for the ends of justice and suggested additional safeguards. But even the procedure described by H. E. the Governor and no doubt, ordered by him to be observed, does not seem to be strictly followed,—not in all cases at any rate. For a *detenu* named Babu Nagen-

drakumar Guha Roy, who holds striking certificates of good character from the Commissioner of his Division and the Magistrate of his District, has, in a memorial submitted to His Excellency, practically challenged any official concerned to prove that the procedure laid down by the Government has been followed in his case. This serious challenge ought to be taken up by the officials concerned.

Some interned persons are said to have been confined in prisons. Is this true? If so, is it legal? Some 53 persons are kept confined in jails under Bengal Regulation 3 of 1818. Were any of these men at first arrested and interned under the Defence of India Act? If so, why were they subsequently punished according to Regulation 3? Those who are detained under this Regulation are State prisoners and ought to be treated as such. But here is a letter from such a person quoted by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, showing that his treatment is not like that of a state prisoner:—

"Perhaps by this time, you have learnt everything regarding my stay here. Now I am in this Bastille. I am kept in a "dungeon" and it is always under lock and key. Even sometimes the outer wooden door is locked up. God knows for how long I would have to live in this miserable place. I have only one consolation that I am quite innocent. I have got piles. It is the second attack. Got dysentery with blood. For this, the Civil Surgeon has ordered me to have dysentery injection. Getting usual food, but sometimes it is tasteless."

A special officer ought to be deputed to enquire into the case of this person and into the treatment of all persons detained or interned, at regular or irregular intervals.

A Proposed Governor for Bengal:

In our last issue we commented on the rumour that Sir Michael O'Dwyer was to be the next Governor of Bengal. There is another rumour, to the effect that Sir Robert Chalmers, late Governor of Ceylon, would be Bengal's next governor. It was under the administration of this person that riots, followed by proclamation of martial law, took place in Ceylon. Mr. Eardley Norton's letter on the riots, and the "drum-head" trials, published in some papers, gives a most harrowing account of the terrible days of panic through which the people of Ceylon passed last year. There is no reason to disbelieve what Mr. Norton writes. His letter leaves the reader con-

vinced that "with the advent of the riotous uproar Sir Robert Chalmers lost his head and his nerve: his head in treating riot as treason, his nerve in surrendering himself into the hands of the General." We have no space to quote even the most important portions of his letter; but one brief extract will suffice to give some idea of Sir Robert's capacity, judgment, sense of justice and humanity.

The governor had reported to the Secretary for the Colonies in a despatch which was read in the House of Commons that the basis of all the violence was racial and commercial antagonism and contained no element of disloyalty to British Rule. Yet with that published official exposition and in the complete absence of all evidence to raise the offences from rioting to treason men were convicted on the more serious charge and many, outside my batches, were hanged and shot without the protective intervention of the professional judiciary and upon imperfect record. If shooting was necessary—and it possibly was—for the suppression of organised violence, there was no justification announced, and I can see none in fact, for the withdrawal of the jurisdiction of the Civil Tribunals and the substitution therefor of what were in effect drum-head tribunals.

Sir Robert Chalmers does not seem to be fit even for the governorship of a penal settlement. A modern Edmund Burke could alone do justice to recent Ceylonese affairs. And it can never be repeated too often, that the occurrence of riots or other disturbances during a man's administration is in itself a proof of his incapacity,—no matter how sternly or swiftly he may punish the rioters.

Bakrid Tragedies in Bihar.

It is with great pain and reluctance that we write on the riots, disturbances and bloodshed which mark the celebration of the Bakrid every year in some part or other of British India. The immediate occasion is the tragedy in Kanchanpur and one or two other villages in Bihar. We are not competent, not being in possession of all the facts, nor have we the desire to apportion the blame on all the parties concerned. We shall make only a few general observations.

Every day thousands of cattle are killed in India to supply meat to Europeans, Musalmans, &c. But "cow-killing" riots do not take place every day. Hindus should reflect why they do not (quite reasonably, we think) adopt means to prevent this daily killing of cattle, but are prepared even to lay down their own lives in order to save the lives of a few cattle on the Id day; why cannot they

preserve their usual tolerant attitude and calmness of mind on the days of the Musalman feast? Musalmans on their part should take into consideration the fact that Hindus do not object to their mere act of slaughtering cattle, as is evident from their usual tolerant attitude; it is probably the sacrifice in unusual places and the display made which offend the Hindus. For the sake of neighborliness, Musalmans should be able to do without these offensive attendant circumstances. And even if there be any offensive display or any sacrifice in a new place, arbitration and conciliation should be resorted to, and an appeal to third parties should be avoided as far as possible. Neither Hindu nor Musalman should forget that man being the highest creature on earth, neither the saving nor the killing of any lower animal is a thing for which a human life ought to be taken or imperilled. As any other "clean" animal than a cow, can do for a sacrifice, Musalmans should by preference sacrifice goats, &c. If the poor cannot do so, their richer brethren should gladly help them. Hindus would be pleased to subscribe for the purpose, if allowed to do so. Musalmans should try to enter into the feelings of the Hindus, who consider the cow semi-divine and sacred. They (the Muhammadans) should not think it very funny that some animals should be considered better than others, for they themselves do not consider all animals "clean," eatable or touchable; they seem to think some kinds of meat "ceremonially" preferable to others. Hindus should try to understand the point of view of Musalmans and some other non-Hindus when they wonder why, seeing that buffaloes yield milk and help in agriculture as much as "cows," the Hindus can sacrifice buffaloes but look upon the sacrifice of cows with horror. Personally, we consider the desire to save a life more religious than the insistence on destroying it.

We are vegetarians and do not approve of the killing of any animal of any kind for food. We do not believe God is pleased with any animal sacrifice, or demands any such sacrifice. The highest religious instinct in us urges us to sacrifice our own animality.

European officials in India should pause

to reflect why there are no cow-killing riots in Indian India ruled by Hindu and Musalman potentates, and why they take place in British India. We are sure if they try sufficiently hard, they can prevent such disturbances by amicable arrangements; and they ought to do so.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore on Japan.

Before his departure from Japan to America Sir Rabindranath Tagore was interviewed by a pressman. He is reported as having expressed his pleasure at having made the acquaintance of so many persons of various classes since landing at Kobe on May 30th. He expressed regret that he had not been able to indulge in a visit to Kioto, the fountain and centre of Japan's old civilisation, but he said he hoped to be able to revisit Japan next Spring when the cherry blossoms are in full bloom. Replying to questions as to the weakness of the Japanese and Japan, the Indian poet stated that he had revelled, in Japan's beautiful landscapes and recognised the superiority of Japan's fine art. He could also perceive that the young women of the country, who are destined to be the mothers of the nation, had tender hearts and were seeking after religion. At the same time, he could perceive that the Japanese—even learned men and educationists—were blindly obeying their Government believing that it was almighty. As an outcome, they were unable to freely express their views. He heard, too, that most of the graduates of the Universities aspired to become officials. The number who intended to devote their lives to the course which they had taken at school was painfully small. Apart from the question of bread, this was not a tendency that called for admiration. In fact it was deplorable. Some of the Japanese might have misunderstood what he had said before. Anyway some appeared to imagine that he had denounced the material civilisation of the West, but he desired to tell such people that he had not intended to denounce Western civilisation. His sole object was to warn the Japanese not to be enchanted by the sharp Western civilisation and not to abandon their own civilisation, which they had received from their ancestors. *He advised the Japanese to avail of the fruits of Western civilisation, but not to be caught in its meshes.*



PLAYMATES.
By Babu Saradacharan Ukil.

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MY REMINISCENCES

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(41) *The Steamer Hulk.*

LURED by an advertisement in some paper my brother Jyotirindra went off one afternoon to an auction sale, and on his return informed us that he had bought a steel hulk for seven thousand rupees; all that now remained being to put in an engine and some cabins for it to become a full-fledged steamer.

My brother must have thought it a great shame that our countrymen should have their tongues and pens going, but not a single line of steamers. As I have narrated before, he had tried to light matches for his country, but no amount of rubbing availed to make them strike. He had also wanted power-looms to work, but after all his travail only one little country towel was born, and then the loom stopped. And now that he wanted Indian steamers to ply, he bought an empty old hulk, which in due course was filled, not only with engines and cabins, but with loss and ruin as well.

And yet we should remember that all the loss and hardship due to his endeavours fell on him alone, while the gain of experience remained in reserve for the whole country. It is these uncalculating unbusinesslike spirits who keep the businessfields of the country flooded with their activities. And, though the flood subsides as rapidly as it comes, it leaves behind fertilising silt to enrich the soil. When the time for reaping arrives no one thinks of these pioneers; but those who have cheerfully staked and lost their all, during life, are not likely, after death, to mind this further loss of being forgotten.

On one side was the European Flotilla Company, on the other my brother Jyotirindra alone; and how tremendous waxed that battle of the mercantile fleets, the people of Khulna and Barisal may still remember. Under the stress of competition steamer was added to steamer, loss piled on loss, while the income dwindled till it ceased to be worth while to print tickets. The golden age dawned on the steamer service between Khulna and Barisal. No only were the passengers carried free of charge, but they were offered light refreshments *gratis* as well! Then was formed a band of volunteers who, with flags and patriotic songs, marched the passengers in procession to the Indian line of steamers. So while there was no want of passengers to carry, every other kind of want began to multiply apace.

Arithmetic remained uninfluenced by patriotic fervour; and while enthusiasm flamed higher and higher to the tune of patriotic songs, three times three went on steadily making nine on the wrong side of the balance sheet.

One of the misfortunes which always pursues the unbusinesslike is that, while they are as easy to read as an open book, they never learn to read the character of others. And since it takes them the whole of their life-time and all their resources to find out this weakness of theirs, they never get the chance of profiting by experience. While the passengers were having free refreshments, the staff showed no signs of being starved either, but nevertheless the greatest gain remained with my brother in the ruin he so valiantly faced.

The daily bulletins of victory or disaster

which used to arrive from the theatre of action kept us in a fever of excitement. Then one day came the news that the steamer *Swadeshi* had fouled the Howrah bridge and sunk. With this last loss my brother completely overstepped the limits of his resources, and there was nothing for it but to wind up the business.

(42) *Bereavements.*

In the meantime death made its appearance in our family. Before this, I had never met Death face to face. When my mother died I was quite a child. She had been ailing for quite a long time, and we did not even know when her malady had taken a fatal turn. She used all along to sleep on a separate bed in the same room with us. Then in the course of her illness she was taken for a boat trip on the river, and on her return a room on the third storey of the inner apartments was set apart for her.

On the night she died we were fast asleep in our room downstairs. At what hour I cannot tell, our old nurse came running in weeping and crying: "O my little ones, you have lost your all!" My sister-in-law rebuked her and led her away, to save us the sudden shock at dead of night. Half awakened by her words, I felt my heart sink within me, but could not make out what had happened. When in the morning we were told of her death, I could not realise all that it meant for me.

As we came out into the verandah we saw my mother laid on a bedstead in the courtyard. There was nothing in her appearance which showed death to be terrible. The aspect which death wore in that morning light was as lovely as a calm and peaceful sleep, and the gulf between life and its absence was not brought home to us.

Only when her body was taken out by the main gateway, and we followed the procession to the cremation ground, did a storm of grief pass through me at the thought that mother would never return by this door and take again her accustomed place in the affairs of her household. The day wore on, we returned from the cremation, and as we turned into our lane I looked up at the house towards my father's rooms on the third storey. He was still in the front verandah sitting motionless in prayer.

She who was the youngest daughter-in-

law of the house took charge of the motherless little ones. She herself saw to our food and clothing and all other wants, and kept us constantly near, so that we might not feel our loss too keenly. One of the characteristics of the living is the power to heal the irreparable, to forget the irreplaceable. And in early life this power is strongest, so that no blow penetrates too deeply, no scar is left permanently. Thus the first shadow of death which fell on us left no darkness behind; it departed as softly as it came, only a shadow.

When, in later life, I wandered about like a madcap, at the first coming of spring, with a handful of half-blown jessamines tied in a corner of my muslin scarf, and as I stroked my forehead with the soft, rounded, tapering buds, the touch of my mother's fingers would come back to me; and I clearly realised that the tenderness which dwelt in the tips of those lovely fingers was the very same as that which blossoms every day in the purity of these jessamine buds; and that whether we know it or not, this tenderness is on the earth in boundless measure.

The acquaintance which I made with Death at the age of twenty-four was a permanent one, and its blow has continued to add itself to each succeeding bereavement in an ever-lengthening chain of tears. The lightness of infant-life can skip aside from the greatest of calamities, but with age evasion is not so easy, and the shock of that day I had to take full on my breast.

That there could be any gap in the unbroken procession of the joys and sorrows of life was a thing I had no idea of. I could therefore see nothing beyond, and this life I had accepted as all in all. When of a sudden death came and in a moment made a gaping rent in its smooth-seeming fabric, I was utterly bewildered. All around, the trees, the soil, the water, the sun, the moon, the stars, remained as immoveably true as before; and yet the person who was as truly there, who, through a thousand points of contact with life, mind, and heart, was ever so much more true for me, had vanished in a moment like a dream. What perplexing self-contradiction it all seemed to me as I looked around! How was I ever to reconcile that which remained with that which had gone?

The terrible darkness which was dis-

closed to me through this rent, continued to attract me night and day as time went on. I would ever and anon return to take my stand there and gaze upon it, wondering what there was left in place of what had gone. Emptiness is a thing man cannot bring himself to believe in; that which is *not*, is untrue; that which is untrue, is not. So our efforts to find something, where we see nothing, are unceasing.

Just as a young plant, surrounded by darkness, stretches itself, as it were on tip-toe, to find its way out into the light, so when death suddenly throws the darkness of negation round the soul it tries and tries to rise into the light of affirmation. And what other sorrow is comparable to the state wherein darkness prevents the finding of a way out of the darkness.

And yet in the midst of this unbearable grief, flashes of joy seemed to sparkle in my mind, now and again, in a way which quite surprised me. That life was not a stable permanent fixture was itself the sorrowful tidings which helped to lighten my mind. That we were not prisoners for ever within a solid stone wall of life was the thought which unconsciously kept coming uppermost in rushes of gladness. That which I had held I was made to let go—this was the sense of loss which distressed me,—but when at the same moment I viewed it from the standpoint of freedom gained, a great peace fell upon me.

The all-pervading pressure of worldly existence compensates itself by balancing life against death, and thus it does not crush us. The terrible weight of an unopposed life-force has not to be endured by man,—this truth came upon me that day as a sudden, wonderful revelation.

With the loosening of the attraction of the world, the beauty of nature took on for me a deeper meaning. Death had given me the correct perspective from which to perceive the world in the fulness of its beauty, and as I saw the picture of the Universe against the background of Death, I found it entrancing.

At this time I was attacked with a recrudescence of eccentricity in thought and behaviour. To be called upon to submit to the customs and fashions of the day, as if they were something soberly and genuinely real, made me want to laugh. I *could* not take them seriously. The burden of stopping to consider what other people might think of me was completely lifted off my

mind. I have been about in fashionable book shops with a coarse sheet draped round me as my only upper garment, and a pair of slippers on my bare feet. Through hot and cold and wet I used to sleep out on the verandah of the third storey. There the stars and I could gaze at each other, and no time was lost in greeting the dawn.

This phase had nothing to do with any ascetic feeling. It was more like a holi-day spree as the result of discovering the school-master Life with his cane to be a myth, and thereby being able to shake myself free from the petty rules of his school. If, on waking one fine morning we were to find gravitation reduced to only a fraction of itself, would we still demurely walk along the high road? Would we not rather skip over many-storied houses for a change or on encountering the monument take a flying jump rather than trouble to walk round it? That was why, with the weight of worldly life no longer clogging my feet, I could not stick to the usual course of convention.

Alone on the terrace in the darkness of night I groped all over like a blind man trying to find upon the black stone gate of death some device or sign. Then when I woke with the morning light falling on that unscreened bed of mine, I felt, as I opened my eyes, that my enveloping haze was becoming transparent; and, as on the clearing of the mist the hills and rivers and forests of the scene shine forth, so the dew-washed picture of the world-life, spread out before me, seemed to become renewed and ever so beautiful.

(43) *The Rains and Autumn.*

According to the Hindu calendar, each year is ruled by a particular planet. So have I found that in each period of life a particular season assumes a special importance. When I look back to my childhood I can best recall the rainy days. The wind-driven rain has flooded the verandah floor. The row of doors leading into the rooms are all closed. Pearl, the old scullery maid, is coming from the market, her basket laden with vegetables, wading through the slush and drenched with the rain. And for no rhyme or reason I am careering about the verandah in an ecstasy of joy.

This also comes back to me:—I am at school, our class is held in a colonnade

with mats as outer screens; cloud upon cloud has come up during the afternoon, and they are now heaped up, covering the sky; and, as we look on, the rain comes down in close thick showers, the thunder at intervals rumbling long and loud; some mad woman with nails of lightning seems to be rending the sky from end to end; the mat walls tremble under the blasts of wind as if they would be blown in; we can hardly see to read, for the darkness. The Pandit gives us leave to close our books. Then leaving the storm to do the ramping and roaring for us, we keep swinging our dangling legs; and my mind goes right away across the far-off unending moor through which the Prince of the fairy tale passes.

I remember, moreover, the depth of the *Sravan** nights. The pattering of the rain finding its way through the gaps of my slumber, creates within a glad some restfulness deeper than the deepest sleep. And in the wakeful intervals I pray that the morning may see the rain continue, our lane under water, and the bathing platform of the tank submerged to the last step.

But at the age of which I have just been telling, Autumn is on the throne beyond all doubt. Its life is to be seen spread under the clear transparent leisure of *Aswin*.† And in the molten gold of this autumn sunshine, softly reflected from the fresh, dewy green outside, I am pacing the verandah and composing, in the mode *Jogiya*, the song:

In this morning light I do not know what it is
that my heart desires.

The autumn day wears on, the house gong sounds 12 noon, the mode changes; though my mind is still filled with music, leaving no room for call of work or duty; and I sing:

What idle play is this with yourself, my heart,
through the listless hours?

Then in the afternoon I am lying on the white floorcloth of my little room, with a drawing book trying to draw pictures,—by no means an arduous pursuit of the pictorial muse, but just a toying with the desire to make pictures. The most important part was that which remained in the mind, and of which not a line got

* The month corresponding to July-August, the height of the rainy season.

† The month of *Aswin* corresponds to September-October, the long vacation time for Bengal.

drawn on the paper. And in the meantime the serene autumn afternoon is filtering through the walls of this little Calcutta room filling it, as a cup, with golden intoxication.

I know not why, but all my days of that period I see as if through this autumn sky, this autumn light—the autumn which ripened for me my songs as it ripens the corn for the tillers; the autumn which filled my granary of leisure with radiance; the autumn which flooded my unburdened mind with an unreasoning joy in fashioning song and story.

The great difference which I see between the Rainy-season of my childhood and the Autumn of my youth is that in the former it is outer Nature which closely hemmed me in keeping me entertained with its numerous troupe, its variegated make-up, its medley of music; while the festivity which goes on in the shining light of autumn is in man himself. The play of cloud and sunshine is left in the background, while the murmurs of joy and sorrow occupy the mind. It is our gaze which gives to the blue of the autumn sky its wistful tinge and human yearning which gives poignancy to the breath of its breezes.

My poems have now come to the doors of men. Here informal goings and comings are not allowed. There is door after door, chamber within chamber. How many times have we to return with only a glimpse of the light in the window, only the sound of the pipes from within the palace gates lingering in our ears. Mind has to treat with mind, will to come to terms with will, through many tortuous obstructions, before giving and taking can come about. The fountain of life, as it dashes into these obstacles, splashes and foams over in laughter and tears, and dances and whirls through eddies from which one cannot get a definite idea of its course.

(44) *Sharps and Flats.*

'*Sharps and Flats*' is a serenade from the streets in front of the dwelling of man, a plea to be allowed an entry and a place within that house of mystery.

This world is sweet,—I do not want to die.

I wish to dwell in the ever-living life of Man.

This is the prayer of the individual to the universal life.

When I started for my second voyage to England, I made the acquaintance on board ship of Ashutosh Chaudhuri. He had

just taken the M.A. degree of the Calcutta University and was on his way to England to join the Bar. We were together only during the few days the steamer took from Calcutta to Madras, but it became quite evident that depth of friendship does not depend upon length of acquaintance. Within this short time he so drew me to him by his simple natural qualities of heart, that the previous life-long gap in our acquaintance seemed always to have been filled with our friendship.

When Ashu came back from England he became one of us.* He had not as yet had time or opportunity to pierce through all the barriers with which his profession is hedged in, and so become completely immersed in it. The money-bags of his clients had not yet sufficiently loosened the strings which held their gold, and Ashu was still an enthusiast in gathering honey from various gardens of literature. The spirit of literature which then saturated his being had nothing of the mustiness of library morocco about it, but was fragrant with the scent of unknown exotics from over the seas. At his invitation I enjoyed many a pic-nic amidst the spring time of those distant woodlands.

He had a special taste for the flavour of French literature. I was then writing the poems which came to be published in the volume entitled *Kadi o Komal*, Sharps and Flats. Ashu could discern resemblances between many of my poems and old French poems he knew. According to him the common element in all these poems was the attraction which the play of world-life had for the poet, and this had found varied expression in each and every one of them. The unfulfilled desire to enter into this larger life was the fundamental motive throughout.

"I will arrange and publish these poems for you," said Ashu, and accordingly that task was entrusted to him. The poem beginning *This world is sweet* was the one he considered to be the keynote of the whole series and so he placed it at the beginning of the volume.

Ashu was very possibly right. When in childhood I was confined to the house, I offered my heart in my wistful gaze to outside nature in all its variety through the openings in the parapet of our inner roof-

terrace. In my youth the world of men in the same way exerted a powerful attraction on me. To that also I was then an outsider and looked out upon it from the roadside. My mind standing on the brink called out, as it were, with an eager waving of hands to the ferryman sailing away across the waves to the other side. For Life longed to start on life's journey.

It is not true that my peculiarly isolated social condition was the bar to my plunging into the midst of the world-life. I see no sign that those of my countrymen who have been all their lives in the thick of society feel, any more than I did, the touch of its living intimacy. The life of our country has its high banks, and its flight of steps, and, on its dark waters falls the cool shade of the ancient trees, while from within the leafy branches overhead the *koel* cooes forth its ravishing old-time song. But for all that it is stagnant water. Where is its current, where are the waves, when does the high tide rush in from the sea?

Did I then get from the neighbourhood on the other side of our lane an echo of the victorious pœan with which the river, falling and rising, wave after wave, cuts its way through walls of stone to the sea? No! My life in its solitude was simply fretting for want of an invitation to the place where the festival of world-life was being held.

Man is overcome by a profound depression while nodding through his voluptuously lazy hours of seclusion, because in this way he is deprived of full commerce with life. Such is the despondency from which I have always painfully struggled to get free. My mind refused to respond to the cheap intoxication of the political movements of those days, devoid, as they seemed, of all strength of national consciousness, with their complete ignorance of the country, their supreme indifference to real service of the motherland. I was tormented by a furious impatience, an intolerable dissatisfaction with myself and all around me. Much rather, I said to myself, would I be an Arab Bedouin!

While in other parts of the world there is no end to the movement and clamour of the revelry of free life, we, like the beggar-maid, stand outside and longingly look on. When have we had the wherewithal to deck ourselves for the occasion and go and join in it? Only in a country, where the spirit

* Referring to his marriage with the writer's niece, Pratibha. *Tr.*

of separation reigns supreme, and innumerable petty barriers divide one from another, need this longing to realise the larger life of the world in one's own remain unsatisfied.

I strained with the same yearning towards the world of men in my youth, as I did in my childhood towards outside nature from within the chalk-ring drawn round me by the servants. How rare; how unattainable, how far away it seemed! And yet if we cannot get into touch with it, if from it no breeze can blow, no current come, if no road be there for the free goings and comings of travellers, then the dead things that accumulate around us never get removed, but continue to be heaped up till they smother all life.

During the Rains there are only dark clouds and showers. And in the Autumn there is the play of light and shade in the sky, but that is not all-absorbing; for there is also the promise of corn in the fields. So in my poetical career, when the rainy season was in the ascendant there were only my vaporous fancies which stormed and showered; my utterance was misty, my verses were wild. And with the *Sharps* and *Flats* of my autumn, not only was there the play of cloud-effects in the sky, but out of the ground crops were to be seen rising.

Then, in the commerce with the world of reality, both language and metre attempted definiteness and variety of form.

Thus ends another Book. The days of coming together of inside and outside, kin and stranger, are closing in upon my life. My life's journey has now to be completed through the dwelling places of men. And the good and evil, joy and sorrow, which it thus encounters are not to be lightly viewed as pictures. What makings and breakings, victories and defeats, clashings and minglings, are here going on!

I have not the power to disclose and display the supreme art with which the Guide of my life is joyfully leading me through all its obstacles, antagonisms and crookednesses towards the fulfilment of its innermost meaning. And if I cannot make clear all the mystery of this design, whatever else I may try to show is sure to prove misleading at every step. To analyse the image is only to get at its dust, not at the joy of the artist.

So having escorted them to the door of the inner sanctuary I take leave of my readers.

The End.

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

IS NOT THE EAST A UNITY AS COMPARED WITH THE WEST?

BY LALA LAJPAT RAI.

SOME superficial observers think that the East is not a unity, as implied in the familiar antithesis of East and West; that while the East is not a unity, the modern West is, and that between India on the one hand, and China or Japan, on the other, there is as great a difference as between India and any western country. Those who know the East well, have lived in India, China and Japan for a number of years and have studied the religious and social life of the people carefully, know that the statement is not an accurate description of things as they are.

But to an oriental himself, be he a Hindu, a Chinese or a Japanese, whose knowledge of the East is not confined to his own country and who has travelled in other countries with eyes open, the statement is ludicrous. Why, there is more unity of thought and life in the East to-day than there has ever been in the West at any time.

Now, let us first clear up what we mean by the expressions the East and the West. The writer, (Mr. Lowes Dickinson of Cambridge, England), whose views have been quoted in the opening sentence of this

paper is thinking of Europe and America as the *West* and India, China and Japan as the *East*. We do not know if he includes the countries of Western Asia also in his conception of the West or if he just ignores them. From the description of the West that he gives in his paper, one is inclined to think that he does not include Western Asia in his conception of the West and simply ignores them. For the purpose of this paper I shall follow his example, though I am prepared to go further and argue that fundamentally there is as much unity in the life of Asia, excluding Russia, as there is in the life of the West as represented by Europe.

The next thing to be cleared up, is, what is meant by "Unity": The writer in question says ;

"Throughout Europe and America there is the same civilisation, intellectual and economic, so that to a philosophic observer, national boundaries there already begin to appear obsolete and irrelevant."

So,* that is his idea of the unity of the West, though he is careful to add that this *Modern West* is a very recent creation, in fact, of the last century only. "If one goes back in history," he adds, "we can find more analogy between East and West than now appears."

Feudal Europe, for example, was in many respects similar to feudal Japan; and a medieval Christian Mystic hardly distinguishable from a contemporary Indian Saint. So the contrast between the Modern West and the West of the Middle Ages is perhaps as great as the contrast between Modern West and India."

Put in sequence, then, the idea resolves itself into the following propositions :

(1) The unity of the Modern West is a creation of the last century only.

(2) The basis of that unity is '*the same civilisation, intellectual and economic.*'

(3) Before the last century, there was more analogy between the East and the West than now, which means that the last century has destroyed or reduced that analogy.

(4) That, now, while there is such a thing as the "West," there is no such thing as the "East." Between India, on the one hand, and China or Japan, on the other, there is as great a difference as between India and any western country.

We have no quarrel with the first three propositions of the writer, but we demur to the accuracy of the 4th. If the writer means that the last century has wrought

* This was of course written before the war.

so many changes in the East as to dissolve its unity altogether, we do not agree with him. If he means that that unity is being undermined and is in the process of dissolution we might accede to the possibility of it, though with doubts and significant qualifications. It is not, however, clear what he means, because at the outset he says:

"I shall endeavour to characterise each of the civilisations, first, as they were before her contact with the West and afterwards to consider the effect upon them of the contact."

So he sets to compare the *West* with India as she was before her contact with the West, as well as with her as modified by that contact.

As regards India Mr. Dickinson is positive that she has a distinct individuality of her own which creates a profound gulf between her and the West. This is an admission of Indian unity which Indians will appreciate regardless of the grounds on which it is based. If I had to prove merely that the writer was wrong in his conclusions about the fundamental differences of India, China and Japan, I would simply show that the circumstances which in his opinion created such a gulf between India and the West, were shared in by China and Japan, as well. I, however, propose to do more than this. I want to establish that even at the present moment there is a fundamental unity between India, China and Japan, and that the western influences over these countries have not yet advanced sufficiently far to destroy that unity; that the said influences are, everywhere, in these countries, producing more or less the same results and threatening to make the East a bad and imperfect copy of the West, and that in order to maintain their individual character, as well as their continental character they shall have to struggle hard against the levelling influences of the West. If the wholesale adoption of the western civilisation in all its phases be the sole test of the people's progress then no doubt Japan has had an advantage over the other countries and has seemingly absorbed more of the western civilisation than the other two, but whoever dips deeper into the life of the people of Japan finds sufficient to justify the conclusion that Japan is still fundamentally Eastern or Oriental. Of course India, China and Japan have, each of them, their own distinguishing traits and char-

acteristics and so have the different countries of Europe and America. In the opinion of the writer quoted above, what makes the West, *a Unity*, is the sameness of intellectual and economic civilisation. What makes the East, *a Unity*, is the sameness of their religious, intellectual and social outlook, and in a manner also, the sameness of their economic life. In the opinion of Mr. Lowes Dickinson, the dominant note of India is religion, and from the way he writes one may legitimately infer that in his opinion India is the only country in the world, that is *really religious*. Discussing what is religion to the mass of the people he says :

"I think it is clear that to the peasants of most countries of Italy, say, or of China or of Japan, religion is no more than a ritual which they would be uncomfortable if they did not perform; a kind of lightning conductor for the emotions and desires that are concerned with the ordinary business of life, with getting one's living, with birth, marriage, child-bearing and death."

What, however, strikes him as remarkable is that to the Indians religion is something more than this. He shares the opinion of other observers that even the Indian peasant does really believe that the true life is a spiritual life; that he respects the saint more than any other man; and that he regards the material world as "unreal" and all its cares as "illusion." Having made the general statement Mr. Lowes Dickinson proceeds to show categorically how the Indian religion is radically different from the religion of the western nations. In the first place, he says :

"India has never put Man in the centre of the universe. In India, and wherever Indian influence has penetrated, it is, on the one hand, the tremendous forces of nature, and what lies behind them, that is the object of worship and of speculation, and, on the other hand, Mind and Spirit, not the mind or spirit of the individual person, but the universal Mind, or Spirit, which is in him, but to which he can only have access by philosophic meditation and ascetic discipline. Indian religion is thus very "inhuman" compared to Christianity and very much more in harmony with the spirit of western science than with that of western religion. Man, in the Indian vision, is a plaything and slave of natural forces; only by becoming superman does he gain freedom and deliverance."

Secondly :

"To an Indian saint or philosopher the whole world of matter is unreal, and the whole of human history illusory. There is no meaning in time or the processes of time, still less is there any goodness in it. In some way, unexplained and inexplicable, the terrible illusion we call life dominates mankind. To be delivered from the illusion, from life, that is, acti-

vity in time, is the object of all effort and all religion. In this sense the Indian religion is pessimistic. There is, of course, an important distinction between Buddhism and the Brahminism it supplanted for a time and then succumbed to. Gautama Buddha, it would seem, was a thorough-going sceptic and rationalist; he believed neither in God nor in the soul; and the object of his teaching was to deliver men from life to annihilation by instructing them how to eliminate desire. *Brahminism, on the other hand, wishes to deliver them from false life to true life. The true life is life eternal: and we may have access to it by discipline and meditation.* But from my immediate point of view this distinction is not important. What is important is that, in either form, precisely that is denied which the West most emphatically affirms,—the *reality and importance of the material world, and of the historic process in time.* The West is often called materialistic as compared with the East. But this antithesis, so far as it is true, does not depend on any metaphysical view held or denied as to the nature of matter. *The West does not profess to know what matter is, and its hypotheses about it are always changing.* The real point of distinction is, that the west believes that all effort ought to centre upon the process of living in time; that the process has reality and significance; and that the business of religion is *not to deliver us from effort by convincing us of its futility, but to sanctify and justify it.*"

It is very difficult to find any very clear line of distinction between Mr. Dickinson's first point of contrast and that which is his second. Put in simple language it comes to this that the Indian religion denies the realities of this world, calls life and its manifestations illusory and aims at saving men by reducing them to nothing; the western religion on the other hand affirms the reality of the world and insists upon right action in this life. In other words, the Indian religion is "inhuman" while the religion of the West is human. At this stage one feels forced to ask what the religion of the western nations is. Is it Christianity or something different? Mr. Dickinson's answer is equivocal. He says yes as well as no. At first he assumes that it is so, but when he is confronted with the fact that "Christianity too has this idea of the illusoriness of the world," which he considers to be the dominant note of the Indian religion, he at once shifts his position and says that "the western nations have never really been Christians. Their true religion has only become apparent as Christianity has declined." What then is their religion? "That religion," he replies, "not yet expressed in form but implicit in their conduct, is that the time process is also the real process; and that everything material matters very much indeed; and that spiritualism must either recognise the claims of matter or retire from the conflict

and that the life and its purposes are significant and important and what a man ought to attend to." "This," Mr. Dickinson adds, "is the real postulate of the Modern West; and that is what all Indian religion and philosophy has denied." In contrasting the "inhumanity" of the Hindu religion with Christianity, Mr. Dickinson had said only a while ago that the Hindu "religion was more in harmony with the spirit of western science than that of western religion."* Are we then to suppose that "*the western religion is not in harmony with the spirit of western science?*" If so, wherefrom does that religion emanate, if it is neither Christianity nor in harmony with the spirit of modern science? The people of the West are not likely to accept either of Mr. Dickinson's statements. They would probably say that Christianity as interpreted in the terms of modern science is the religion of the west. In which case either it does not materially differ from Hinduism or Mr. Dickinson's statement that Hinduism is more in harmony with the spirit of western science than with western religion is untenable.

The truth is that all attempts to generalise on questions like this are bound to land a man in awkward positions. Mr. Dickinson's conception of the Hindu religion is fundamentally wrong, though it is correct as regards certain phases of it. These phases are the manifestations of that thought-current which gave birth to Buddhism. Buddhist doctrine, as such, has not many followers in India proper to-day, though it is true that popular Hinduism bears on its face many marks of Buddhistic influence. The Vedanta of Shankara may in a way be said to be a Vedic development of Buddhism, made consistent with the idea of a Universal Supreme Soul which Shankara founds on the teachings of the Vedas. Mr. Dickinson admits that the Vedas "*reflect an attitude to life similar to that of the Western Aryans; but this essentially active, positive and optimistic view gradually clouds over*" and is replaced, Mr. Dickinson will have us believe, "by a view which depicts the world of matter as unreal and the whole of human history as illusory." Mr. Dickinson also admits that the view of life pro-

pounded by Brahmanism is materially different from Buddhism. Brahmanism, according to Mr. Dickinson, wishes to deliver man from false life to true life. It declares that true life is life eternal and we may have access to it by discipline and meditation. His statement of Brahmanism is essentially incomplete and imperfect but whatever it is it is inconsistent with the idea that life is "illusory" and "unreal."

So the general statements made by Mr. Dickinson are open to serious objections and any conclusions based on such statements can not but be faulty.

Personally I am inclined to think that there is nothing either in the West or in the East which creates a profound gulf between them, tending to keep them apart from each other for ever. What gulf there is, has been created by the modern development of the West within the last two hundred years—a development which has been denied to the East. This gulf is destined to be removed or abridged as soon as circumstances allow the East to assimilate the material civilisation of the West and come into line with it intellectually. In a few decades, if not in a few years, the economic life of the world is likely to become uniform in its fundamentals. That may not be a gain to humanity as such, but such is the march of events that nothing can prevent its realisation, and Mr. Dickinson also thinks the same way. As for the intellectual outlook, it is possible that on fuller education and proper appreciation of its distinguishing traits, the East might retain what has always distinguished it from the West. On the other hand it is equally possible that the West might modify its intellectual outlook so as to reduce its angularities to their lowest level and come nearer the Eastern view-points. It would be a good thing for humanity, if the East and the West were to come nearer to each other and understand each other more than they do at present, and thus remove or at any rate reduce the causes of friction and misunderstanding between them, but it will make the world poorer and much less interesting, if it brings about a depressing monotony and a dull ugly uniformity in the life and thought of the East and the West. That the East must imbibe something of the aggressive spirit of the West and must also adopt and assimilate the

*Compare it with the statement on p. 45, "What is most characteristic and profound in the Indian spirit is antagonistic to and irreconcilable with rationalism and science."

intellectual achievements of the West if she wants to regain her self-respect, goes without saying, but it would be nothing short of calamity to her as well as to humanity at large if she goes so far as to lose her individuality and become either a copy or a duplicate of the West. Having thus stated, how far in my judgment it is desirable that the East and the West should come near each other, I will now proceed to examine into what constitutes the individuality of India and how far that is shared by China and Japan.

According to Mr. Dickinson there is an important distinction between Buddhism and Brahmanism. That distinction has been pointed out above. According to that distinction the true life is life eternal and we may have access to it by discipline, meditation, knowledge and right conduct, all combined together, and supporting each other. Brahmanism does not deny the reality and importance of the material world. On the other hand it lays stress upon the fact that nobody can be saved except by and through his acceptance of the material world. Says Mr. C. F. Andrews :

"But such exaggerations (he means the exaggerations involved in the view of Indian religion taken by Mr. Dickinson) do not belong to the best that India has produced. They are not the teaching of the Upanishads, or the Bhagavad-Gita. They do not belong to the religious heart of India which has been stirred from age to age by great reforming saints such as Kabir and Tulsi Das. Life, in these writings, is not an empty nothingness, a mere nightmare. Rather, it is pulsing and throbbing with the rhythm of the Universe: it is the vehicle of God's own revelation of himself. *Anandarupam Amritam Yadvibhati*: "God manifests Himself in deathless forms which His joy assumes." Man, in these writings, is not impotent and insignificant. Rather, he is able from the depth of his inner consciousness to say, *Aham asmi*, I AM. History is not meaningless. Rather, it is the utterance of God's voice. The greatest of all Indian books of popular religion are epic histories. The centre of worshipful adoration in North India, among a hundred millions, is Rama, the hero king, the ideal son, husband, father, brother: and Sita, the ideal wife. Last of all, activity, in all the highest forms of Hindu thought, is not banned but cultivated and cherished 'Kurvanneveha karmani jijivishet shatam samah,' says the Isa-upanishad: "Only in the midst of activity wilt thou desire to live a hundred years." The Hindu saints, who are still revered and loved, were not solitary recluses, but men of quickened activities and inspiring deeds."

Mr. Dickinson's statements about the religion of India are not altogether true. But for our present purposes we will assume the correctness of Mr. Dickinson's

conclusions and admit for the sake of argument that the dominating note of popular Hindu religion in India to-day is what he says. It is evident then that this dominating note has been supplied by Buddhism or by the influence of Buddhism upon Brahmanism. In that case, is it not true that Buddhism is the key to the intellectual and religious culture of the Far East? Mr. Dickinson could not have studied Japan and China thoroughly to come to the conclusion that the religion of Japan and China was a negligible quantity in the formation of their national character. The evident mistake which Mr. Dickinson has made is this that while he exaggerates the importance and the significance of changes brought about by contact with the West in China and Japan, he unconsciously underestimates the same influence in India. I am not inclined to blame him for that. Japan is a small country which gives the appearance of being compact and homogeneous in the western sense of the term. While India is a huge subcontinent where the influence of the West upon the mass of the people is not noticeable except to a very close observer. In China it is still less. An intimate acquaintance with Japanese life, mixing with the masses in their homes, and attending their religious festivals and religious ceremonies, brings home the wonderful unity of thought and sentiment between India and Japan. To a superficial observer the same note of pessimism, which the Europeans ascribe to Buddhism, is discernable. To a close observer it appears that Shintoism, modified by Buddhism and *vice versa*, has produced the same intellectual and religious atmosphere in Japan as Brahmanism influenced by Buddhism has done in India. But in any case there is more Buddhism and of the Buddhist view of life in China and Japan than in India: while Japan and China have thousands of Buddha temples, India has only a few. While Japan and China have hundreds of thousands of Buddhist priests, monks and teachers, India has not even tens. In India Buddhist worship and ritual is practically dead. In Japan and China it is a living thing.

Brahmanism in India, Shintoism in Japan and Confucianism in China have a great deal in common. They are united in the importance which they attach to ancestor worship, and ancestor worship still rules the intellectual, the moral and

the religious life of the masses of the three nations. An observer who omits to notice that, is not entitled to much credit for accurate observation.

The stoical character of practical Taoism is depicted by Chwang in the following words :*

"My pupils, take the attitude of doing nothing, and all beings will of themselves develop (their goodness). Mortify your bodies ; cast out from you the operations of your perceptive senses ; forget your relations with other beings ; cultivate the greatest similarity with the universal ether ; set free your will and deliver you soul (shen) ; be nobody or nothing, and behave as if you had no soul."

"All this is occultism or mysticism ; but it was actually practised, and influenced the ways and life of men. It was far more than theoretical speculation, indulged in by a few philosophers ; else we would be sure to find in Chinese books remains of other systems of thought and behaviour, but there is nothing of the kind. We must perforce assume the existence of one single catholic system, Taoist, embracing the thinking element of ancient China, and a considerable number of men who actually followed its discipline."

The practical note is supplied by ancestor worship. The two combined form the popular religion of the East. The family life, the tribal life, the social life and its amenities are all based on ancestor worship. The extraordinary respect which all East expects its children to show towards their parents, the complicated net of duties which is woven on that idea, obtrudes itself in every phase of life. The joint family system in all its consequences is the natural outcome of it and the jointness of the family is still the normal life in Asia.

The laws dealing with property, with succession, adoption, guardianship, minority and majority, marriage, etc., are all founded on the same notion and there is an astounding similarity in them throughout the East, especially in India, China, Japan, Burma and Siam. Of course there are some differences but the fundamental basis is the same. Modern conditions of life and the introduction of western ideals have effected changes which are likely to have far-reaching effects in the future. But just at the present there does not seem to be much difference between the thought and the practice of the masses in India from that of the masses in Japan and other countries of the East.

Japan has no doubt thrown away her caste system, but that is only an occurrence

of recent days. This is a difference which is created exclusively by the necessity of political life. The National Government in Japan has materially contributed to this reform ; and as Japan was a small country, the reform took effect more rapidly and more effectively than in India. If one could look back and see Japan, fifty years backwards, he would not find much difference between the intellectual, social, moral and religious ideals of Japan from those of India. The same is more or less true of the life of the masses in China.

Then there are other points of unity also. One is struck by the domestic life of the three nations being governed by the same ideals and the same sentiments. Why, in the matter of dress even, while there is a great deal of difference in the fashions and the outward look of the clothes worn by the three nations, there is yet a unity underlying the idea of dress throughout the Orient, similar to the unity in this matter which prevails in the Occident. The looseness of dress and the graceful flow of folds is the governing note of eastern dress. The ideas of decency in dress and appearance are practically the same throughout the Orient, and so different from the ideas which prevail in the Occident. Of course the climatic conditions have a great deal to do with that, but we are not looking into the cause of these differences or similarities. We are simply concerned with the facts.

Mr. Dickinson finds many resemblances between Japan and ancient Greece, but he practically gives away the whole of his case when he says to the disparagement of the Japanese that the latter have originated nothing, that they took all their ideas from China, that their literature is curiously unintelligible and that their whole civilisation, though beautiful and passionate as it is, is thin and simple when compared with that of ancient Greece. It is damning with faint praise to say all this, and yet to hold that the foundation, so to speak, of Japan and ancient Greece is the same. Mr. Dickinson does not know that the Greek traits which he finds in the Japanese, viz., that they are simple, subtle and passionate, quick to love, quick to quarrel, quick to die and kill, in every thing intense and unreflective, are not confined to the Japanese alone in the East. The Sikhs in the Punjab, the Rajputs of Rajputana, the Maolis of Western India,

* Religion in China by De Groat, p. 128.

the Nairs of Malabar, the Bengalis of East Bengal, the Burmese of Burma and Singhaless of Ceylon, not to say anything of the other nations of the East, of whom I have had no personal experience, are often credited with the same traits by their rulers, and more often than not, these traits are urged as valid grounds for refusing political privileges to them. It is said that these people are so quick in temper that they cannot be trusted with their own government. It is said that the masses of India are a set of undeveloped children; impressionable like wax and inflammable like straw, who are liable to fall at each others' throats on the smallest provocation. Of course I do not admit the accuracy of these estimates whether in the case of India or in that of Japan and China. Mr. Dickinson pays a just tribute to the chivalry of Japan and the code summed up in the term "*Bushido*", but he evidently knows nothing of the chivalry of the Rajputs and the code summed up in the expressions "*Rajputi*" or "*Kshatrat*". Why, you may as well take off some of the most brilliant pages from the history of "*Bushido*" chivalry in Japan and put them in the history of *Rajput Chivalry* and vice versa, without feeling that they are out of place in one or the other. A cursory study of Colonel Tod's *Annals of Rajputana and Central India* will show how much the life of pre-British India was dominated by what Mr. Dickinson calls chivalry and *Bushido*.

Mr. Dickinson shows a rather deplorable partiality when he talks of the Chinese being "a homogeneous people of the same stock, never conquered or traced, never affected in race, in manners, in laws and in language by conquest, never interrupted or disturbed for centuries in their traditional ideas and in their traditional manners of life." If this description of the Chinese is true I am afraid there is not much to choose between India and China. In stating the points of contrast between India and China Mr. Dickinson says :

"China has been and remains politically independent and united. This statement needs some qualifications but it is essentially true. The *Tartars* and the *Manchus* have conquered China but they have imposed on her nothing but a dynasty. They have adopted completely the manners, customs and ideas of the conquered. Of China it is truer even than of Greece that *Capta ferum victorem cepit*; not so India, the Mohammadans in spite of conversions remain Mohammadans, different in religion, different in sentiments, different in social institutions from the Hindus."

I am afraid Mr. Lowes Dickinson has been carried away by an unconscious imperial bias in making this contrast between India and China. When he talks of the Mohammadans of China he notices in them the manners, customs and ideas of the conquered. When he talks of the Mohammadans of India he only talks of the differences in religion, in sentiment and in social institutions. The fact is that the life of the bulk of Mohammadans living in villages in India is exactly the same as the life of the bulk of Mohammadans living in China. There may be some difference in the inhabitants of cities, and that is accounted for by the fact that India is closer to Arabia than China. On the Hindu population of India the Mohammadan conquest imposed nothing but a dynasty or several dynasties. So here also the contrast fails.

Again Mr. Dickinson says :—"The various dialects of China, though unintelligible one to another, are varieties of the same language"—which is the case in India also, if the Dravidian Languages be excluded. *Sanskrit* and *Scripts* based upon *Sanskrit* have for ages provided a common medium of communication to the educated Hindus of all-India. In fact I can go still further and say that *Sanskrit* has provided a common medium for the exchange of thoughts and ideas to the educated and religious minded people of the whole East. In China as well as in Japan, in Ceylon, in Burma, in Indo-China it has been and is still a matter of pride for the educated people to know *Sanskrit*. The languages of these countries are full of *Sanskrit* words and their written books have a very large percentage of *Sanskrit* expressions. To know *Sanskrit* has been the badge of scholarship throughout the East at least ever since Buddhism was adopted in these countries. *Sanskrit* in the East has occupied and even now occupies the same position as Latin and Greek in Europe. This is another tie between the different countries of the East which binds them to each other more strongly perhaps than the points of difference noted by Mr. Dickinson. It should be noted that while Latin and Greek are more or less being deserted in Europe, the number of Japanese and possibly of Chinese too, who are taking to the study of *Sanskrit* is on the increase. The other day while travelling in the same boat with a Siamese gentleman, I asked him whether their

language belonged to the Mongolian branch and was affiliated to Chinese. My fellow-traveller repudiated this suggestion as if that was a slur upon them, and said that their language was derived from Sanskrit, though the man seemed to be equally angry at my suggesting even remotely that they may have the same manners and customs as the Hindus.

What has struck Mr. Dickinson in the Chinese is in his own language, "the secularism of the Chinese attitude to life." He thinks that mankind is the centre of the Chinese universe. Confucianism, adds he, may exactly be translated into terms of western positivism. It could not have been translated into terms of Hinduism. The fundamental mistake of Mr. Dickinson's view is in his conception of Hinduism. Yet with strange inconsistency he admits that the religion of the masses of Chinese has always been superstition, whereas in India it appears to be true that the superstition symbolises spiritualism. That may be a compliment to the Hindus but it inflicts an injustice on the Chinese. Mr. Dickinson shows a deplorable ignorance of the deep currents of religion that have dominated Chinese life ever since the introduction of Buddhism. Japanese spiritualism is only a copy or an expansion of Chinese spiritualism. We find Mr. Dickinson making another mistake in considering ancestor worship to be rather a social than a religious institution in China, although he admits that it is the centre of the Chinese system. It is very difficult for the westerner to realise that in the East everywhere whether in India, in China, in Japan or even in Arabia and Persia and the countries dominated by the Mohammadan religion, it is almost impossible to separate social life from religion. Everywhere in Asia, religion forms the fundamental basis of social life and that distinguishes it from the West. The East is dominated by the idea that life as a whole has one end, that it is indivisible, that it is organic and cannot be divided into water-tight compartments. The fundamental basis of life in the East is that the life of the body is only a part of a greater life, that it is a stage in the journey of the soul and that it should be used to the best advantage, to the evolution of that perfection which is the goal. No doubt sometimes emotional writers or

superficial speakers are tempted to use language which tends to impress that life is illusionary and unreal. But by reading the whole context and following the arguments, one experiences no difficulty in finding that the unreality of life only means that this life is not the final be-end of existence. The East does not trouble itself with the supposition that man is or is not the centre of the universe. It is enough for the East to find that man occupies an exalted position in the universe and that his progress toward a more perfect being than he is at present, is the true goal of life. In that idea the whole East is united and therein distinguishable from the West.

The social outlook of the East is pervaded through and through by their religious outlook. The harmonizing of social life with religious ideals is the goal of all practical philosophy and the test of *real success* in evolving ideals and organizing life accordingly. The sacred books of the Hindus and the Buddhists and also of the Mohammadans lay such an emphasis on this point that it cannot be ignored. That is why the social institutions of the East have, almost one and all, a religious basis. This is rather an evidence of their unity than otherwise. Then there is another very important point which unites the East,—their ideal of Womanhood. The present position of womanhood in the East is a discredit to it but in its essentials it is the same throughout the East. The women of China and Japan and Southern India have more of personal freedom, than their sisters in Arabia, Persia and Upper India, but the legal and social status of the women is practically the same throughout the East. Under Hindu and Mohammadan laws the legal status of women as mother, widow, daughter and sister has always been higher than in Christian countries. In the matter of personal freedom, and in the matter of choosing a mate the Eastern woman has been a victim of man-made social systems in the East, but her position in these respects is practically the same throughout the East. The Eastern woman glorifies in her ideals of motherhood of chastity, fidelity and unquestioned devotion to her husband and that is the common feature of social life in the East including the Semitic countries of Western Asia.

Coming to the art life of the East, that is a subject on which I am not competent

to speak with authority. I do not know much of art. But there is an abundant evidence of competent people who have made a deep, in some cases a lifelong, study of Indian and Eastern art, which proves beyond doubt that here again there is a community of outlook, design, sentiment, inspiration and execution which unites the East. Before I proceed to quote the testimony of the Art experts I would like to show what a strange view of Indian art as distinguished from Chinese art has been taken by Mr. Lowes Dickinson, who says on pp. 45-47 of his report as follows:—

"This, which I call the secularism of the Chinese attitude to life, is also expressed in their art. *The art of India, in my judgment, has, as art, little or no value* (this, of course, is a highly controversial opinion), *but it is tremendously significant of the spiritual life of India.* It is all symbolic, and it is symbolic of those grandiose abstractions in which the Indian mind delights. It expresses an over-world of spiritual forces of which the world of sense is a shadowy and illusory manifestation. It does not interpret, it negates the ordinary life and the ordinary consciousness. That is why it is so disquieting, so terrible, so monstrous to the Western spirit. But the art of China is through and through human. It is the kind of art that Romans, too, or Englishmen might have produced, if they had been gifted with æsthetic genius; *the art of reasonable concrete-minded men, with a keen sensitiveness to the pathos and gaiety of human life, and the beauty and grandeur of nature.* It is characteristic of Chinese landscape-painting that it should include representation of the human observer. Their artists do not, it is true, treat nature as a mere background to human life, as, for example, the great Venetian artists do; *but neither do they treat it as the vehicle of tremendous supernatural forces, which is the spirit of Indian art.* They treat it as a beautiful object, itself real, contemplated by a sane and sensitive human spirit. So with their poetry. It is of all poetry I know the most human and the least symbolic or romantic. *It contemplates life just as it presents itself without any veil of ideas, any rhetoric or sentiment*; it simply clears away the obstruction which habit has built up between us and the beauty of things, and leaves that, showing in its own nature, revealed but not recreated. Chinese art and Chinese poetry have the spirit of Wordsworth and of the most modern literary movement in French. Their art is a realism, though not an actualism; *a vision of what this life is as seen by those who can see it, not of some other world behind or above or outside it.*"

The italics are mine. Mr. Dickinson has not said much of Japanese art except by way of depreciation in the change in the ideals brought about by contact with the West.

Now let me give some quotations from the writings of western admirers of the art of Asia to compare with what has been said by Mr. Lowes Dickinson. On page 23 of his little book called "the Flight

of the Dragon" (Wisdom of the East series) says Mr. Binyon:—

"It is in the relation of man to nature that the painting of China and Japan has sought and found its most characteristic success. Probably the first thing that strikes every one on first making acquaintance with the painting of China and Japan, is the predominance of subjects taken from external nature, and the remarkably early period in which landscape themes appear. At first sight one might attribute this characteristic mainly to the passion for nature, adoration of flowers, which has for so many ages distinguished both the races."

"But it is something deeper than innocent delight which informs these schools of painting. Innocent and intense delight in the beauty of fresh blossoms is evident in numberless pictures of the earlier schools of Europe; *but there these amenities of nature are but an episode.*"

It is a far different spirit which animates the Asian landscapes. In these paintings we do not feel that the artist is portraying something external to himself, that he is caressing the happiness and soothing joy offered him in the pleasant places of the earth or even studying with wonder and delight the miraculous works of nature. But the winds of the air have become his desires, the clouds his wandering thoughts; the mountain peaks are his lovely aspirations, and the torrents his liberated energies. Flowers, opening their secret hearts to the light and trembling to the breeze's touch, seem to be unfolding the mystery of those institutions and emotions which are too deep or too shy for speech. *It is not man's earthly surrounding, tamed to his desires, that inspires the artist; but the universe, in its wholeness and freedom has become his spiritual home.*

"One might have thought that this identification of the life of man with the life of nature would have produced falsities of apprehension; that human attributes would have been read into non-human existences. But no, it is European art that has done this. And why? "For how many centuries, with us, was man regarded as lord of the earth, the centre of the universe, and the rest of nature as but existing to minister to his needs and his desires?"

"One might say that man has been a monarch, looking to his subject-world only for service and for flattery, and just because of this lordly attitude he has failed to understand that subject-world, and, even more, has failed to understand himself.

"This was the disillusion and dethronement which nineteenth-century science prepared for the proud spirit of the European man. But for the Chinese philosopher no such disillusionment could happen. He needed no discovery of science to enlighten him; that enlightenment was part of his philosophy, his religion. He understood the continuity of the universe; he recognised the kinship between his own life and the life of animals and birds and trees and plants. And so he approached all life with reverence, giving each existence its due value."

The reader would notice that in describing the difference between European and Asiatic points of view of art Mr. Binyon uses almost the same words which Mr. Lowes Dickinson has used in pointing out the difference between Western and Indian view point of life. Mr. Dickinson complains that "India has never put man in

the centre of the Universe."* (Page 11.) Mr. Binyon says the same of China and Japan. Then again speaking of the sources of inspiration of the Chinese and the Japanese art Mr. Binyon remarks:—

"And so the sense of the impermanence of things, the transitoriness of life, which in Buddhism was allied to human sorrow, became a positive and glowing inspiration."

"The soul identified itself with the wind which bloweth where it listeth, with the cloud and the mist that melt away in rain, and are drawn up again into the air and this sovereign energy of the soul, fluid, penetrating, ever-changing, took form in the symbolic Dragon."

Speaking of Wordsworth Mr. Binyon points out that he is only "one of those isolated minds and personalities" in the west in whom an attitude corresponding to that of Asiatic artists is to be found, thus making him an exception. About the general attitude of Europe Mr Binyon says:—

"With all this world of ideas we are little familiar in Europe but the fascination and refreshment of this art is that it is inspired by ideas which are certainly not merely curious or of antiquarian interest, but modern, living, and of use to ourselves to-day."

Let us turn to another authority on Indian art, Mr. E. B. Havell, who has spent a whole life in the study of Indian art. In the first chapter of his book on "the Ideals of Indian Art," Mr. Havell quotes "the distinguished Japanese art critic," Mr. Okakura, as saying that "in the domain of *all art philosophy all Asia is one*." Here is a direct refutation of Mr. Dickinson's theory. To this Mr. Havell adds:—

"But if we apply western analytical methods to the exegesis of Asiatic aesthetics, we shall never form any just or complete conception of them until we have learnt to discard all our western academic prejudices and realised *the permanent importance of Indian philosophy and religion among the great creative forces which mould Asiatic art*."

"Again, it is only in the East that art still has a philosophy and still remains the great exponent of national faith and race traditions. In Indian idealism we shall find the key to the understanding, not only of *all Asiatic art*, but to that of the Christian art of the middle ages."

In his introduction Mr. Havell deplors the errors of western critics of Indian art in disregarding "the paramount importance of Indian idealism not only in Mogul art but in the great schools of China and Japan."

I could multiply quotations like these to any number, but I suppose the above are sufficient to establish (1) that Mr.

Dickinson's dislike of Indian Art is not shared in by other equally or perhaps even more competent Art critics, (2) that there is a unity in all Eastern art which distinguishes it from the western and which Mr. Dickinson has in vain tried to demolish.

Let us now devote some space and thought to the economic life of the East. Mr. Lowes Dickinson admits that "like India, but unlike Western Europe, China is predominantly agricultural, and the bulk of her people are peasants. Like India, and unlike the West, indeed to a much greater degree than India, she is untouched by industrialism." This statement is as true of India and China, as of the rest of Asia except modern Japan. Before the advent of Europe in Asia the normal economic life of the continent was one of home or cottage industries, craft-organizations called Castes. Mohammadanism and Buddhism both do not recognize Caste as such but in either community one finds ample traces of classes or groups known by their occupations. The economic life of Asia is being dissolved by its impact with the West and in the interests of Asia the sooner it is shaped on European lines the better for it, from the material point of view. But the East would fain hesitate to incorporate European industrialism into its life. The force of circumstances leaves no choice. Refusal or delay means its continued exploitation by the West. Japan has already entered into the arena to the utter dismay of her European rivals. India would have done it even earlier than Japan and perhaps more completely, had it not been for the fact that her fiscal policy is being dictated from Whitehall. China is on the way to it and so are the smaller countries of Asia.

Thus it would be easily seen now the tests set down by Mr. Dickinson to prove the unity of the West, when applied to the East, establish the unity of the latter. But it was reserved for the present colossal conflict of arms which is desolating Europe, to establish conclusively that it was a mistake to suppose that the West was a unity. The Pro-Allies writers have now exhausted all the resources of intellect and ingenuity, of style and illustration, to prove that German "Kultur" and Teutonic spirit is entirely different from and inferior to the Anglo-Saxon as well as the Latin. Poor Mr. Dickinson, he could not possibly anticipate this.

THE GREATEST MIRACLE OF OUR AGE—HELLEN KELLER

BY SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.

"I was deaf, and I hear; I was blind, and I see; I was dumb, and I speak." These words, which rang out with clearness, force, and vitality, were spoken in the course of an address on "Happiness," delivered on April 27, 1915, to a large University audience by Miss Hellen Keller, who is blind and deaf. "Happiness" she remarked with an inexpressibly sweet smile, "is an end in itself: it is nothing but loving. We are happy when we love and trust. Happiness is much deeper than mere pleasure. Happiness comes when we least expected."

Miss Hellen Keller is a beautiful young lady. She is tall, slender, and exquisitely graceful in form. She has a fine, strong, intelligent face, which is illumined by a rare charm. When this womanly woman stepped on the platform, she was dressed daintily and with good taste. Her hands were incased in long lily-white gloves. She wore at her waist a beautiful bouquet of red roses and sweet peas.

In speaking of happiness Miss Keller said that just as the sun is sometimes darkened by clouds, so our life may be shadowed by troubles and difficulties. "But it is not enough to fill our own lives with happiness. We must do something to brighten, gladden, and bring happiness to others."

Her voice was pathetic in its deep, round tones. Her sentences were well formed, and their rhythm was touching. Her words brought tears to the eyes of her hearers. To be sure, hers was not a natural voice; but how could a natural voice be expected in her case? She has not seen a human face, nor heard a human voice since she was a nineteen-month old baby. She has nothing to guide her except her senses of touch and smell. Yet there was not one of us in that vast auditorium who was not thrilled when she said in closing her formal address: "Happiness does not consist of having everything we want. Happiness is love. Love is service. And the world shall be saved by love."

At the end of her address, which held her hearers spell-bound, the audience was invited to ask questions. A dramatic scene ensued. Miss Keller took off her left glove, placed the fingers of her left hand on the face, the thumb on the throat, the little finger on the nose, and the other fingers on the lips of her life-long friend and teacher, Mrs. Macy, who was by her side. Hellen Keller stood with an expression of alert listening in her face. Mrs. Macy repeated the questions, and Hellen immediately understood with her sensitive fingers what was asked.

"Can you tell how many people are in this hall?" was asked.

Her whole appearance was at once alive with attention. She looked to her right and left very much like a seeing person, paused a moment, and then taking a long breath replied, "There are a great many people here. There must be over five hundred people in the hall. I know it because the air is heavy and crowded."

"Can you tell when you are applauded?"

The answer came like a flash.

"Yes, I can. I *hear* it with my feet."

"Why do you give public lectures?" was another question.

With quick wit and engaging smile she replied: "Because I *love* to *talk*."

"Are you a suffragist?"

"Yes, I am."

"Don't you think men could attend to your affairs?"

"So far they have not made a howling success of it. I am in favour of woman suffrage because I do not believe in taxation without representation. And that is what we fought the Revolution about."

"Can you play any musical instrument?"

"Yes, I play hand organ," was her humorous reply.

"Do you like flowers?"

"Yes, indeed. They are the joys of my life."

"Have you any message for the woman students of this University?"

"Work for the vote, and get it as soon as possible. Then use it in making laws against child labor, long hours of work for women, and men too."

Can anything be more miraculous than to have a blind and deaf person, who hears not her own voice, who sees not her audience, make an oral address and answer all questions impromptu? Hellen Keller may indeed be regarded as the greatest miracle of the age. She may truly be called the eighth wonder of the world.



HELLEN KELLER AND HER BLIND TEACHER MISS SULLIVAN, NOW MRS. MACY.

Mark Twain once said that the two most remarkable characters of the nineteenth century are Napoleon Bonaparte and Hellen Keller. In a way we know Napoleon. He was the child of Revolution. He was a great friend of the common people. He humbled the proudest monarchies of Europe to the dust. He propagated the doctrine of equal rights to prince and peasant. But how much

do we know in India of Hellen Keller? She has accomplished so many wonderful achievements and has overcome so many obstacles that it is worth while to review her life story, even though very briefly.

Hellen Keller was born in 1880 at Tuscumbia in the northern part of the State of Alabama. One of her ancestors had the distinction of being the first teacher of the deaf in Zurich, Switzerland. Several of her immediate ancestors in America were Colonial officers and State Governors. Her father, Arthur H. Keller, was the editor of a paper, and a Confederate army officer during the Civil War. The mother of Hellen Keller was the second wife of Mr. Keller, and a good deal younger than he. Hellen was not born deaf and dumb and blind, as is frequently imagined. At birth she was a normal child. But when she was nineteenth month of age she lost her sight and hearing through illness. With this terrible handicap she met the world undaunted, and has triumphed over it gloriously.

Of what she brought with her from her brief period of childhood she writes: "During the first nineteen months of my life I had caught glimpses of broad, green fields, a luminous sky, trees, and flowers which the darkness that followed could not wholly blot out."

Hellen's mind was constantly at work. Early in life she felt the need of a new mode of communication. A nod of the head meant "yes," and a shake of the head meant "no," a push meant "go," a pull meant "come." She would indicate to her mother that she wanted ice-cream, by imitating the turning

of the freezer and shivering; she would indicate her desire for bread by imitating the spreading of bread.

Her father took her to Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, the inventor of telephone. The great electrical wizard could do nothing to get to her sound or light. On his advice, however, a teacher was secured from the Perkins Institution for the Blind at Boston. The name of the teacher was

Miss Anne Sullivan, now Mrs. Macy. When Miss Sullivan came to the Keller home, Hellen was six years and eight months old. The first two words that she learned were "doll" and "cake." It would take too long to tell of the various steps taken in the educational development of Hellen. Miss Sullivan was with her always, whether at work, at play or at study. She began to teach Hellen a few words by the "manual method." The meaning of language came to her by an experience when she and her teacher went to a well to draw water. By distinguishing in her mind the ideas of water and cup, through spelling the words into her hands, she learned "the mystery of language." Miss Keller writes: "A little word from the fingers of another fell into my hand that clutched at emptiness and my heart leaped to the rapture of living."

As soon as Hellen had discovered that everything had a name, and that every name could be spelled on her fingers, Miss Sullivan followed the plan of spelling into her fingers everything they did. Such was her eagerness to learn that once in a single day she learned thirty new words. In three months she had mastered three hundred words. By the fourth month of her training she could write childish letters; and by the sixth month she had acquired such a working vocabulary that she could read simple stories printed in raised letters, known as the *Braille System*.

Alabama, as I know from actual residence in that southern State, has almost a subtropical climate. It is a land of fruits and flowers and birds. Hellen's schooling was given in that delightful country largely in God's out-of-doors. Her studies included arithmetic, geography, English, history, zoology, botany, and such other subjects as are usually taught in American public schools.

She had always a very inquiring mind, a deep thirst for knowledge. At the age of ten this deaf-blind child knew a good many things about American politics. Mrs. Macy in her lecture, which preceded Miss Keller's address on "Happiness," told us how Hellen got her first information about the tariff. She was one day asked what her father was talking about at the dinner-table. As the conversation happened to be on tariff, Hellen Keller was told that "it is about something you would not understand." "How do you know?"

was Hellen's instant rejoinder. "I have a good mind! And you know that the Greeks used to allow their children to hear the conversation of those who talked wisely." How could anything be kept from such an active intelligence as Hellen Keller's?

She was up to that period using finger language. Effort was then made to train her in speaking. She seemed to have the natural impulse to utter sounds. For special training in the "oral method" she was sent to the Horace Mann School. After she had taken eleven lessons she went home, and on her way she said to Miss Sullivan: "I am not dumb. I can speak."

From that time on Hellen Keller began to give special attention to vocal culture and "lip reading." She also took up the study of French, Latin, and other subjects which would enable her to enter Radcliffe College at the Harvard University. The Radcliffe College faculty was not eager to take her in: they seemed to be afraid that Hellen, a deaf and blind girl, would not be able to keep up with the college work. She could not, however, be put off easily. "A good soldier never acknowledges defeat before battle," wrote Miss Keller in protest to the college authorities. Soon after she passed the entrance examination very creditably, and was permitted to enter the college.

Her curriculum consisted of Latin, Greek, French, English, economics, history, and philosophy. Books on those subjects were seldom available in raised points; and so they had to be spelled out word by word, page after page, in Hellen's hands. What a desperately arduous task that was! Miss Sullivan escorted her to the class room, sat beside her, and transmitted the lectures of the professors with her fingers into the palm of Hellen's hands. It was a stiff fight that Miss Keller made against overwhelming odds.

At last the time came for her final examination for the B.A. degree in 1899. She was put in a room separate from other students. No one acquainted with her was allowed near her. She wrote her answers by means of a typewriter. And as there was no one to read to her what she had written on the machine, it made the examination extremely difficult. But Miss Keller, who has always been equal to every emergency, wrote such brilliant papers

that she passed her examination with honors.

As one who has been through the American educational system, I know that it is hard for even a full five-sense man to learn such difficult languages as [English, German, French, Latin and Greek. As a former student of the Normal Class of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School, I also know that it is very hard for a deaf mute to speak only one language. And as an observer of human nature I am sure that for one who is not only deaf but also blind it is infinitely harder to learn five languages. That Miss Keller succeeded in accomplishing this wonderful feat is due to her keen intelligence no less than to her patient toil, day in and day out, night in and night out, for many years. In a recent address Miss Keller said: "The belief that the loss of sense increases the powers of the others is a fallacy. The habit of patience is the only thing that helps one to bear the limitations."

Since her graduation from Radcliffe Miss Keller has lived a life of consecration. A mere mention of the list of her varied activities will show that though imprisoned in darkness and in silence, she lives in a world which is vast and is full of idealism, beauty and grandeur. She is a tireless worker for better education among the deaf and the blind. She is deeply interested in religion, politics, socialism, and equal suffrage. Two of her recent striking magazine articles are: "The Modern Woman" and "The Worker's Right." Though deaf and blind, she gives public oral addresses before learned societies. She has written and is writing a great deal. She is the author of these volumes: "The Story of My Life"; "Optimism"; "The World I Live In"; "Out of the Dark." Some of these works are translated into several foreign languages. Miss Keller is also a poet of considerable merit, as is indicated by the titles of two of her refreshing books: "The Song of the Stone Wall" and "A Chant of Darkness." I believe there is a passage somewhere in the Bible which says that the blind should not lead the blind. Time is now at hand when not only will the blind lead the blind, but in many things the blind will lead the seeing also.

It is interesting to gather from Miss Hellen Keller's own writings such statements as will help us to appreciate her rich life. The following excerpts will illustrate

the part the various senses have played in her interpretation of psychology of life and experience:

Touch. "My hand is to me what your hearing and sight together are to you. In large measure we travel the same highways, read the same books, speak the same language, yet our experiences are different. All my comings and goings turn on the hand as on a pivot. It is the hand that binds me to the world of men and women. The hand is my feeler with which I read every activity that my fingers encounter. With the dropping of a little word from another's hand into mine, a slight flutter



HELLEN KELLER.

of the fingers, began intelligence, the joy, the fullness of life."

The Kinaesthetic Sense. "The rumbling and roar of the city smite the nerves of my face, and I feel the ceaseless tramp of an unseen multitude, and the dissonant tumult frets my spirit. The grinding of heavy waggons on hard pavements and the momentous clangour of machinery are all the more torturing to the nerves if one's

attention is not diverted by the panorama that is always presented in the noisy streets to people who can see."

Smell. "In my experience smell is the most important. I doubt if there is any sensation arising from sight more delightful than the odors which filter through sun-warmed, wind-tossed branches, or the tide of scents which swells, subsides, rises again wave on wave, filling the wide world with invisible sweetness."

The Seeing Hand. "The hands of those I meet are dumbly eloquent to me. The touch of some hands is an impertinence. I have met people so empty of joy that, when I clasp their frosty finger tips, it seems as if I were shaking hands with a northeasterly storm. Others there are at times whose hands have sunbeams in them, so that their grasp warms my heart."

Imagination. "Without imagination what a poor thing my world would be! My garden would be a silent patch of earth strewn with sticks of variety of shapes and smells. But when the eye of my mind is opened to its beauty, the bare ground brightens beneath my feet, and the hedge-row bursts into leaf, and the rose-tree shakes its fragrance everywhere. I know how budding trees look, and I enter into the amorous joy of the mating birds, and this is the miracle of imagination."

Dream Life. "Blot out dreams and the blind lose one of their chief comforts. My dreams do not seem to differ very much

from the dreams of other people. Some of them are coherent and safely hitched to an event or a conclusion. Others are inconsistent and fantastic."

I count myself very fortunate in having had an opportunity to hear Miss Hellen Keller's wonderful address on "Happiness." In it she gave us a message which was full of spring sunshine. After the address had been delivered and she had answered the questions of her audience, Miss Keller made a slight bow in recognition of the thundering applause she received. And as she walked away from the platform arm in arm with her teacher, I was profoundly impressed by her self-possession, charm, strong mentality, and splendid character. She represented a complete triumph of mind over physical difficulties. She was an embodiment of peace, contentment, and happiness. It seemed to me that nothing could express the philosophy of Hellen Keller—The Greatest Miracle of Our Age—better than her own words in her book "Optimism":

"I believe in God, I believe in men, I believe in the power of the spirit. I believe it is a sacred duty to encourage ourselves and others; to hold the tongue from any unhappy word against God's world because no man has any right to complain of a universe which God made good, and which thousands of men have striven to keep good. I believe we should so act that we may draw nearer and more near the age when no man shall live at his ease while another suffers."

FIFTY YEARS OF NEGRO-AMERICAN ACHIEVEMENT

By ST. NIHAL SINGH.

A half century has now elapsed since the American civil war ended, and the Negro-Americans were emancipated. I propose to make a rapid survey of the progress that they have made during that period.

I shall begin with an examination of the numerical growth of the community. The Census of 1860, taken shortly before the war began, returned 4,441,830 persons of

African descent, full-blooded and otherwise, in the United States of America. According to the Census of 1910, this population had increased to 9,828,294 persons. The figures exclude all Negro-Americans residing outside the Continental United States of America, that is to say, the non-contiguous territories that have been acquired by Americans during recent decades.

These statistics are fairly reliable. They

include only persons of *acknowledged* Negro descent. It is alleged that many Americans who are not betrayed by their colour, hair, and other features as Negroes escape the ignominy and disabilities that attach to black people in the Southern States by pretending that they are white. I doubt, however, that the number of cases in which American-Negroes are able to pass off as whites is large.

The growth of the Afro-American population, as shown by the Census figures, in fifty years, is quite large—slightly exceeding 121 per cent. There are, no doubt, communities that have multiplied faster than they have done. We must not, however, forget that the Negro-Americans live mostly in the "South," where sanitary conditions have been very bad until recently, and remain so even now in many places.

The Negroes have suffered far more from insanitation than the Southerners (a term I employ throughout this article to designate the white population residing in the Southern States). This is due largely to poverty, which condemns the Negro-Americans to live in wretched houses, and partly to prejudice, which compels them to reside in unhealthy localities.

In spite of these unequal conditions, the growth of the Negro population in the Southern States compares favourably with that of the Southerners, when due allowance is made for increase in the number of white persons caused by immigration. The States in the South have, ever since the close of the Civil War, encouraged the influx of labourers from Europe in order to replace the Negroes with Europeans. The immigrant element has gone far to modify the preponderance of the Negro population in many Southern States, though it still predominates in places.

Some authorities consider that the Negro-American is not multiplying as fast as he should. Dissatisfaction is expressed especially with the rate of growth of the city Negro. And no wonder! The Negroes

usually occupy the poorest quarters of American metropolises and towns in the North as well as in the South. They are ill-paid, and ill-fed. Even wealthy Negroes are not allowed to reside in healthy, respectable localities in Southern cities, and this feeling is becoming quite common even in many Northern States. Ordinances have been passed by several city Governments segregating the Negroes from the whites.



The Late DR. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, founder of the Tuskegee Institute.

The rise in the percentage of literacy among the Negro-Americans during the last half century is phenomenal. Before the Civil War most of them were illiterate; perhaps not more than 5 out of 100 could read and write. Now fully 70 per cent. of them are literate.

I wish that Indian illiteracy had been

reduced to 30 per cent. during the last 50 years.

A student of comparative progress searches the annals of the world in vain for a parallel to this remarkable rise in the literacy of Negro-Americans. Japan may, at first thought, be considered to provide one. It is true that in the middle of the sixties of the last century the number of Japanese who were literate was small, and that to-day they are nearly all literate. The Nipponese, however, were not, less than 60 years ago, a race of slaves, as the Negro-Americans were. Moreover, the Government of Japan took vigorous measures and provided liberal appropriations to wipe out illiteracy, while scanty and poor provision has been made for the education of the Negro-American. Be it remembered, that the Negro-Americans have been shut out of a large number of schools and colleges, and could, as a rule, obtain instruction only in institutions conducted especially for them. These schools have been far below the required number. Most of them have been inefficiently staffed, white persons, in many cases, not being allowed to teach in them. The majority of them have been kept closed during a large part of the year. Some of them have been situated in unhealthy localities. In these circumstances, the fall in Negro illiteracy is almost a miracle.

The educational disadvantages under which the Negroes have been labouring did not just happen, but have been the result of a deep-laid plot hatched by Southerners in power. They feared that the educated Negroes would constitute a menace to the continuance of their monopoly of power, privilege, and wealth, and determined to keep them uneducated, as far as possible.

This conspiracy has failed ignominiously mainly for three reasons:

First of all, the Negro-American has shown an irresistible desire to acquire knowledge and to rise superior to the conditions in which he came into the world.

Second, the race has given birth to men and women who possessed the qualities of leadership in super-abundance, and devoted themselves to the welfare of their people without a thought for their own worldly advancement.

Third, white philanthropists, mostly Northerners, have endowed institutions for the education of Negroes with a generosity the like of which the world has seldom seen.



DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, a great Negro-American leader.

In arranging the agencies responsible for Negro-American progress, I have put the help given by outsiders the last, not because I think lightly of such assistance, but only because I feel that had the American Negroes not shown the desire to help themselves, such aid would have been of little use.

Hundreds of scholastic institutions, from

elementary schools to Universities, have been founded and are being conducted by Negro-Americans with or without white assistance. These private institutions can,

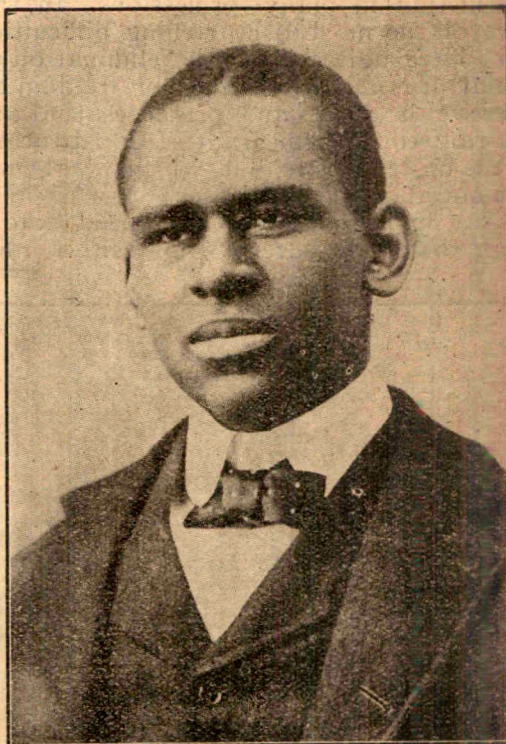


MAJOR ROBERT RUSSA MOTON, who succeeded Dr. Booker T. Washington as head of the Tuskegee Institute.

of course, only partially make up for the criminal neglect of the public authorities to provide adequately for Negro instruction: yet the results achieved by them, especially in developing initiative, self-respect, self-dependence, and race pride, in the thousands of Negro-Americans who have passed through them, are nothing short of marvellous.

Some of these institutions give training in agriculture, industries, or professions in addition to developing the mind and finer instincts. The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, founded by General Armstrong, and the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, founded by (the late) Dr. Booker T. Washington and now presided over by Major Robert Russa Moton,

are the best known institutions of the latter type. * Graduates from the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes have established a large number of similar schools in many States. These institutions have done and are doing a great deal of good to the Negro-



PROFESSOR EARL E. FINCH, of Wilberforce University.

Americans by inspiring individuals to lead clean, honest lives, and by investing them with the ability to support themselves and to help in the advancement of their race and nation.

This type of education needs to be developed in India, as I pointed out years ago.

The institutions that have been devoted to the higher and professional education of Negro-Americans have also conferred incalculable benefit upon them. They have provided teachers, doctors, lawyers, clergy-

* See my article "Education That Educates at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Virginia, U. S. A." and "A Negro Educator's Unique Ideals and Successful Methods," published in "The Modern Review" in 1909 and reprinted in my "Messages of Uplift for India." See "The Aftermath of Education" in my "Urge Divine." It originally appeared in the *Modern Review*.

men, and litterateurs of both sexes, whose number runs into the thousands, many of whom are engaged in working for the uplift of their community.

These men and women of culture, by dint of their ability and conduct, have stepped over many racial bars and won distinction in many professions. In the face of the most disheartening difficulties they have agitated for the elimination of racial discrimination, and for freedom to exercise the rights and privileges that are guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States, but which, alas! they are not allowed to exercise.

Not many Indians, I am afraid, know that there are several Universities and



GENERAL SAMUEL CHAPMAN ARMSTRONG, founder of Hampton Institute.

first-grade Colleges in the United States conducted by Negroes for Negroes. Among these I may mention:

Howard University, Washington, D. C. founded in 1868;

Fiske University, Nashville, Tennessee, founded in 1871;

Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, founded in 1872;

Wiley University, Marshall, Texas;

Leland University, New Orleans, Louisiana, founded in 1870;

Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, founded in 1898;

Clark University, South Atlanta, Georgia, founded in 1879;

Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tennessee, founded in 1877;

Spelman Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia, founded in 1897;

Claflin University, Orangeburg, South Carolina, founded in 1878;

Atlanta Baptist College, Atlanta, Georgia, founded in 1890;

Lincoln University, Lincoln, Pennsylvania, founded in 1864; and

Talladega University, Talladega, Alabama, founded in 1885.*

I do not have space to tell how and by whom these institutions, which by no means exhaust the list of Negro Colleges, were established and what they have individually accomplished. I may say, however, that friends and enemies alike concede that they are, as a rule, efficiently managed.

The reader must remember that many of the Universities and Colleges in the Northern States do not exclude Negro-Americans. Negroes attended some of these Colleges long before emancipation. Hundreds have graduated from them since then, and at present hundreds of others are on their rolls.

According to a survey made by Atlanta University under the patronage of the trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, about 4,000 Negroes graduated from the various Colleges between 1823 and 1909. This figure is only approximate, and, I believe, is an under-estimate. In any case, during the seven years that have elapsed since then, the number of "collegebred Negroes" must have considerably increased. Some idea of this increase can be formed from the fact that during the decade 1900-1909 no less than 1,613 Negro men and women were graduated from the various Colleges.

One of the most cultured men that it has been my privilege to meet in any part of the world is Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, a

* These dates indicate the year in which the College departments of these institutions were established. Some of them had school departments before then.

Negro-American. He was for many years influentially connected with Atlanta University, and edited a valuable set of books and booklets dealing with various phases of Negro life and activities, besides writing a number of monographs on Negro-Americans. He is now editing a monthly magazine called *The Crisis*, which he started several years ago to help to advance his race. His literary output would constitute a great achievement for a member of any race; but it represents only a part of the public activities of Dr. Du Bois. He has spoken from hundreds of platforms, in and out of the United States, urging his people to acquire culture, without which no amount of wealth will enable them to take their rightful place among the comity of races, and asking for fair treatment for Negro-Americans from persons amidst whom they live and labour.

While Dr. Du Bois and the group of Negro-Americans of whom he is the head, insist upon obtaining culture and political power, Major Moton, the successor of Dr. Booker T. Washington, and his adherents, lay stress upon the building of character and the acquisition of economic independence, leaving political power to come in its natural course. The ultimate ideal set by each section is identical: but the immediate methods differ, and at times this has caused some friction.

I, for one, however, refuse to believe that the two schools are antagonistic. In my opinion, they supplement each other, and one without the other would leave something undone. It is useless to consider which of the two does more good. Each serves its purpose and is, I believe, indispensable.

The economic progress made by the Negro-Americans since their emancipation forms as striking a record as their achievement in acquiring education. From landless serfdom they have risen to be the owners and tenants of farms. From homeless chattels they have become property-owners.

It is computed by persons whose authority cannot be questioned that the wealth now possessed by the American Negroes exceeds Rs. 2,500,000,000. This amount gives a *per capita* wealth of a little more than Rs. 250. Judged by American, and even by European standards, this sum is small: I doubt, however, if any statisti-

cian can put the *per capita* wealth of India anywhere near this figure.

We must not forget that fifty years ago few American Negroes owned their own bodies; not to speak of a dollar or a foot of ground. The free Negroes, all told, possessed a little property—some statisticians place it at Rs. 100,000,000: but this computation lacks authority and appears to me to be very much exaggerated. In any case, the wealth of the community in general has greatly increased since the Civil War ended.

If one does not forget the difficulties that surrounded the Negroes during the early years of their emancipation, which have continued to exist to this day, one would quickly realize what a stupendous achievement the acquisition of this property and cash represents.

A large part of the wealth possessed by Negro-Americans consists of land. The farms owned by them exceed 20,000,000 acres, more than half as large as Bengal. Together with the buildings and implements on them, they are worth more than Rs. 1,500,000,000. The average farm, together with its property, is valued at a little more than Rs. 3,000.

According to the Census taken by the United States of America in 1910, 220,000 Negro-Americans owned their farms, while 770,000 cultivated rented holdings. According to the same authority there were, in that year, about 2,145,000 Negro-Americans engaged in agricultural pursuits. The inference is plain. The proportion of Negroes who are peasant proprietors or tenants is quite large compared with those who are farm labourers.

I am unable to say what percentage of Negro holdings are under mortgage. I may, however, state that Negro indebtedness is decreasing, in spite of the devices employed by persons who exploit them: and Negroes are more and more becoming the proprietors of their farms in reality as well as in name.

Negro-American tenants and labourers are also rapidly becoming proprietors. The employment of improved methods and machinery in carrying on agricultural operations, the disposal of crops to better advantage, and the husbanding of resources, are enabling tenants to buy farms. The labourers are economizing as much as they can, and are investing their savings in land.

The "back to the land" movement seems to have taken a strong hold upon the American Negro. Many of them who had been lured to the cities and who lived therein poverty and unhealthy conditions are finding their way back to the farms. Millions of acres of land in the Southern States are lying fallow or covered with underbrush, and holdings can be bought or rented on easy terms. More and more Negroes are taking up land, and, by their intelligence, industry, and patience, are making it pay their living and also furnishing them with the capital to buy it. Were it not for the fact that many Southerners see to it that their Negro tenants never get out of their debt, their progress towards peasant proprietorship would be faster.

Some idea of the rate at which Negro wealth is increasing can be formed by comparing the figures for 1900 and 1910. In the former year their property was valued at Rs. 900,000,000. Ten years later it had risen to Rs. 2,100,000,000. In 1900 their land was estimated to be worth a little more than Rs. 530,000,000. A decade later its value had practically trebled. Such progress is prodigious, and there is every reason to believe that the rate of increase is becoming accelerated.

Much of the Negro-American's wealth that does not consist of real estate, is deposited in banks, many of them owned and operated by men of their own race. The number of banks, building and loan societies, and similar financial institutions, controlled by Negro-Americans, are rapidly increasing, there being at present over 50 of them, at a conservative estimate.

Next to tilling the soil, the greatest number of Negroes are employed in domestic service. The last Census gives their number at about 1,325,000 persons.

Domestic service savours too much of slavery to be attractive to intelligent American Negroes, and, therefore, there is a strong tendency among them to shun this occupation. Many of those who take up such work insist upon better conditions. The rise of this spirit is not liked by the Southerners, who long for the return of the days when the Negroes were submissive and docile. These causes, combined with the growth of industrialism in the South, are operating to check the employment of Negroes as domestics. The tendency is somewhat offset by the at-

tempt on the part of some schools to inspire the Negroes to realize the dignity of labour, no matter how humble, and to train them to be competent servants who are able to command good wages.

The Negro-Americans engaged in industries and trades, totaled about 750,000 in 1910. The following table gives the particulars concerning them:

TRADE.	NUMBER.
Building and hand trades	... 288,000
Railway employees	... 114,000
Wholesalers and retailers	... 133,000
Miners	... 63,000
Car-men, cab-drivers, and livery-men	... 63,000
Iron and steel workers	... 42,000
Clay, glass and stone workers	... 29,000

The evidence concerning the condition of the Negro-Americans engaged in these callings is of a conflicting nature. Some authorities contend that the American Negroes are not able to hold their own against the whites and European immigrants, and that they are being driven out by such competition, swelling the ranks of paupers and criminals. Others are of the opinion that, with the rise of education, especially of an industrial character, the Negroes are being enabled to withstand all competition.

I find that the American-Negroes have not done so well in cities as they have done on the land; but I do not think that there is the slightest room for pessimism. Considering their past and their present conditions, they have done remarkably well to gain the position that they occupy in industries and trade. I find that more and more Negro-Americans are acquiring positions of trust and responsibility, and that many of them are able to own and to operate large concerns.

About 32,000 Negro-Americans are employed in the public service. This number is very small compared with the total population of Negro-Americans, though they are not responsible for it being what it is. They are not employed by the States and Municipalities in the former Slave States, except in minor positions. The opposition to their holding Federal offices in the Southern States is so great that even strong and progressive Presidents like Colonel Theodore Roosevelt have fought shy of appointing them in such capacities. Numerous cases have occurred where mobs have driven Negro-Americans who were given Federal appointments, such as that of postmaster, out of town,

and some have even been shot dead, or have seen their loved ones slain.

The United States maintains four regiments of American-Negroes, and they are employed in the Navy.

About 70,000 Negro-Americans are engaged in various professions. Almost 30,000 of this number are employed as teachers, about 17,000 as clergymen, and a little less than 5,000 are physicians, surgeons, lawyers, writers, etc.

The number of professional men is constantly rising, in spite of the great opposition that is offered by Southerners to giving professional and literary education to Negroes, and the systematic persecution of those who are engaged in professions. I need hardly add that Negro doctors, lawyers, etc., practising in the Southern States, have only Negro patients and clients.

The number of Negro bread-winners, all told, is about 5,200,000 persons. This means that rather more than half the entire Negro-American population is engaged in gainful occupations.

The Negroes occupy about 2,175,000 houses, of which they own 500,000. In this connection I must state that comparatively few families in the United States of America, as in other Occidental countries, own the houses in which they live. When that fact is considered, in conjunction with the homeless condition of the Negro-Americans fifty years ago, one quickly realizes that it speaks well for the race that so many of its members should be owners of their homes.

A large number of the houses in which the Negro-Americans live are, of course, small and poorly built and furnished. The well-to-do, however, reside in large, well-built and sumptuously furnished buildings.

The possession of a good house amounts to almost a passion with educated Negroes, and well it may, for it implies a high standard of earning capacity, thrift, and culture. Some harsh critics make light of the American-Negroes' efforts to maintain homes that will come up to the standards of Western civilization, but such gibes are unseemly. When one remembers the conditions out of which the Negroes have emerged and are still emerging, one wonders, not that the homes and dress of many of them should betray lack of taste, but that so many of them are refined.

The American-Negroes build public institutions with almost as much zeal as they build homes for themselves. I have already spoken of their interest in the cause of education. I may add that they spend over Rs. 3,000,000 a year upon education and educational buildings, in addition to the taxes that they pay into the general treasury for the same object. They maintain a large number of hospitals, infirmaries, almshouses, orphanages, and cemeteries. Many secret societies on the order of the Masonic Lodge exist among them. They have erected hundreds of churches, some of them large and beautiful structures. Any unprejudiced person who surveys conditions finds that they are most liberal in supporting their churches. This is no doubt due to the fact that they are religiously inclined and are generous by instinct.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

BY RUBY M. DUGGAN, AUTHOR OF "ONLY A LASS," "THE LORD OF THE MANOR,"
"WHEN LOVE SPEAKS," &c.

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THE winter season at the comfortable boarding-house at Blagrove was hardly the success this year that it used to be, for if the terms were reduced, the dullness had increased, and many of the

boarders had, after much grumbling, packed up and taken flight to gayer quarters, the result being that those who remained, most of them old frequenters of the house, felt that this was the time to rally round

their depressed but honest landlady. The more the party dwindled, the more united did the remaining members become.

There was, however, one exception—and it was this exception that had roused the interest and curiosity of the irresponsible and light-hearted Irish girl who stood, this frosty morning, before her mother, in the snug bedroom which these two shared.

Mollie Sullivan's pretty face was flushed and her breath was coming in gasps, but her eyes were twinkling with a merriment that contradicted the would-be-demureness of her countenance.

"Mollie," exclaimed her mother, looking up from the novel she was reading, "you've been doing it again! How often have I told you that you will break your neck some day rushing down the staircase at the rate you do—break your neck, and shock that nice young man in the room below."

"Two calamities in one breath, literally—but you seem to think, mater, that the breaking of my neck, uncomfortable as it would be for me, would be a trifle compared with the upset that would result to Bruin's equanimity."

"Bruin! This is the third time I have heard you call him by that name. Why don't you say Mr. Bruin? Or is it his Christian name?"

Mrs. Sullivan was the most matter-of-fact of women, notwithstanding her Hibernian birth. She adored her pretty daughter but often felt that the young lady's imaginative faculties strained her mental resources too much.

"He doesn't look amiable enough for a Christian name, mater—Bruin is his surname—family name, I mean, or"—under her breath—"if it isn't, it ought to be!"

"Indeed, an uncommon name! I have heard of Brew, and Brewster, but Bruin—are you sure you have caught it rightly, Mollie?"

"It came to me in an inspiration, and I have been talking to Mrs. Glassen."

"Gossiping with the landlady, child?"

"Certainly—there's nothing else to do. Gossip is an epidemic that seizes everyone who passes the fatal portals of Mervyn House."

"But what is this Mr. Bruin to us, Mollie, that we should waste a thought on him?"

"And do you, mother—oh, really!" and Mollie held up a shocked forefinger.

"Nonsense, child; you know what I

mean. But seriously, I hope you ignore him, as it is evident he desires to ignore us."

Mollie turned away, her colour deepening. Then she laughed merrily. "I shouldn't mind his ignoring me 'but why need he kick me downstairs?' No, no, I mean figuratively, mater. He glares at me whenever I meet him—on the Esplanade, in the hall, everywhere—just as if I were a species of reptile, obnoxious in his sight."

Mrs. Sullivan smiled a little as she surveyed the "species of reptile" before her. Two big brown eyes, shaded by curling lashes of silk, a face made up of dimples, blush roses, and mischievous laughter; curly brown hair that would insist on escaping the control of its hairpins; a slim, light figure, pretty even in its somewhat shabby blue serge—surely a "reptile" that one might gaze upon without shuddering.

"It's your own fault, no doubt, Mollie. You will never learn dignity of behaviour. You are always up to some trick or other; you are what your Aunt Mary calls a 'handful.' Now do learn to come down the stairs like a properly reared young person, and take no notice of Mr. Bruin when you meet him."

"It's all very well, mother, for people like you to talk like that—people not consumed by an all-devouring curiosity as I am. Why, even in my dreams I am going round asking everyone I meet what is his name."

"His name?" repeated Mrs. Sullivan, sinking weakly into a chair, "why, I thought you told me just now that it was Bruin."

Mollie turned quickly away to hide the mirth that was brimming over in her eyes. Then she recovered herself, and faced her matter-of-fact parent again.

"Well, but I mean his Christian name—his first name, I mean. What does 'J' stand for?"

"J? Why, it stands for all sorts of names. But what has that to do with us?"

Mrs. Sullivan's gaze was becoming slightly suspicious. No hen in charge of a water-loving duckling had more daily surprises than the much-tried mother of this daring young person.

"Nothing, of course, only—well, in case of that accident to my neck that you dimly predicted a few minutes ago, he might come in handy at the inquest. Did I tell you that he was a doctor; no, oh, well

it's the truth. So you see how useful he might be, either to patch me up or at a post-mortem, though of course he might refuse to attend me, dead or alive. He looks disagreeable enough for anything."

"A doctor, is he? Dear me, I didn't know. I like doctors, Mollie, that's why I married your father. But surely he wouldn't refuse to attend you if—if—oh, really, I believe you are laughing at me!"

Mollie swayed, and sank to the carpet. Hardly a sound escaped her, but her mother was not to be deceived. When the young lady recovered at last, and got to her feet again, Mrs. Sullivan knew perfectly well the reason for the all-prevailing red on her face.

"It's very wrong of you, Mollie, to make fun of me like that. Really, it isn't respectful. There, go and change your frock, it's time to appear downstairs."

"Yes, mother, I'm so sorry, but do relieve my anxiety. You know, I was asking you what 'J' stands for. John, which means Jack; James, no—James suggests a Sunday School sort of young man, and he isn't that, whatever he may be; Jeseph, that's worse; Jeremiah, not bad; Jehoiakim, well, it would be an awkward name for a picnic; Jehu but that suggests—"

"Stop, Mollie! You are driving me—"

"Oh, mater, is it to start punning in your widowhood? Well, seriously and finally, since these fearful doubts must be set at rest once and for ever, I shall go straight up to him and ask him."

"Mollie, you'll do nothing of the kind!"

Mollie simply rippled over with mirth, but gave no guarantees for her future good behaviour. Then suddenly an idea seized her and she darted across the room and pulled out from beneath a large couch an enormous box containing all sorts of sketches, in various stages of completion. Serious sketches, humorous sketches, caricatures—but all of them showing spirit and talent. Then, taking some coloured chalks and a blank piece of square cardboard, she pulled over a chair, and was soon busily engaged, mischievous laughter shining in her eyes the while.

Mrs. Sullivan returned to her novel contentedly, and Mollie worked on, with light, skilful touches. Then she jumped up and danced across the room, to lay before her horrified parent the result of her labours.

II.

Jack Bindon, M.D. was in a very bad humour. Several things had conspired to vex him, first and foremost amongst which was a humiliating recollection of a mocking girlish face, framed in a wealth of curling brown hair, a face that had glanced back at him for a second over its owner's shoulder just ten minutes before, as he had come down the staircase from the drawing-room to the hall, and said to him as plainly as a face could say, "Jack Bindon, you're a muff!"

She had more reasons than one, he felt compelled to acknowledge, for this opinion, but then, she did not know everything. Flying headlong down the stairs, at her usual speed, the day before, she had collided with the young doctor, who, just turning out of his sitting-room, had started to go up to his bedroom—the result had been a shock, mental and physical.

"Did I hurt you? I'm so sorry." Came from the young lady breathlessly—but Jack was not sure that this was not another specimen of her impertinence.

From his superior height and his enormous breadth of chest he looked down at her—at the slim fairy who wanted to know had she hurt him, and felt pretty much as a lion might feel if asked the same question in similar circumstances by a butterfly.

"Not much," he said, not intending it for slang, which he hated, but speaking in a would-be-ironical style.

The young lady's eyes gleamed—she started to say something else—but Jack, remembering a letter that he had received the day before passed her with a bow which was more freezing than the weather. Let her be ever so charming, he was determined to keep up this attitude to her while the two of them stayed in the same house. He had heard things, whether he wanted to or not, when mother and daughter had arrived at the boarding-house which terms best suited those with short purses. It was hard not to hear things with a landlady like Mrs. Glassen, who simply ignored stops in her discourses, and so he had learned that the mother was the widow of an impecunious failure in his own profession—a man with too much genius to have known how to make practical use of it—and that the daughter did sketches in chalk and oils, painted Christmas cards, and all the rest of it.

His interest had been roused by this information, and deepened by the sight of the pretty young artist in her shabby serges and well-worn furs. His heart had begun to go pit-a-pat when he heard her step on the stairs, or when he encountered her on the Esplanade, battling with the winter winds, but he took refuge in a grimness that only concealed an incurable disease from which he suffered—a disease unknown to bounders and men of that ilk—shyness.

But a sudden change had come o'er the spirit of his dream. It was the result of a long letter written him by his chum, Tom Stafford, who had heard of his having elected to spend a month or two at Mrs. Glassen's boarding-house, to escape the social penalties of the Christmas season, and at the same time to finish the important pamphlet on which he was engaged.

Tom Stafford had written to the man who, popularly supposed to be a woman-hater, had yet the softest heart that ever beat under tweed, to warn him against the wiles of a coquette whose victims were legion.

"She is irresistible, it appears," went on Tom, "and knows it. Tired of breaking hearts in Surrey and in town, she has now, it seems, repaired to Blagrove to secure more game, under the impression that it is gayer than other seaside places in winter, and under the disguise of a poor relation whose name she has borrowed *pro tem*,—a poor relation who supports herself by doing sketches for some of the smart shops in town—win a wager that she has made, the wager being that in this capacity, shabby and obscure, she can make conquests as easily as in her own character of heiress."

"Take my advice," went on the writer, "and avoid her, as dangerous to your peace of mind, or else pay her out in her own coin—win her heart to trample on it. But whichever you do, don't forget that she is already secured, being engaged to a chap in India for some time."

Jack Bindon was thinking over this now as he leaned over the rails on the Esplanade and stared moodily into the foaming waves below.

His friend's warning had come too late—already the sound of that light dancing step on the stairs had driven science and everything else out of his head—he was another victim to the all-conquering heiress

whose vanity despised no scalps, however humble.

He had succeeded up to this in escaping the wiles of her sex, whether in the form of blushing fifteen or unblushing fifty—he was supposed to regard women with as much callousness as he did the skeletons whose anatomy he studied.

And now—his pamphlet forgotten, the learned treatise for which his publisher waited in vain, for his name was already beginning to be associated with written lore rather than with practical skill—he remained on, fascinated, like the fly unable to tear itself away from the spider's net—his heart topsy-turvy for the sake of a pair of brown eyes!

The Esplanade was almost deserted at this time of the day. Jack told himself that there was some comfort in knowing that the east wind kept her indoors now and then, where, owing to his rule of taking his meals in his private sitting-room, he was not likely to meet her, unless in a collision on the stairs—and then, just as he congratulated himself on his escape, someone came dancing round the rocks, and Jack pulled himself together, lifting his hat with a scowl that in itself might have raised that covering from his head.

There she was, her face rosy with exercise, her short blue serge skirts just showing a pair of neat, daintily-shod feet—her fluffy brown hair kept in its place by a close-fitting fur hat—a picture of healthy, delightful womanhood.

"Good afternoon—or is it evening?—I only know the time of day by the crowd. Do you know, Dr. Bindon, I'm awfully glad to meet you. I'm in a terrible state of mental distress—it is seriously injuring my health."

"May I be informed as to the nature of your difficulty," he said stiffly, trying to keep his eyes from her lovely laughing face.

"Well, it is this," glancing at him wickedly from under the silkiest of dark lashes, "what does 'J' stand for?"

He stared at her, utterly uncomprehending. A nurse passed close to them, wheeling a perambulator—a dog sniffed at his heels, then disappeared—they had the seawalk to themselves.

Mollie sighed heavily. "Dear me," she said, "I thought you would know—it stands for your name—but that's what puzzles me. What does 'J' stand for?"

"I—I—really"—began the unfortunate young man.

"Yes—go on—is it Jeremiah or—Jehosaphat—or Jehoiakim?"

"Jack," came in a bewildered fashion from the doctor, too astonished to evade the query.

"Thank you so much," she said sweetly, "it is such a relief to know, for it has kept me awake at night dreaming of it," and having thus proved her claim to Irish birth she nodded gaily to him in adieu, and danced off in the direction of Mervyn House, leaving him in a state of mind for which the English language has no term sufficiently expressive.

III.

All that evening Jack Bindon neglected his work. He spent the hours, sometimes pacing up and down the faded carpet, sometimes staring into the fire, his hands stuck deep in his pockets, a tantalising memory taking a hundred different forms and faces in its red glow, but all of them reproducing a slim form and a laughing, girlish face, sometimes with both elbows on his desk, reading and re-reading the cruel letter that had dashed his hopes to the ground just as they took birth—his misery was decidedly getting the better of him.

A light tapping sound outside the window suddenly arrested his attention. It had been going on for several minutes before he noticed it. What was it—not the wind, no—gravel thrown at it—no, the sound was different—almost as if a bird were lightly tapping at it with its beak.

He crossed the room, pulled up the blind, and peered out into the darkness. Yes, there was something there—something dangling before him and now and then striking at the window-pane—something stiff and broad and white.

He flung open the window, and caught at the cardboard, and as he did, something above, on the wall of the house, yielded to his touch—the string that held the cardboard was set free, and the cardboard itself lay in his hand.

A deep flush mounted to his sensitive, good-looking face. On the reverse side of the board was written, in neat, clear characters, "J"—"J is for Jack whose politeness is slack," and on the other side was sketched in bold, skilful touches, a grim bear up a pole, but the head and face,

though in outline a bear's, were those that met the doctor's glance each time he looked into a mirror.

There was no doubt about it—it was meant for him—and underneath was inscribed "Bruin"—yes, a very bear.

He gazed at it, the flush deepening on his face as he looked. Yes, indeed, he was a bear—how rough and churlish he had been on each occasion of their meeting—brutal to hide his real feelings, but how was this mischievous little witch to know that?

Above his head he could hear her light footsteps as she moved backwards and forwards across the carpet of her room, then he heard her darting to the door—heard it open—rushing movements—it was impossible to her to come quietly down the stairs—and then suddenly the rushing footsteps abruptly stopped—there was a cry—heavens, she had fallen!

She was lying on the mat at the foot of the stairs when he found her, with her pretty eyes closed, and her face deadly white. When next she opened them, she was on the couch in her own room, her mother wringing her hands weakly in the background, and "Bruin," with a most unbruin-like expression in his dark eyes, bending over her.

"Am I killed?" was her very Hibernian query; then, blushing hotly, as she recovered sufficiently to meet the tender look turned upon her, "the mater always said that I would either shock you—or break my neck!"

"You have done neither," came quietly from him, and, as he assisted her to sit up, and then to stand, an exclamation of pain escaping her as her foot touched the ground, "but, I fear, you have sprained your ankle."

* * * * *

"You can get along all right now, Miss Sullivan," said Dr. Bindon a week later, putting into his voice all the gruffness at his command, "and it is fortunate that you were not more severely injured. I shall not need to visit you any more—after to-day."

Mollie flushed to the roots of her hair. He was Bruin to the end of the chapter. Evidently he was anxious to let her understand that it was only in his professional capacity that he visited her—now that her ankle was all right, she would see him no more.

Her thoughts flashed to his bill. Her

mother could ill afford the extra expense—never mind—she would slave a little more, and make up for her week's idleness—for it had been too pleasant to lie on the couch all day, either looking forward to his visit, or dwelling upon it after it had been paid, for her to have thought of her work—yet the big shop in Bond Street was too much a source of income to be forgotten.

"I am glad of it—glad your visits are no longer necessary," she said, not letting her eyes stray to his strong, grave face, so perilously near her own at this moment, "please let me have your bill."

"Certainly. You shall have it at once. I hope you will settle it promptly."

Mollie bounded from her seat in indignation, forgetting the tender condition of her ankle, but the next minute her slim form was caught, held, and rigidly imprisoned.

"Yes, I have a claim upon you, Molly," he whispered, his dark eyes eloquent with feeling, "the claim of a lover who needs you. But—what must you have thought of me—thought of my roughness—my churlishness? But they were only a cloak to hide what I felt. Mollie, I have been the victim of a big mistake."

Mollie had kept quite still, in the surprise, and—some other emotion—of her imprisonment. Now, she raised her head from his coat, and looked up at him, shyness contending with love.

"I—I don't understand—a victim of a mistake?"

"Yes, sweetheart—for something tells me you are not going to pay me off in my own

coin, though you did threaten to settle my bill. Who do you think I took you to be—your cousin. Miss Sullivan, the heiress."

Mollie gasped in amazement.

"You thought I was Maggie—good gracious, how absurd. Fancy my being an heiress! By the way, Maggie was married yesterday."

"I know—that's how it came about that that mistake was discovered. A man I know wrote to warn me against you, telling me you were masquerading here in the disguise of poverty, to prove you could win hearts rich or poor, but was misled by a false rumour. That explains, however, my bearlike conduct—I was simply steeling my poor heart against you, darling."

"You seemed to have succeeded very well," came from Mollie, somewhat incoherently from his shoulder, "but, I hope, you won't do it again."

He laughed, his strong arms closely encircling her.

"I can't think how my acting deceived you, sweetheart, for I loved you the first time we met. Do you remember? It was on the stairs. And now that I think of it," holding her from him with an amused gleam in his eyes, "you threw yourself at me that day!"

"And you were shocked—the matter was right. Oh, dear," sighing, "how I used to wonder what 'J' stood for. Now I know it stands for—for—"

"For what?" asked Jack, his lips close to hers.

"It stands for all I shall ever care for—that's what there is 'in a name.'"

THE COLOUR OF LONDON SEEN BY A JAPANESE POET

I WENT to the British Museum soon after my arrival in London to see if there was still, as ten years ago, a feather-made war-coat worn by Taiko Hideyoshi (A.D. 1598), a Napoleon in Japanese history, exhibited in a case of the Asiatic Salon. Yes, there it was in its old place as one decade ago; I wonder how many people would know that it is the real coat which our Japanese greatest hero once wore in a battle-field, perhaps on horse-

back in his Korean campaign. Again, I wonder if great Taiko ever dreamed that his coat would be exhibited in the long future in far away London. Oh, your rest be eternal, you Egyptian mummies! When I descended the staircase to the ground-floor, I was again facing the wonderful Elgin Marbles, my mind carried to the Parthenon at Athens and the thought of great Phidias. I entered the reading room to recall to my mind what Thackeray

once said: "I own to have said my grace at the table, and to have thanked heaven for this my English birthright, freely to partake of these beautiful books, and to speak the truth I find there." Presently I climbed the steps in the company of Giles of the Chinese department to appear at the place where the great names of English literature are written on the window panels, and to look down from the dome over the tables of the Reading Room; oh, what a remarkable sight it was to see many hundred little pools of light on the tables, reflected by the electric lamps with shades. Look far above, and feel the immensity of the mighty domes. And this greatest chamber of the world is filled with such a silence as we may only find underneath the oceans a thousand fathoms deep. My senses were almost frightened by the solemnity and awe-inspiring wonder of beauty. If I am asked what was the greatest impression London made upon me, I shall never hesitate to bring out the evening view of the Reading Room in winter as seen from the dome.

And if you want another great view that London might offer you, I will point out the Quadrants of Regent Street, and beg you to see them from the side of Picadilly Circus. The sight is certainly one of the grandest of all Europe.

After leaving my friend of Bayswater, with whom I stayed almost till midnight, I was alone waiting for the train at Lancaster Gate Station; I cannot forget I felt the most strange, almost threatening silence such as I had never before experienced in my whole life, the silence invented by mechanical power and organization; the thought of it frightened me. I recalled my childish imagination of the lone silent road to Hell; oh, if the communication with the outside were to be suddenly cut off! Here is a most thrilling subject for modern poets upon which to make their imagination fully play; did any one of them, I wondered, ever sing about the London tube? And I saw another awe-inspiring sight one morning when I came out from Monument Station and stepped towards Bishopsgate; the buildings looked almost overreaching their own shoulders from both sides of the street, and the dense fogs made the hurrying people in astonishing numbers appear a terrible mass of evil spirits in discontent, hungry for the unapproachable objects.

I was awestruck by another such beautifully unreal sight in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and felt then as if I were an eddy or backwater being here, with all the self-satisfaction of detachment, wilfully strayed away from the main stream of strenuous life. (What an activity in Holborn Circus only a few hundred yards away!) The leafless trees of the garden were mystically blossomed, let me say, with the light purple fog-blossoms; the sight so airy like a waft of odour, quivering like a gossamer at rest for a moment, made me think of Horai or the Japanese island of Vision of the Intangible, where the dream will be deepened under the strange shadows, the memory hung like a ghostly web swinging in far-away song. What a charm these little squares like the Lincoln's Inn Fields and Onslow Square, with such humanized trees and with the atmosphere almost private, give to the London streets where we temporary visitors may feel, through the charm of the squares, as if we were given a special privilege to see the places innermost and hidden. But how long, I wonder, will this modernizing, even fast Americanizing London be able to keep the beautiful compactness of the Temple undisturbed, with the old gray-hued quadrangles, a shady nook by a little fountain in the lawn, with a flavour of a university town mingled with thoughts of the Crusading Times and the literary history of the eighteenth century. Oliver Goldsmith, a poor vain Irishman, often a prey of blunt old Johnson's cynicism, really looked uncomfortable in the august company of Westminster Abbey; but he would be certainly glad to sleep alone in the quiet yard of the Temple. (Or at least I would.) Charles Lamb writes:

"What a cheerful, liberal look hath that portion of it which, from three sides, overlooks the greater garden—that goodly pile of buildings strong, albeit of Paper height, confronting, with massy contrast, the lighter, older, more fantastically shrouded one, named of Harcourt, with the cheerful Crown Office Row (place of my kindly engendure) right opposite the stately stream which washes the garden-foot with her yet scarcely trade-polluted water... a man would give something to have been born in such places."

I agree with Lamb that the Temple is a unique spot in London. I wished, while walking through the Temple alone one morning, to come here again some moonlight night, and feel to my soul's content the silence toned down by the beauty of the moon; Arthur Symonds has writtendown

the sensation I wished to feel here as follows :

"The gardens to the weeping moon
Sigh back the breath of tears.
O the refrain of years on years
Neath the weeping moon."

Oh, English bells of the Sabbath day flowing through the slumbrous streets, I had been almost forgetting how you resounded. Many thanks for the silvery peal from St. Martin-in-the-Fields, although I had heard much about the present Frenchified Sunday of London (while Paris, on the other hand, was said to be assuming the silence of the old English Sabbath) I was glad to observe that it was the same old English Sunday with all the deep and mellow quietism wherein people wished to bury their own weariness. St. Martin-in-the-Fields was so dear in my memory since the fact that beautiful Nell Gwynne was buried there first called my attention to it ten years ago, besides, I thought it the most beautiful building structurally in all London. St. Paul's Cathedral with colossal dignity stands in a small space which denies her to stretch her own body fully ; and Westminster Abbey in spite of her wealth and grandeur is after all a sort of provincialism. But look at the distinguished simplicity of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields ; oh, if the Grecian portico were not disfigured by the awkward steps. I remember well how I was struck, one winter day, of ten years ago when I was walking up the quite haughty Whitehall, by her almost feminine softness in gray colour through the fogs ; and the patches of uncertain whiteness beautifully gave the building a certain atmosphere of joyful lightness.

Supposing I have left the hotel when the most musical chime of St. Martin-in-the-Fields suddenly stopped : how unlike the sky of yesterday, the high sky would seem wearing the blue Sabbath clothes, and the streets with few passersby are two times more wide. Even the motor buses were afraid to make their usual noises. I am walking, supposing by Piccadilly toward Hyde Park Corner in my flowing Japanese *kimono* which attracts people's curiosity ; but they would only look at me, for one second, and that is all they would do, I believe, when they would think that they had enough of their own affairs to think of. I am to observe that this is the highly polished country where any personal

love or eccentricity in dress or speech or what not is freely allowed. Although I do not know exactly what Heine meant by saying that the Frenchman loved liberty as his bride, and the German as if she were his old grandmother, I agree with him that the Englishman loves liberty as his lawful wife. That would be the reason why he hardly gives liberty any particular meaning or emphasis ; he thinks about it as a matter of course.

And again supposing you stand by Westminster Bridge or any other bridge on Sunday. The spotlessly clean Thames (how could you think it is the same stream that you saw yesterday by Blackfriar's Bridge) with the frequent boats or barges not in a particular hurry ; I am sure you will recall as I do at such a time, Wordsworth's lines :

"O glide, fair stream, for ever so,
Thy quiet soul on all bestowing,
Till all our minds forever flow
As thy deep waters now are flowing."

But I will advise you to choose some morning, dark and foggy enough, if you go to the Abbey, so that the Poets' Corner will not look so hopelessly provincial, with the busts surrounded by angels or naked babies : I know that it might be an antique shop affair seen through the sharp clear sunlight. I was a bit discouraged, however, on approaching the Abbey from the North side, to be accosted by a picture card seller who pushed out to me first a picture of Longfellow ; I feared he might have taken me for one of the visitors from America. I stepped into the Abbey by the Statesmen's aisle with a sense of half reverence, half sarcasm ; when I stood before the handsome bust of Tennyson, I was pleasingly growing to feel as if a thousand miles away from this London and a thousand years away from to-day ; I even felt as if I were also a spirit who was buried here, and being taken by a whim, was walking lazily through the shadowful passages among the graves. Tennyson was handsome, but to believe Emerson, no dandy, having an air of general superiority born out of plain strength and culture ; I thought that the sculptor hardly did him justice, since the bust impressed me as something related to a wedding cake's superficiality. The most satisfactory place was where Chaucer, the poet of the dawn as Longfellow wrote, from whose page odours of ploughed field or flowery mead

arise, was sleeping; the plain stone table took my fancy. I sat for awhile before Chaucer; and wondered what would happen if all those poets and writers, great, immortal, might raise their heads and begin to speak all at once. Was that a cough I heard? I looked round. My eyes met Samuel Johnson's; surely it was his good-natured cough that my imagination's ears caught. Before I left the place, I looked up to Goldsmith who died leaving an unpaid bill for his famous green coat, and thought about Carlyle's laugh and sigh by Goldsmith's grave in the Temple Church as he said, "Poor Oliver!" Indeed, poor Oliver Goldsmith!

Ten years ago when I was here in the Abbey, I was not tempted to go into the Chapels and Royal Tombs beyond the rails where a verger was selling entrance tickets; I wondered again if it were only a

six-pennyworth difference to be a king or plain common great person of Eng'and. I walked by the chair through the South Aisle into the Nave, where on a free chair I sat down, looking up to the structure, and exclaimed: "What a wonderful building,—whoever built it. Where's one, I like to know, whose mind will not become hushed here into noiseless reverence?" The dim light silently stole through the window glass, by whose invitation I will please to sing as I once sang:

"Along the path of the breeze,
Where love lone but happy sings and roams,
I gather the petals of thought,
Nursed by the slumber of peace.

Truth, like the moon of day and night,
Ever perfect, all silent and gold,
Shed thy light over sorrow and cheer,
Make me regain my rest and song."

YONE NOGUCHI.

REGAL SUCCESSION IN ANCIENT INDIA¹

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M. A., B.L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

IV.

THE NORMAL MODE OF DISPOSITION.

THE selection of the eldest son as successor to the kingdom appears to have been the normal mode of disposition in ancient times. A review of the lists of kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties as given in the epics and Purānas shows that the eldest son as a rule succeeded his father as heir to the kingdom, and deviations are noticed in cases in which the eldest son became civilly dead or legally incapable through physical defects. Among the six sons of Nahusha of the Lunar Race, the second named Yayāti succeeded to the kingdom in place of the eldest Yati who had turned an ascetic². Pāndu became king because his elder brother Dhritarāshtra was blind when the succession opened.

RAMA'S CASE; NO DEVIATION FROM THE NORMAL RULE. INSTANCES OF PEOPLE'S OPPOSITION TO DEVIATIONS.

In Rāma's case, the normal rule had almost been carried into effect when Dasaratha proposed to have Rāma formally declared as his successor in the presence of the priests, nobles, and the people, who cheerfully assented to the proposal. The installation of Bharata as crown-prince to the exclusion of Rāma, the eldest brother, at Kaikeyi's interference is an exception to the normal rule. This deviation was only possible for the reason that Rāma himself, the subject of the exclusion, instead of making any protest like Lakshmana voluntarily gave up his right. Otherwise, the citizens would have risen in revolt against the commission of an act not sanctioned by practice. There had been such an outburst of active opposition when Yayāti, a king of the lunar race declared his intention to make Puru, his youngest son, heir in succession of the eldest Yadu. The citizens in a body headed by the priests came to the king and protested against his action, "A younger

¹ For Prof. Hopkins' writings on the subject, see "J. A. O. S.," xiii, pp. 139-144, and for Pandi Jagannātha Tarkapanchanan's, see Colebrooke's *Digest*, vol. I, pp. 414-420 (reprinted separately in the *Asiatic Annual Register* vol. II (1800), pp. 345 ff.).

² "Harivamsa" ch. 30, slks. 1-3.

son cannot overstep the elder ; this we make known to thee ; see that thou do thy duty." The king mollified them by saying, "A son who disobeys his father is looked upon by sages as no son at all. All my sons have slighted and disobeyed me, whereas Puru alone has carried out my wishes. The sage Sukra also enjoined me to declare as heir the son who would obey me. Hence I entreat you to have Puru installed as heir." The people were convinced, and submitted saying that as Puru was obedient to him and Sukra had sanctioned the King's action, they had nothing to say. This shows that the king could not make an arbitrary disposition of his kingdom. The king's will was not law in this matter, and the people retired, not because of his will but because of his reasoning which convinced them¹.

The account of Devāpi and Santanu in its epic form² may be cited to show the strength of the people's decision in its conflict with the will of the king to interfere with the established rules of succession. Pratipa, a Kuru king, had three sons Devāpi, Bālīka and Santanu. The eldest suffered from skin-disease (*tvagdosha*) but he was much beloved by all. The king desired to instal him as his heir-apparent and made all preparations therefor, but the people opposed. The priests, the seniors, the inhabitants of the city and the country in a sudden uprising objected to have a leper as sovereign, and they succeeded in making good their objection without a word of displeasure on the part of the king. The youngest son therefore was installed as heir-apparent while the eldest soon retired into the woods, the second son having already left the realm.³

¹ "MBh.," 'Adiparva,' ch. 85, slks. 17-35; "Ulyoga-parva," ch. 149 slks. 2-13; "Vishnu-purana," pt. 4, ch. 10; "Vayu-purana," ch. 93, slks. 74-87; "Harivamsa," ch. 30.

² "MBh.," 'Udyoga-parva,' ch. 149, slks. 14-29.

³ The second son Bālīka had already left the realm and gone to his maternal uncle who adopted him.

There are several accounts of Devāpi and Santanu. In the *Rig-Veda*, X, 98, 11, the brotherhood of the two persons does not appear. The *Nirukta* account (II, 10) relates that Santanu got himself anointed, whereupon a drought ensued. This was attributed by the Brāhmanas to his having superseded his elder brother. Santanu therefore offered the kingdom to Devāpi who declined it but acting as domestic priest obtained rain for him. The epic and later

VASISHTHA'S SPEECH.

Vasishtha's speech to Rāma in the *Rāmāyana* corroborates the above mode of disposition of the kingdom. "Among all the descendants of Ikshvāku, the first-born becomes king; you are the first-born, O Rāma, and should be consecrated to the kingdom. A younger brother should not be installed as king to the exclusion of an elder. You should not reject this prescriptive law followed by your family."¹

Even if this speech be taken as pointing to a practice confined to the Ikshvāku dynasty, and not general in its application, it cannot but be admitted that this practice has been followed by the dynasty for no less than fifty five generations.

MANTHARĀ'S NOTION OF SUCCESSION.

Mantharā's words addressed to Kaikeyī regarding Rāma's consecration agree with Vasishtha's speech. "Rāma will be king and his son after son. Kaikeyī ! Bharat will be excluded from the royal race. All the sons of a king do not remain in the kingdom. If they are made to do so, it leads to a very great harm. Therefore, kings commit the affairs of government to their eldest sons, or to others qualified (i.e., according to the commentary, the competent younger sons, if the eldest son be incompetent²)." Among the sons, the senior-most, it appears, is chosen as heir by his father the reigning sovereign, for according to Mantharā's assertion, all the sons together cannot get the kingdom without giving rise to a very great harm. In support of her statement that harm ensues if all the sons remain in the kingdom, she points out that "Rāma, after his installation as king, will either banish Bharata or kill him³."

KAIKEYI'S STATEMENT.

Kaikeyī's statement that "Bharata also will surely receive the hereditary kingdom

accounts give two divergent stories. According to one, Devāpi was passed over for his leprosy, while according to the other, for his asceticism in youth. *V. I.* I, 378, also *J. A. O. S.*, vol. xiii (Hopkins), p. 140 f. n. I quote here only one reference to Devāpi's exclusion through asceticism, viz., *Bhāgavata*, skanda 9, ch. 22, slks. 12, 13. Though there are differences in the accounts, their bearing, if at all, is on the one or the other rule of succession.

¹ 'Ayodhya-kāṇḍa', ch. 110, slks. 35-37.

² 'Ayodhya-kāṇḍa', ch. 8, slks. 22-24.

³ *Ibid.*, slk. 27.

from Rāma after the lapse of a hundred years" does not appear to point to any regular succession of the brothers to the kingdom every hundred years by rotation, but to Kaikeyī's confident expectation born of her good opinion of Rāma's nature that ruling as he will do the kingdom with paternal benignity towards his younger brothers, he cannot but instal Bharata as his heir, be it at the end of even a hundred years.¹ The ruling of a kingdom by brothers in rotation has, so far as we see, nowhere been recorded as having taken place in the dominions of the solar and lunar kings in ancient times; and there is no reason to suppose that Kaikeyī is pointing to an actual mode of succession instead of a mere sanguine expectation.

PANDIT TARKAPANCHANAN'S INFERENCES.

Pandit Jagannātha Tarkapanchānan draws out some rules of succession inferentially from the royal succession in the *Rāmāyana*, and from the silence of Misra and other legal authorities on the point. Dasaratha, he argues, declared to commit his kingdom to Rāma, in the presence of Vasishttha and many other sages as well as the citizens at large, which, according to him, shows that he had the power to give away the whole of his kingdom to the eldest son to the exclusion of his other virtuous sons. But, afterwards, excluding Rāma and the rest, he gave away the entire kingdom to Bharata as a boon to Kaikeyī. This also, according to him, points to the king's power of giving away his kingdom to a younger son in supersession of the eldest without any offence on the part of the latter. Such a disposition of the kingdom by a king according to his own sweet will is held by him to have the tacit sanction of judicial authorities like Misra and others; for the gift of a kingdom is not included by them in their lists of invalid gifts.

He puts forward one other argument in support of the king's power of disposition of his kingdom not only to one of his sons but also to others mentioned below. He starts with the proposition that a father has absolute power to give away even the person of his son, from which he draws the inference

1 'Ayodhyā-kānda,' ch. 8, ślk. 16 and Rāmanuja's commentary thereon. Pandit Jagannātha Tarkapanchānan's remarks at p. 417 of Colebrooke's *Digest* vol. I are obscure. It is difficult to find out what inferences he draws from the meaning of the passage.

that it is not proper to assert that the father cannot, without the assent of the excluded son (or sons), give away immoveable property not yet owned by him (or them). The inference is pushed to its farthest logical limits. The king, he argues, can in exercise of his aforesaid absolute power, give away the kingdom to his daughter's son, or other remote heir, or even to a stranger, to the exclusion of his sons though devoid of offence, there being no special prohibition, nor usage to the contrary. But no father, he adds, who distinguishes right from wrong would be so disposed.

In all these cases of exclusion of virtuous sons, the king their father is bound to make provision for their subsistence¹.

In the last three cases of disposition by a subordinate king of his kingdom, viz., to daughter's son, remote heir, or stranger, he paramount sovereign has, according to Pandit Jagannātha, the right to interfere. He can, of his own accord, set aside the dispositions, and give the whole kingdom to one of the sons of the subordinate king without meaning any injury to the rest; for a paramount sovereign is equal to a father. But if the paramount sovereign be asked by the excluded sons to do them justice and he sets aside the disposition, but, without choosing a particular son as king, leaves the matter to be disposed of according to law, then in the opinion of the aforesaid author of the *Digest*, it does not appear consistent with the reason of the law that one of the sons should take the whole kingdom without the assent of the rest.²

CRITICISM OF PANDIT TARKAPANCHANAN'S INFERENCES.

The above position of Pandit Tarkapanchānan does not appear to be sound law for the following reasons:

(1) From³ the constitutional point of

1 For details regarding "subsistence," see the subsequent portion of this chapter.

2 The paragraph, which I have made out as above, is extremely obscure. Its context alone helps to some extent to clear up its meaning.

3 To understand the legal significance of the chapters bearing on this subject, we should not study the passages apart from their relation to the general trend of the whole argument and apart from the context and the special circumstances in which the passages occur. The conversation between Rāma and Lakshmana is a better index to the main points

view, the promise of Dasaratha to Kaikeyi regarding kingship is itself invalid. That promise cannot over-ride the constitutional law of succession. It is purely a private domestic matter, which can have no influence on such an important public matter as the succession to the throne.

Pandit Tarkapanchānan supposes that Kaikeyi secured the succession of Bharata in supersession of the legal heir-apparent Rāma on the strength of the promise of which she took an undue advantage, and the legal inference he draws from this is that the king has constitutionally the power to give effect to his mere wishes, whims or promises regarding the succession in contravention of the normal constitutional practice. Was Bharata's succession really brought about by the promise of Dasaratha to Kaikeyi? I hold that it was not so. If we consider all the circumstances in that truly complex situation from the strict legal stand-point, we shall find this incontrovertible, fundamental fact standing out clear and definite from the maze of confounding events viz, that it was Rāma's willing and cheerful resignation of his right to the crown-princship that really paved the way for another. For that crown-princship Rāma alone was pre-eminently eligible by both nature and custom; and unless the legal incumbent, of his own accord, gives up the right, the way is barred for anybody else. What led Rāma to this voluntary self-sacrifice is another matter, which belongs to the domain of morality and religion, and has no constitutional significance whatever. The whole epic, indeed, is based on this supreme act of self-sacrifice on the part of Rāma—a self-sacrifice which was not forced upon him by the mandate of an autocratic sovereign, but was the spontaneous outcome of Rāma's unfettered, individual decision which placed some things higher than an earthly kingdom. The credit of this self-sacrifice belongs wholly and exclusively to Rāma—

at issue than the conversation of Rāma with his mothers. To his mothers, Rāma merely speaks words of obedience and consolation governed by his sacred relationship to them. To Lakshmana, he applies arguments which may satisfy a logical mind that is fully alive to legal rights, which the latter is ever prepared to assert by force of arms. In the light of what has been explained above are to be interpreted passages like these, which may otherwise be misleading:—'Ayodhyā-kānda', ch. 20, slk. 30. *Ibid.*, ch. 21, slk. 30.

chandra the hero of the epic who took upon himself the load of untold suffering to save his father from the sin of violating his "plighted troth." This lends its charm and ethical value to the epic, of which it is indeed the starting point. To ignore this is to forget the very basis on which the epic rests and is to utterly misunderstand the character of the hero.

To sum up : Dasaratha was legally incompetent to make or keep any promise in respect of succession. When Kaikeyi extorted Dasaratha's sanction to Bharata's succession, Rāmachandra was the only person who could secure its observance, and he cheerfully sacrificed himself to prevent his father's fall from truth. To regard him as the victim of Dasaratha's absolute power both as father and sovereign as the learned Pandit supposes and bases his conclusions thereupon, is, I repeat, to utterly misunderstand the epic, and lose sight of the real point of the law.

(2) The people at large as a constitutional factor have been altogether ignored.

(3) The legal authorities are silent on regal succession. They treat of the validity or otherwise of gifts of various sorts, but omit, as Pandit Tarkapāchānan mentions, to speak of "gift of a kingdom by a king". The instances of succession furnished by ancient Sanskrit literature do not, so far as I see, give us cases which can make up for their silence except only to a small extent. Nearly all of them illustrate the devolution of kingdom to the eldest or other sons of the retiring or deceased sovereign, and none to daughter's sons, other remote heirs, or strangers. The silence of legal authorities cannot be construed into a support of Pandit Tarkapanchānan's position, while the absence of recorded instances of such cases leaves us quite in the dark as to what the law was.

(4) The inference from the premise that father having "power to give away the person of his son" has also by implication power to give away immoveable property (even supposing that the kingdom is an immoveable property to which the son has a prospective right) without his consent may be sound logically but not legally; for law is often a negation of logic.

(5) The attribution of powers of disposal, in two different classes of cases, to the paramount sovereign who is said to stand *in loco parentis* is a very far-fetched extension.

of the previous inferences, in support of which again no law or example has been quoted.

PROF. HOPKINS' CONCLUSION.

The position as it now stands agrees with the conclusion drawn by Prof. Hopkins : " If there are two (or more) sound sons, the king had no allowed right to select other than the eldest as heir, and if he exceeded his right in this regard, the people openly and threateningly called him to account for his departure."

As to the order of succession, therefore, no work, so far as I see, throws any light on any other than the very first group of heirs, viz., the king's sons.

LEGAL DISABILITIES TO SUCCESSION.

As regards legal incapacity arising from physical defects, we meet with examples of blindness and leprosy operating as grounds for exclusion from the throne. The case of Dhritarāshtra is an instance of the former disability¹ and Devāpi of the latter.

CRITICISM OF PROF. HOPKINS' OPINION
REGARDING LEGAL DISABILITIES.

Prof. Hopkins holds that these physical defects were not felt to be an infrangible legal bar, drawing this inference, I suppose, from the following facts regarding Dhritarāshtra, and Dyumatsena (father of the well-known Satyawāna husband of Sāvitrī²): Dhritarāshtra after his brother Pāndu's death wielded political power virtually as a king for some time, and Yudhishtira was consecrated to *Yauvarājya* (crown-princship) a year after his father Pāndu's decease.³ This consecration to crown-princship is an anomaly and appears to have been dictated by policy on the part of Dhritarāshtra and his sons. Yudhishtira ought to have been installed as a full-fledged king and not as a mere crown-prince or successor to a kingdom not yet to hand. Tender age of the heir of the deceased king is no bar to his coronation.

¹ 'Dhritarāshtrastva-chakshushtvad-rajyam na pratyapadyate' (i. e. Dhritarāshtra did not get the kingdom for his blindness) "Mbh.," 'Adiparva,' ch. 109, slk. 25.

² 'J. A. O. S.,' xiii, p. 144 ; also p. 143.

³ See "MBh.," 'Adiparva,' ch. 139. Prof. Hopkins regards it as an act of righteousness on Dhritarāshtra's part to have Yudhishtira installed as crown-prince. He does not seem to notice that by this the latter was given less than his due.

Janamejaya for instance was a mere child at his father's death and yet he was installed as king.¹ Yudhishtira's consecration to crown-princship does not relatively imply kingship in Dhritarāshtra. He was never formally coronated as such and whatever power he wielded as king of the whole ancestral kingdom was reserved to himself partly by force and cleverness, and partly by his relationship to Yudhishtira who out of respect was reluctant to oppose his uncle's will. The slow process in which the right law asserted itself and the seeming submission of the people for some time to Dhritarāshtra's yoke should not be construed into an acknowledgment that congenital blindness was not an infrangible legal disability. In disputes between princes and kings, there is no tribunal for administering a speedy justice ; and if the law remains in abeyance for a time, the abeyant state of things should not be mistaken as the lawful one. It is therefore incorrect to hold that Dhritarāshtra reigned as sovereign of the paternal kingdom in spite of his physical defect.

It is equally incorrect to draw the same conclusion from facts regarding Dyumatsena. He was king of the Sālva² kingdom, became blind in course of time, and was dethroned by an usurper. The minister after some time slew the usurper, upon which the people went to the forest-hermitage where the king had taken refuge to fetch him to his dominions, saying, "Blind or not, he will be our king." The account says that he had already been restored to sight, about which the people knew nothing.³ It was therefore actually a case of restoration to kingdom of a king without any physical defect. Even if the king had been blind at the time of his restoration it would not have constituted an illustration, sufficient to justify Prof. Hopkins' inference. It does not speak of either congenital blindness or even blindness prior to accession to the throne. The king appears to have reigned after he had turned blind and before he was dethroned. This only

¹ "Mbh.," 'Adiparva,' ch. 44, slks. 5-7.

² It was near Kurukshetra (see 'MBH.,' 'Vrāta-parva,' ch. 1) comprising portions of the territories of Jodhpur, Jaipur and Alwar. (Mr. N. L. Dey's 'Geographical Dictionary,' 2nd ed. in the press).

³ 'MBH.,' 'Vana-parva,' ch. 293, slks. 7-9, ch. 298, slks 3-9.

shows that a physical defect of the kind arising subsequently to the opening of succession cannot deprive a king of the kingdom already vested in him.¹

PROVISIONS FOR EXCLUDED PRINCES.

We now turn to the question of the sons who though virtuous are excluded from the throne to make room for the eldest. It has been already stated that the king their father is bound to make provision for their subsistence. This subsistence does not mean "barely enough to support life," for a man may support life on leaves, roots and the like; nor does it mean an "appanage that would enable him to live like the brother upon whom has devolved the kingdom." The subsistence should therefore mean enough for a decent living.²

Though this is the general rule, we find some provision made for the excluded princes. The descriptions in the *Purānas* relating to the devolutions of kingdoms are generally silent as to such provisions mentioning the name of the crown-prince as such and either only stating barely those of the other princes or giving their total number without reference even to their names. We have to gather our information therefore from the occasional cases in which the descriptions either in the *Purānas* or other Sanskrit works are more detailed.

The kind of provision most considerate towards the excluded princes is found in the case of dispositions in favour of Rāma's sons and nephews. The two sons of Bharata were installed kings of Takshasilā and Pushkalāvata in Gāndhāra conquered by Bharata,³ the two sons of Satrugna kings of Madhurā, and Vaidisa, the former having been sub-

jugated by Satrugna¹, while the two sons of Lakshmana kings of two cities in Kārupatha newly subdued by Bharata and Lakshmana². In the case of Rāma's two sons Kusa and Lava, the former the first-born obtained Southern Kosala comprising Ayodhyā, while Lava Northern Kosala with its chief town at Srāvastī³. From this it appears that Rāma's nephews were given regions that were accretions to the paternal kingdom. Only as regards Vaidisa, we do not find when it was subdued, but all the other places were newly conquered. Rāma's nephews therefore obtained regions not as mere estates from which to draw their appanages but as kingdoms of which they were consecrated kings; but these regions were not part of the ancestral kingdom. In regard to Rāma's sons, the younger was given a portion of the hereditary kingdom while the elder the remainder. The portion of the elder was of course the more important, being superior in extent and riches, and containing the metropolis of the former empire. The most striking feature of this provision is the division of the ancestral kingdom. Kusa does not obtain the ancestral kingdom *in toto* but has to part with a portion, of which his brother is installed the king⁴.

A second kind of provision is met with in some accounts of Yayāti's sons. It has been already explained how the youngest of them Puru succeeded his father to the exclusion of his elder brothers. To these excluded princes were allotted portions of the empire, where they ruled, but under the control of Puru. It is not clear whether they were placed there as viceroys of Puru, or as tributary princes⁵. Some of the accounts are

1 'Rāma., Uttarakānda,' ch. 108, slks. 9-11; re, the conquest of Madhurā by Satrugna see *Ibid.*, ch. 69, slks. 36 ff and ch. 70.

2 'Rāma., Uttarakānda,' ch. 102; for conquest of Kārupatha by Bharata and Lakshmana, see *Ibid.*, (whole ch.).

3 'Rāma., Uttarakānda,' ch. 107, slk. 17.

4 This kind of provision appears to have been made for the sons of king Ikṣvāku ('MBh., Asvamedha-Parva,' ch. 4, slks 3,4), as also for those of king Uparicara ('*Ibid.* Adi-parva,' ch. 63, slks 29-32).

5 The 'Bhāgavata-Purāna (skanda' 9, ch. 19, slks. 21-23) mentions the following allotments, viz., south (i.e. of the empire) to Jadu, west to Turvasu, southwest to Druhyu, and north to Anu. 'Puru was installed emperor of the 'whole world' and the elder brothers were placed under his control.'

1 Kings Kalmāshapada and Kalasa were not deprived of their vested kingdoms on account of disabilities. (See 'MBh.', ch. 179 for Kalmāshapada, and 'Skanda-Purāna, Nagara-Khanda,' ch. 49 for Kalasa.). Vena was attacked with leprosy, for which he was not also deprived of his vested kingdom. (See Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India,' p. 336 referring to the 'Vishnu-Purāna.' The 'Skanda-Purāna, Nagara-Khanda,' ch. 83 alludes to the disease, and, unlike the above account, describes it as having proved fatal to Vena.)

2 See Cole's 'Digest,' vol. I, pp. 419, 420.

3 'Rāma., Uttarakānda,' ch. 101, slk. 11; re, the conquest of Gāndhāra by Bharata see *Ibid.*, slks. 4-11.

silent as to the superior control of Puru over his brothers, from which we may hold that the elder brothers were independent of the youngest. If this was the case, it was the same as that in regard to Rāma's sons and nephews. Had it been otherwise, i.e. Puru holding the superior control, we can differentiate it as a second kind of provision for the excluded princes.

A third kind of provision is one in which no portion of the kingdom is given to the princes as appanage. They live jointly with their royal brother, the state bearing all their expenses. We notice this in the case of the five Pāndavas.

TERMS OF KINGSHIP.

Kingship held for a certain term appears to have been the practice in a few countries in early times. There were octennial, triennial, annual, and even diurnal tenures, at the end of which the monarch was either deposed, put to death, or passed through some substituted ceremony. The reign of the ancient Spartan kings appears to have been limited to eight years, the term being perhaps determined by the octennial cycle of the early Greek calendars, which attempted to reconcile solar and lunar time¹. The same seems to have been the term of regal office of the king of Cnossus in Crete. At the end of each period, the king had to renew his sacred powers by intercourse with the godhead at the oracular cave on Mount Ida, without which he forfeited his throne². A triennial tenure of kingship was in vogue among the chiefs of the Remon branch of the Ijebu tribe of Lagos in Southern Nigeria³. Traces exist of a custom of killing the kings of Hawaii at end of a year's reign⁴, while the Sacaea festival at Babylon perhaps points to a similar practice among the Babylonian kings⁵. The still more dreadful diurnal tenure of kingship

seems to have been the practice in a certain kingdom which still exists. In Ngoio, a province of the ancient kingdom of Congo in West Africa, the custom is that the person who is consecrated king should be put to death on the night after his coronation. The head of the Musurongo possesses the right of succession but does not exercise it, and the throne stands vacant¹. In cases like this, it may be naturally supposed that people would be reluctant to exchange their life for a short-lived glory on the throne, and the supply of kings would be very meagre, or nil. To maintain a regular supply, traces exist in legends of a custom of compelling men to accept the fatal sovereignty. In some races and at some periods of history, the fear of death was not so great as we suppose, and the recruitment of candidates for the fatal crown was at no time a difficult matter.

"NOMINAL" KINGS.

In many places, the rigour of the acceptance of the deadly crown was softened by the appointment of nominal kings during the substituted temporary abdications of the real kings who would otherwise have been put to death.² The nominal kings were sometimes relations of the royal family,—even the king's sons, and were in many instances put to death.³

KINGS KILLED WHEN OLD OR FEEBLE

Among many peoples, there were no fixed terms of kingship, and sovereigns were killed on approach of old age or failing health, e. g., to name only a few, among the people of Congo, Fazoql on the Blue Nile, Unyoro and other parts of Africa, the Ethiopians of Meroe, the Shilluks of the White Nile.⁴

INDIAN EXAMPLES: DUO-DECENNIAL TENURE OF REGAL OFFICE IN QUILACARE NEAR CAPE COMORIN

The tenure of regal office was fixed at twelve years in the province of Quilacare about twenty leagues to the north-east of Cape Comorin. There, an old traveller⁵ records that a great festival was held every twelve

The 'Vishnu-Purāna (Pt. 4, ch. 10. slks. 16-18) mentions in substance the same arrangement but is not so explicit. Some of the 'Purānas' refer only to the allotments to the sons without alluding to the superior control of Puru, e.g. 'Vāyu, ch. 93, 'Hari-vamsa,' ch. 30.

1 Dr. J. G. Frazer's 'Golden Bough,' 3rd ed., (henceforth indicated as 'G') pt. III, pp. 58-68.

2 'Ibid.,' pp. 70-71.

3 'Ibid.' pp. 112, 113.

4 'Ibid.,' pp. 117, 118.

5 'Ibid.,' pp. 113, 115,

1 'G.,' pt. III, pp. 118, 119.

2 'Ibid.,' pp. 134-147.

3 'Ibid.,' pp. 148-159.

4 'Ibid.,' pp. 160-195.

5 'G.,' pt. III, pp. 14-46.

6 'Ibid.,' pp. 46, 47 quoting Duarte B 'A Description of the Coasts of East Africa Malabar in the Beginning of the Sixteenth C (Hakluyt Society, London, 1866), pp. 172 ff.

years in honour of an idol. The kings of the province had no more than twelve years to reign, i.e., the intervals between the festivals. On the day of the Jubilee, there assembled innumerable people, and much money was spent in giving food to Brāhmanas. A wooden scaffolding was made, spread over with silken hangings. After bathing at a tank with ceremonies and music, the king came to the idol, prayed to it, mounted on to the scaffolding, took some very sharp knives, and began to cut off his nose, lips, ears, all his members, and as much flesh off himself as he could, until through loss of blood he began to faint, when he finished himself off by cutting his throat himself. During this sacrifice to the idol, the next candidate, who wished to reign during the ensuing twelve years and undertake similar martyrdom for love of the deity, had to be present. And they raised him up from his place as king.

DUO-DECENNIAL TENURE OF KINGSHIP
AT CALICUT.

The Zamorin (lit. god on earth) of Calicut on the Malabar coast had also to cut his throat in public at the end of a twelve years' reign. This practice was modified towards the end of the seventeenth century, according to Alexander Hamilton, who did not personally witness the festival but heard from a distance the sound of guns fired day and night in connection with the ceremony, of which he has left an account.¹

Mr. W. Logan with the help of the reigning sovereign of Calicut examined, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the records of these festivals as preserved in the royal archives. From his description, we can have an accurate conception of the modified practice that was in vogue up to 1743, when it took place for the last time.² It was known as *mahā-makha* (Great Sacrifice). It took place every twelfth year, when Jupiter was in retrograde motion in the sign of the Crab, and lasted twenty-eight days. The ceremony was observed with great pomp at the Tirunavayi temple on the north bank of

the Ponnai River. From its western gateway, a straight road ran for half a mile to a high ridge with a precipitous bank, on which were three or four terraces. On the topmost terrace, the king took his stand on the last day of the festival. The plain below swarmed with troops numbering about forty thousand, gathered there to defend the king. The road cutting across the plain from the temple to the king's stand was kept clear. It was barred by palisades on each side, and long spears, held by strong arms and projected through the palisade on either hand, met in the middle of the road, making a glittering arch of steel. When all was ready, the king waved his sword, and a large chain of massy gold enriched with bosses was placed on an elephant at his side. This served as a signal, and the very moment, a stir might be seen near the gate of the temple. A number of swordsmen decked with flowers and smeared with ashes stepped out of the crowd. They had just partaken of their last meal on earth, and were receiving the blessings and farewells of their friends. A moment later, they were coming down the lane of spears, winding, and writhing, and stabbing right and left at the spearmen. One after another, they fell, some nearer the king, some further off.

THE EXAMPLE FROM BENGAL CRITICISED.

The next example cited by Dr. Frazer is from Bengal under its Muhammadan rulers. Here, he has evidently been misled.¹ The

¹ 'G.', pt. III, p. 51. The example has been cited from H. M. Elliot's 'History of India as told by its own Historians,' vol. IV, pp. 260, 261 (extract from the 'Tuzak-i-Bābari'). The Tuzak says, "It is a singular custom in Bengal that there is little of hereditary descent in succession to the sovereignty.... Whoever kills the king, and succeeds in placing himself on the throne, is immediately acknowledged as king. All the āmir, wazirs, soldiers, and peasants instantly obey and submit to him The people of Bengal say, 'We are faithful to the throne; whoever fills the throne, we are obedient and true to him. As for instance, before the accession of Nusrat Shah's father, an Abyssinian (Muzaffar 'Shah Habshi'), having killed the reigning king, mounted the throne and governed the kingdom for some time. Sultan Alauddin killed the Abyssinian, ascended the throne, and was acknowledged as king. 'After Sultan Alauddin's death, the kingdom devolved by succession to his son,' who now reigned". John Dowson, the editor of Elliot's work, wrongly thinks it to have been the custom among the Muhammadan rulers of Bengal to succeed to the throne by killing the reigning sovereign and parallels it with the Malabar custom just now described. (S

¹ Alexander Hamilton, "A New Account of the East Indies" in Pinkerton's 'Voyages and Travels,' viii, p. 374. ('G.', pt. III, pp. 47, 48).

² W. Logan's 'Malabar' (Madras, 1887) I, 162-169. The writer describes in particular the ceremony of 1653 when fifty-five men perished in their attempt to kill the reigning sovereign in the manner described above. ('G.', pt. III, pp. 49-51).

extract from the *Tusak-i-Babari* upon which he bases his statement does not in fact refer at all to any ceremony like that at Calicut.

THE STORY OF VIKRAMADITYA. ITS AFFINITY WITH
THE CUSTOM OF FATAL KINGSHIP FOR A TERM
CRITICIZED.

The legend about king Vikramāditya of Ujjain, the ancient capital of Malwa, has it that once on a time, an arch-fiend with a number of devils at his command took up his abode in the city and began to devour the people. The city was fast losing its inhabitants. To stop it, the principal citizens requested the fiend to reduce his daily rations to one man only, who would be duly delivered up to him. The demon agreed but stipulated that the person so delivered should mount the throne and exercise royal powers for a day. The names of the citizens were entered on a list and every day one of them in his turn ruled from morning to night and was devoured by the fiend. Now, it happened that a caravan of merchants from Gujrat halted on the banks of a river not far from the city. They had a servant, who was no other than Vikramāditya. To be brief, the next day a potter's son was being carried in great pomp to the royal palace to rule for a day and die. Vikramāditya, on entering the city, saw the spectacle and proposed to accept the fatal sovereignty in his stead. The demon came to devour him as usual, and after a terrific combat, was compelled by Vikramāditya to quit the city, never to return. Thenceforth, Vikramāditya was accepted as sovereign by the people.¹

It is difficult to gauge the amount of truth round which the legend has grown up. According to Dr. Frazer, the persistence of bloody rites at Ujjain, of which he gives an account, raises a presumption that the tradi-

tion of the daily sacrifice of a king there is not purely mythical.² Reminiscences of defunct customs survive in a diluted form in legends. The present story, however, does not speak of any fatal periodical ceremony *attached to kingship by the custom of the country*. Its principal point is *the daily slaying of a man*, of whom kingship is but an accident, an office that is fixed upon him after his selection to meet death in his turn. The difference between this story and the accounts noted already is very great; indeed, so great that it makes the question of affinity between them a matter of doubt. If this difference be the effect of extreme dilution of the ancient custom, of which the legend is supposed to be a reflection, Dr. Frazer is right. If not, it is risky to base on it the inference drawn by him.

NOMINAL KING AT BILASPUR.

It seems to have been the custom at Bilāspur in the Central Provinces that after a Rājā's decease, a Brāhmana ate *khir* (a preparation of milk) out of the dead king's hand, and occupied the *gadi* for a year. At the end of the period, he was given presents and dismissed from the territory, apparently, never to return. The spirit of the dead rājā was believed to enter into the Brāhmana after he had eaten the *khir*, for he was carefully watched and not allowed to go away.³

A similar custom is believed to be in vogue in the hill states about Kangra in the Punjab.⁴

The custom of banishing the Brāhmana who represents the dead king at the beginning of the ensuing reign may, according to Dr. Frazer, be a substitute for putting him to death.⁵

THE IDEAS THAT PROBABLY UNDERLIE THE
INSTITUTIONS.

Primitive peoples sometimes believe that their safety and even that of the world are bound up with the life of the king, whom they regard as a human incarnation of the divinity. Naturally, they take the greatest

1 'Ibid.,' p. 124.

2 'G.,' pt. III, p. 154 quoting 'Punjab Notes and Queries,' i, p. 86, article 674 (May 1884).

3 'Ibid.,'

4 'Ibid.,' In Cambodia and Siam, the temporary king ruled for three days. For details of the institutions in these and other places, see 'G.,' pt. III, pp. 148-159.

Elliot. 'op. cit.,' p. 260 f. n.) This has evidently misled Dr. Frazer. The above instance from Bengal is no custom at all. It is but a disorderly state of royal succession. Any one who happened to have had power in hand, and managed to kill the ruler was obeyed by the State Officials and the people, because they had no other alternative. It would be observed also that Sultan Alaaddin was succeeded by his son in the normal way. Had there been a custom like that of Malabar, a ceremony for killing Sultan Alaaddin ought to have been held. In fact there was no such ceremony that we hear of, and it was never observed by any of the Muslim rulers of Bengal.

1 'G.,' pt. III, pp. 122, 123.

care for his life to prevent the enfeeblement of his powers and their final extinction in death. The only way to avert these, they believe, is to kill the man-god on the very appearance of symptoms of decay and replace him by a vigorous successor to whom the soul of the former king is transferred before it is seriously impaired or has departed for good. Natural death means to them voluntary departure of the soul from the body and its refusal to return, or more commonly, its extraction therefrom, or detention in its wanderings by a demon or a sorcerer. Even capture of the soul of the dying man-god and its transference to the successor would not serve their purpose, for it would be enfeebled by the weakness and exhaustion of the body it leaves and could but drag out a miserable existence in any new human frame supplied to it. Violent death of the king on the appearance of signs of decay was supposed to avert all these evils and preferred to a natural one. Some peoples appear to have thought it unsafe to wait for even the first symptom of decay and have adopted a fixed term short enough to ensure full vigour of life during its continuance. In some places, this belief has been carried to an extreme, giving rise to such institutions as diurnal destruction of the king¹.

¹ 'G.', pt. III, pp. 9, 10, 46.

The motives for regicide reproduced here are

WHETHER THE ANCIENT INDO-ARYANS HAD SUCH INSTITUTIONS?

Of the Indian examples cited above, two appear to belong to the Dravidian races of Southern India. The one regarding Vikramāditya cannot be safely relied on, while the other from Bengal is wide of the mark. The instances of nominal kingship of Billāspur and the hill-states about Kangra may imply preceding fatal kingships, of which they are relics; but from them it does not appear clearly whether they relate to Aryan or Non-Aryan races. The ideas that are supposed to underlie the institutions have about them an archaic stamp and may date back to a remote antiquity, though the times when their accounts were recorded are recent. We do not find traces of such institutions in early Sanskrit literature in connexion with the many cases of succession that are described at length. In one place in the *Rāmāyana* already noted, Kaikeyī in course of her conversation with her maid-servant, seems at first sight to speak of kingship termed for a hundred years; but it is capable of another interpretation which appears to be the right one in view of the fact that nowhere within the ancient Indo-Aryan political system do we meet with any such custom.

reproduced by Mr. Andrew Lang in his "Magic Religion" The one suggested by him, viz., old age as such does not, I think, explain all the cases.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

THERE are various causes that are arresting the progress of industries in the different provinces and opinions may be invited to point out those causes with special reference to local conditions. With this end in view, I restrict myself only to Bengal.

For the last decade the output of a large amount of energy has been noticed in various industries in Bengal, many of which failed to come to fruition, some are still struggling hard for existence, and just a handful have made some progress. Bengal has already lost and is still losing

many of her old industries, such as indigo, sugar, lac and silk. The causes of these failures should be found out without any loss of time. The various public Associations working for the good of the people can help the country substantially in this direction. They can gather and publish the most authentic information and statistics, and embody in their notes constructive criticism and suggestions regarding each and every concern in their Province. This step, besides exposing the defect in the lines of working of a concern, will also bring to the notice of the public the names

of such industries as are suitable or unsuitable to the climatic conditions of Bengal; and then a judicious selection will follow, thus minimising the chances of failure and disappointment.

CAPITAL.

It is notorious that capital in Bengal is very shy, and the table given hereafter also proves this. One of the most important results of the "Swadeshi" movement was the launching of many industrial enterprises in Bengal. But the failure of most of these has checked the flow of capital to no small extent. That insufficient capital contributes largely towards the higher cost of production in environments like those obtaining in Bengal where industrial organization is still in its infancy, is known to all students of economics. Without sufficient capital the most up-to-date machinery, which are expensive but at the same time productive of the best and cheapest goods, cannot be had, and thus failure to compete with foreign goods follows. I shall also show later on how the absence of division of labour in Bengal demands a greater outlay of capital. Measures have to be taken, however, to induce Bengal Capital to overcome its usual shyness and to come forward to help in the material progress and development of the resources of the country. But before suggesting any means, let us closely examine what the Government of Japan, whose example is quoted so often and to study whose methods and organizations two of our distinguished professors were sent to that country, did in this direction. Having fully realised that, left to themselves, it was impossible to expect from agriculture and manufacture any appreciable amount of success within a short space of time, the Government of Japan made up their mind to provide funds for agriculture and manufacture for a long term and at a cheap rate of interest. With this object, the Government established the Hypothec Bank of Japan, the Local Hypothec Banks and the Japan Industrial Bank. The Hypothec Bank of Japan is the central organization for the whole country and is thus conducted on a larger scale than the Local Hypothec Banks whose activities are restricted within certain localities.

HYPOTHEC BANK OF JAPAN.

The lines on which the business of this bank is transacted are as follows:—

"To make, on the security of immovable property, loans redeemable in annual instalments within the limit of period of not more than fifty years; to make loans on a similar security, redeemable at a fixed term of not more than five years, provided the total amount of such loans does not exceed one-tenth of the total amount of loans redeemable in annual instalments; (the amount of loans made on the security of any immovable property may not exceed two-thirds of the value thereof as appraised by the bank); to make loans without security to prefectures, districts, cities, towns and other public bodies organized by law; to take up the mortgage debentures of Local Hypothec Banks; to accept the custody of gold and silver bullions and negotiable instruments. The bank is authorized, when at least one-fourth of its nominal capital is paid up, to issue mortgage debentures up to an amount not exceeding ten times its paid up capital, provided the amount of such debentures does not exceed the total amount of outstanding loans redeemable in annual instalments and the debentures of Local Hypothec Banks in hand. These debentures shall be redeemed at least twice a year by means of drawings in proportion to the total amount of redemption of loans redeemable in annual instalments in the same year and the debentures of Local Hypothec Banks in hand. Besides for each issue of debentures premiums of various amount varying from ten to one thousand yen (one rupee nine annas approximately) are allotted to a certain number of the debentures determined by drawings."

This attracts smaller capitalists to subscribe for the debentures of local Hypothec Banks. The Government guarantee profit for ten years from the founding of the bank, to the amount of 5 per cent. on the paid up capital.

LOCAL HYPOTHEC BANKS.

These run almost on the same lines with slight modifications.

"They make loans redeemable within thirty years instead of fifty, and on security redeemable in a fixed term of five years, provided the total amount of such loans do not exceed one-fifth of the total amount of loans redeemable in annual instalments; (loans made on the security of any immovable property may not exceed two-thirds of the value thereof as appraised by the banks; they do not make loans to prefectures and districts; make loans without security, redeemable in a fixed term of not more than five years to more than twenty persons combined with joint liability, who are engaged in agriculture or industry and whose reliability is recognized. Besides, the banks may be entrusted with the receipt and disbursement of the public funds of prefectures. Each of these banks is authorized, when at least one-fourth of its capital is paid up, to issue mortgage debentures up to an amount not exceeding five times its paid up capital. Such debentures may not however exceed the total amount of outstanding loans redeemable in annual instalments. The debentures shall be redeemed at least twice a year by means of drawings, in proportion to the amount of the redemption of the

said loans. In accordance with the provisions of the Law for giving support to the Local Hypothec Banks, the Government gave over to the prefectures funds with which to subscribe to the shares of the respective Local Hypothec Bank."

INDUSTRIAL BANK.

As the Hypothec Banks were making loans mainly on real estates, the necessity for establishing a bank for making loans on negotiable bonds was very strongly felt. Therefore in 1900, the Law relating to the Japan Industrial Bank was promulgated, and the Bank opened in 1902. As the Hypothec Banks are intended to furnish long and cheap loans on the security of immovable property for agricultural and industrial enterprises, the Industrial Bank has for its special object to handle bonds and shares of various kinds.

"It may be regarded as a kind of credit *mobilier* while the former are credit *fonciers* with special forms and purposes. This bank makes loans on the pledge of public loan bonds, local loan bonds, companies' debentures and shares; subscribe or make up public loan bonds, local loan bonds and companies' debentures; accept deposits of money and custody of valuable objects; and transact various kinds of trust business with local bonds, companies' debentures and shares. In order to enable it to obtain necessary amount of capital for carrying out its objects, the bank is also endowed with the privilege of issuing debentures to an amount of five times its paid up capital, which, however, may not exceed the total amount of advances made by the bank, the local loan bonds and companies' debentures appropriated by it. Besides, for the first five years, the dividend of 5 per cent. against its paid up capital is guaranteed by the Government."

ATTRACTING PRIVATE CAPITAL.

Such financial aid went a great way to attract and draw out private capital in Japan, and, if tried by our Government, will also do inestimable good to our industrial enterprises. For this purpose, there should be organized, first of all, a State Industrial Department for each province the working of which will be exactly on the lines of the Education Department, with a Director, like the Director of Public Instruction, at the head, who must be a man of sound business calibre of a high order, possessing a still higher power of business organization. On satisfying himself, the Director should grant monthly aid to qualified and deserving manufacturing factories—big or small, when they happen to need such aid; and should have as much hand in the matter of selection of Directors and Experts in the aided concerns as the Education Department has on the

framing of executive Committee or on the appointment of teachers and professors in schools and colleges. It will be much better than the grant-in-aid system, to have some shares reserved in these concerns for the Government, as this will create a sort of active interest on the part of the Director of Industries. It should be conceded, however, that the amount of money paid by the Government towards purchasing shares (which should not exceed 20% of the total) may be allowed to be re-paid, when the other share-holders so desire, at any time within the fifteenth year, at the end of which period the Government must withdraw as a share-holder. The monthly aid should be also for a period of fifteen years and on a graduated decreasing scale—the maximum amount to be granted for the first five years, the second five years' allotment being smaller, and the last five years' grant being the least. With the withdrawal of the share-holdership or of the grant-in-aid, the interference of the Government in the internal management of a concern should cease. There is yet another way to finance a new manufacturing. It should be so arranged that if the scheme is satisfactorily well-planned so as to be approved of by the Director of Industries, then the Hypothec and the Industrial Banks should each lend a fourth and the Government a fifth (either payable subscription or loan) of the total amount necessary, provided the remaining 30% can be raised by the organisers themselves. Thus the usual shyness of our capital will be broken, and it will be tempted to come out more freely.

STATE PIONEERING.

Another way of attracting private capital is best illustrated by the way the Japanese Government followed. From 1872 they systematically endeavoured to widely introduce machinery in manufacturing industries, and there were established in the country many model workshops and manufactories. As a consequence many individuals were induced to introduce various kinds of machinery in the raw silk manufacturing industry. The Government, with a view to introduce labour-saving machines in the raw-silk manufacturing industry, founded a Model Filature; and many filatures were shortly established in all the important centres of the silk industry, after this model. In 1877

the State, for the improvement of the silk industry, set up a silk-spinning mill to utilize waste silk and waste cocoons. This encouraged many people, and many such mills were founded in the country. It was the Government again that set their hands first to the cement industry and established a cement factory. In 1875, they as a secondary work, began to make white bricks. It was also the State that founded a glass factory in 1876. In 1877 again the State established a woollen mill, and within ten years several private woollen mills sprang up. In 1881 when the attention of the Government was directed towards the establishment of cotton mills, they set up two model cotton mills.

In addition to all these the State established factories and workshops for the manufacture of paper, machines, soap, type-foundry, porcelain and dyes. About the year 1881, the Japanese Government brought out from England ten sets of spinning plants with 2000 spindles and handed them over to the people on condition that the cost should be paid off within ten years. Again in 1883, when a proposal for establishing a hemp spinning mill was made, the Government financed the company. From 1887 the Hokkaido Hemp Company received state aid for six years. In the meantime when many private factories began to make their appearance after the model of those started directly by the Government or of those started under their patronage, the Government found it useless to keep and work their own; and so they sold them out.

In this country also State pioneering on the above lines is expected to be highly beneficial to the expansion of industries. But it should be restricted mainly to new ones only for which there is enough raw material and sufficient demand in the country itself—industries that are sure to thrive, if worked along proper lines and under suitable conditions. It may, however, be extended to such old indigenous industries as silk, lac, etc., which can be revived by demonstrating better and improved methods of working. These Pioneer or Demonstration Factories may be closed or made over to private individuals, on favourable terms, when the object of founding them has been attained.

EXPERT KNOWLEDGE.

It is said that want of expert-know-

ledge has largely contributed towards business failures in Bengal. There is a hue and cry that our young industrialists are inexperienced and inexperienced. It is said that these men started and engaged themselves in many of the new enterprises in Bengal, an overwhelming majority of which collapsed. It is also said that a great bulk, about 88 per cent of these industrialists, were sent abroad by the Industrial and Scientific Association of Calcutta, to learn their respective industries. Thus the whole blame of business failures in Bengal is practically laid at the doors of the Association. Let us examine, in some detail, if there is any truth in such heresays. If the scholars of the Association, who are engaged in different industries in Bengal, are classified according to the nature of their employment, it will be found that of these men there are

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------|
| 1. Under Government employment about | 35 % |
| 2. In Joint Stock Company service | 30 „ |
| 3. Working with own Capital | 20 „ |
| 4. Under individual Capitalist | 15 „ |

Adequate pay, security of service, appreciation of work and varied scope for showing efficiency and capability are the reasons why Government service is so largely preferred by these men.

Except in Government service, the merit and capabilities of the expert are almost everywhere discouraged by unheard-of and unforeseen circumstances. In joint-stock companies he has to work under directors who have absolutely no idea of the business, yet who override him with their misleading and ill-directed advice and orders; and, to make matters worse, interfere with his work at every step. In Bengal, the directors of a company are mainly drawn from doctors and lawyers, gentlemen of independent professions, who only help to darken counsel by their unprofitable and yet unavoidable direction. A mere glance at the prospectus of a company in Bombay and that in Bengal will show the difference; and the difference in the result is but natural. This is one of the serious drawbacks for Bengal and should be checked at all cost. The employment of relations and favourites of the directors possessing not an iota of business capability is the most dangerous thing that is also at the bottom of failures of many joint-stock companies.

It is a fact well known that a great

majority of our experts are pecuniarily too poor to start any industry on their own account. Yet it is rather encouraging to notice that they have begun to feel and realise that it is far better and more honourable for them to do something, however small it may be, rather than to go a-begging to individual capitalists. It is indeed extremely encouraging to see that 20 per cent. of these men have started businesses of their own, while individual capitalists have engaged only 15 per cent. of them.

It has very often been found that some capitalists are unscrupulous to the extreme and are a very dangerous type of people to deal with. Several instances may be cited where such a capitalist, after having superficially picked up some part of the expert's work, had done away with the services of the latter, labouring under the misconception that he could very well do without the expert's advice, the secret of whose art he thought he had thoroughly mastered. Although some have well reaped the consequences of such treacherous and deceitful actions, either in the form of pecuniary loss or loss of reputation or prestige involved in the re-installment of the expert, yet, in other cases, the expert has been seen drifting in the world, only as a result of his not being himself unscrupulous and of having worked with full heart and zeal—never caring to keep the secret of his business from the knowledge of his employer. This unscrupulous conduct and unjustifiable action on the part of the capitalist has eventually brought about a spirit of discord and distrust between himself and the expert. The situation can be improved, however, without much difficulty if both the parties enter into an agreement to keep up their usual relationship for a certain number of years, to be fixed by the expert within which time the latter will have the entire responsibility of developing the industry into a remunerative concern; and if the capitalist pays the expert not the full amount of the pay he virtually deserves, but 70 per cent. of it plus 5 per cent. of the profits. Such an agreement will not fail to create an active interest on the part of the expert in making the business a success within as short a time as possible, and will greatly minimise the chances of distrust and misunderstanding between the parties.

All these will show why Government service and service under institutions of established reputation are sought for and why individual capital is regarded as prejudicial to our experts. They also go to show that the charge of inexperience laid at the doors of our industrialists is more imaginary than real. In fact, if our experts are worthless, as they are said and supposed to be, then why do the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, the Native States, well-known organized bodies like the Tata Iron and Steel Co., and the Salvation Army and especially the purely European concerns, such as Shaw Wallace Co., Favoy Wolfram Mines and the Richardson Printing Co., etc. etc., like and appreciate their work? The very fact that European Companies prefer, in certain cases, Indians to European experts, is a thing that should arrest and engage our serious consideration and our critics had better pause before passing any uncharitably sweeping remark. Our critics, who are destructive rather than constructive, always overlook the enormous difficulties that stand in the way of our experts.

As a constructive critic, however, I should not conceal the fact that a great bulk of the scholars sent abroad in the beginning by the Association, who has so long been trying to establish industries in Bengal, were injudiciously selected and were scattered broadcast in the industrial fields of foreign countries. These students, of course, with some honourable exceptions, had such a low standard of home-education that it was practically impossible for them to sufficiently profit by foreign education. It must be admitted, however, that as in the beginning no qualified student with academical distinction was forthcoming, the Association was rather helpless in the matter of selection of scholars. It is indeed gratifying to notice that now-a-days the standard has been raised and only the distinguished graduates of our universities can expect any help from the Association. Another deplorable thing was that before setting out to foreign countries, very few of these students had any idea of the industry they were going to take up, and thus instead of being able to solve, in foreign countries, the difficulties felt at home in their respective industries, they had necessarily to experiment upon the foreign difficulties in this country. My personal experience is

that if one goes out to a foreign country after learning all that there is in the country, he can, with advantage, gain both with respect to saving of time and money, in the long run. The Association should select only such students as have definitely formulated their ideas as to what industries they are going to take up, and before sending them out should also see what home experience these men have gained in those industries. If any student, after going to a foreign country, is found to have given up the industry and have taken up any other instead, the Association should altogether withdraw offering any further help to him. It must be understood, however, that they cannot get the first grounding in India in every conceivable industry. It is impossible to have home training in industries that are not already existing in the country, and in such cases we have to depend entirely on foreign training. Again, in foreign countries, their ideas of industrial education are confined mostly to the practical and scientific side to the negligence of the business and commercial. This is a drawback that has all along been standing most obstinately in the way of their success.

LABOUR.

The question of labour is a great problem not only for Bengal but for the whole of India. Our labour is inefficient and unproductive, and often not honest, and is expensive in the long run. The Hon'ble Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy, C.I.E., as President of the Industrial Conference held in Calcutta observed, "judged by its efficiency and productive capacity, Indian labour is really very dear." And everybody who is thoroughly acquainted with our labour will be quite at one with him. For instance, let us take the case of a Japanese and an Indian labourer working in a match factory. The former earns 40 sens or ten annas and the latter only six annas a day. From this, Indian labour may appear to be much cheaper. But let us see what amount of work they do in return for their wages. Whereas a Japanese labourer nicely packs up 2000 boxes of matches, our labourer can hardly do more than 225, working for the same length of time. Now, could anybody say that Indian labour is cheaper than the Japanese, only because the rate of daily wages is cheaper? Again our division of labour compares very un-

favourably with that of the other countries. In Japan there are separate factories to turn out a pencil. In each of the branch ones respectively (i) planks are made and (ii) cut into sizes of pencils, (iii) staining and varnishing are done and (iv) labels and packing boxes are manufactured. And in the main factory, the remaining part of the work such as (a) levigating clay and graphite, (b) inserting lead into prepared sticks and (c) lettering are chiefly done. In this country, on the other hand, all these widely different branches form integral parts of a single pencil factory. It might be remarked, by the way, that the total capital invested in our pencil factory is less than that invested in any of the branch factories in Japan. This will give us a fairly rough idea of the desirability and necessity of investing more capital in establishing a similar manufactory in India where outside assistance is altogether absent.

TARIFF.

I have so far restricted myself to some of the internal causes of business failures—I mean where the people have directly or indirectly some hand. I shall now dwell upon some of the most important external causes which can be substantially remedied only by the Government. The most important of these external influences are the policy of free-trade followed by the Government, and the consequent free foreign competition, and the absence of protective tariff.

FREE-TRADE AND FOREIGN COMPETITION.

In a country, the development of whose industrial resources has just begun, the effects of Free-Trade and free competition with goods of industrially well-developed foreign countries are severely detrimental; and we have suffered unspeakably from these causes. The only remedial measure that has been suggested by various authorities from time to time is the introduction of protective Tariff or the imposition of prohibitive import duty on such goods as can be very well manufactured in this country. It may be of some interest here to show how the Government of Japan, in order to encourage and hasten the industrial development of the country, protected their young industries from the clutches of the monster of Free Trade and foreign competition. In exercise of the powers of

the treaty of 1866, which Japan concluded with Great Britain, France, the United States of America and the Netherlands, she could impose a duty of 5 per cent. upon all imports from these countries. At this time the three ports of Nagasaki, Yokohama and Hakodate were open to foreign trade. But with the opening of the port of Kobe in 1867 and of Osaka and Niigata in 1868, there was a greater influx of foreign goods into the country, and the indigenous industries of Japan began to suffer great losses. This attracted the notice of the Government after a few years, who in 1899 revised the old Tariff and imposed a higher rate of duty. As revised now, all imported goods were divided into three grades, viz., non-dutiable, dutiable and prohibited. The rates of duty, varying from 5 per cent to 40 per cent *ad valorem*, were fixed mainly with an eye to the nature of the articles and whether these helped or retarded the industrial progress of the country. By non-dutiable goods were meant what the country was in need of, and, therefore, the rate of duty imposed on these was only nominal—from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. Natural produce, raw materials, machinery, scientific instrument and apparatus, semi-manufactured materials, articles of ordinary consumption and natural and artificial fertilizers came under this head. The dutiable goods were those that the country could do without, and on these—mainly finished goods and articles of luxury—a duty of 10 per cent to 20 per cent was imposed. Tobacco, alcohol, wine and liquor were closed as prohibited goods on which a duty of 20 per cent to 40 per cent was fixed. It may be said here that tobacco in all its forms, and wine and liquor are state monopolies in Japan. The rates of duty were, however, changed from time to time. Thus in the same year 1899 the rates of duty were increased to 100 per cent for tobacco, 250 per cent for alcohol, and for "Sake" wine, china liquor or other distilled liquor, from 80 per cent to 100 per cent. In 1901, the duty on tobacco was further raised to 50 per cent. It is this protection that has been the primary cause of the rapid development of the industrial resources of Japan, within such a wonderfully short period.

A great deal of help and encouragement, on the other hand, was offered by the people themselves towards the better-

ment and expansion of their own young industries. Extremely patriotic as they were, the people would not go in for better and cheaper articles of foreign origin, but would prefer buying inferior home-made ones even at a comparatively dear rate. The effect of this spirit of "Swadeshi" thoroughly supplemented the protective measures taken by the Government, and the foreign competitors were almost completely driven out from the market of Japan. In this country where the ideal of the governor and the governed are not always exactly identical, the necessity of the realisation and spread of this defensive spirit of "Swadeshi" amongst the people is far more imperative. The dreadful European war has brought home to us the necessity of making a departure from the hitherto followed principles of economy—the fallacy of free-trade and the effectiveness of boycott and Swadeshi. Now that the war has taught us to boycott many goods and articles of enemy origin even though we cannot manufacture them, it should be our first and foremost duty to instil into the hearts of our people the ardent spirit of "Honest Swadeshi" which goes a great way to defend the cause of our own industries. It is the duty of our educated public-spirited men, as patriotic citizens, to preach "Honest Swadeshi" and to help in the revival of our old industries as well as in the opening up and development of new ones. Under such a genuine spirit of Swadeshi will be rapidly and easily fostered the growth and expansion of our industries, old and new. It must be noted however, that notwithstanding this spirit of Swadeshi among the people, it is absolutely impossible for our industries to develop unless and until the Government also stretch out their protecting hands by introducing a preferential or protective tariff.

TRANSPORT.

The system of our railway and other internal transport is very defective and retards the distribution of the finished products to no small extent and is thus deserving of no less attention. It is said that articles turned out in our own manufacturing factories should be sold cheaper in the country than those coming from foreign lands which have to meet the cost of freight over thousands of miles. Those who hold to such opinion generally labour under a misconception. The internal

transport is so costly in our country that for sending some goods from Shillong to Peshawar or from one remote corner of India to any other, one has to pay not less than Rs. 45 per ton whereas he does not spend more than Rs. 20 only for importing the same from Berlin or Tokio. In fact, foreign transport is not only cheaper but is even quicker at times. As three of the big railways, viz., the Eastern Bengal State Railway, Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, and the North Western Railway, are under the direct management of the Government, and as a great majority of other railways are guaranteed, the Government can very easily and fairly grant concessions to the manufacturers of the country allowing them a cheaper rate of transport. Again, even when at a slightly lower rate than the minimum already fixed by the Government, the companies' amount of net profit stands considerably high, the former can, without doing any injustice, fix the minimum lower than the existing scale, at least for the manufacturers. It may be pointed out here that in Japan the goods' freight per mile is 38 per cent higher than the passenger freight, whereas in India it is as high as 88 per cent higher.

Railways have been opened in the country ostensibly with a view to facilitate the passenger traffic and to expedite the transport of food grains during famine times, but not primarily with a view to help the growth and expansion of industries. So, the system remains to be thoroughly reorganised and overhauled—new lines have to be constructed through tracts that can industrially profit by the extension. For instance, the Ghatal and Tumluk subdivisions of the Midnapur district, which are two important centres of the silk-cocoon, have got no railway and if a railway line could have been opened connecting Garbeta with Tumluk through Ghatal, probably the Guruley factory of Messrs. Louis Payen Company would not have been closed and the silk-industry of the district lost so soon. For the growth of the silk-industry three more extensions seem quite necessary, viz., a line from Ondal to Bankura, another from Rajmahal to Malda and a third connecting the three districts of Bogra, Rajshahi and Malda. Similarly, to facilitate the jute industry of Eastern Bengal, the opening of

another line from Tangi to Goalunda (Aricha) seems necessary.

MARKET PUSHING.

In market-pushing organized effort on the part of the manufacturers is imperative. Want of co-operation amongst the different members of the manufacturing communities and mostly the absence of close touch between the manufacturers and the distributors are to a great extent responsible for the decadence of our existing industries. Arrangement should be made, as soon as possible, to knit closer the band of union of these two sections. All the manufacturers of a particular commodity, who may be called small-producers, can combine themselves to be formed into a guild; and the guild will do well to send a travelling agent to the different places of consumption where he will not only push the sale of the commodity manufactured by the members of the guild, but can also help them by throwing out suggestions with special reference to the tastes and likings of the consumers of the localities through which he travels.

Another way of gaining this object will be best done by opening Commercial Museums and holding Industrial exhibitions. There should be a Commercial Museum in each provincial head-quarter and these provincial museums must co-operate with one another. The activity of the Calcutta Commercial Museum should be accelerated by turning it into a true representative house of all articles of commercial importance manufactured even in the remotest corners of rural Bengal. First of all in each subdivisional head-quarter there should be a small museum exhibiting all the produce, raw and manufactured, of the place. Exhibits should be collected from within the jurisdiction of every Police Station. To each Police Station, there should be allocated a block. The name of the officer collecting the specimen should be recorded along with the other necessary details. These subdivisional museums should be public institutions, but the Government must take the lead to organise them. From the important collections of sub-divisions, a District Museum should be opened, and from the important collections of District Museums, Divisional

Museums will spring up which will be in constant touch with the central Commercial Museum in Calcutta.

Whereas the museums will be fixed institutions, the Industrial Exhibitions will serve the purpose of circulating ones. These should be organised every year—in all political divisions by rotation, so that the collections of the museums may be replenished and renewed from time to time.

The British consuls in foreign countries who now represent India's political interest alone should also represent her commercially. If, like the Japanese consuls, they organise small museums attached to their office where will be kept specimens of the most important articles of Indian manufacture, and if they try to secure a place for our manufactures in the Commercial Museums of these countries, they will help India a good deal in her industrial evolution. They can say which of our articles is likely to effect a sale, and to what extent. Again, in addition to their ordinary duties they send a weekly report of the market conditions of some of the manufactures largely in demand in those countries, it will be of invaluable help to our manufacturers. For, the latter have got no opportunity to keep themselves informed of the existing conditions of foreign markets and are thus left at times to transact business at unfavourable prices. If organized on these lines, our foreign-trade will soon swell up necessitating the appointment of travelling agents in those countries.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

I have said that our experts have not had the desired standard of commercial education. So, it is all the more important that our capitalists should have some knowledge of the industry with which they may be connected, because without this knowledge they are not likely to efficiently administer their business. I have also said that our labour is untrained, inefficient and unproductive. To remedy all these setbacks, we must have a net-work of technical schools and colleges all over the country—institutions, not in the narrow sense in which we understand them, but in the wider sense, widely diffusing industrial and commercial education amongst the people who are or want to

be in any way engaged in productive labour.

In Japan, the technical schools are divided into technical, industrial, commercial, supplementary, agricultural and nautical institutions. I shall here leave out agricultural and nautical schools, since these can very well form the subject of separate papers altogether. I had the honour to write at some length, on agricultural education in the *Krishi Sampada*, a Bengali monthly devoted to agriculture. Others I shall briefly describe here. For the sake of convenience, I shall divide the whole system of technical education into three main heads as follows:—(1) Technical, (2) Industrial, and (3) Commercial.

TECHNICAL SCHOOLS.

There are six purely Technical Schools in Japan—institutions of higher grade, all directly under the Department of Education of the State. The annual budgetted amount for technical education is 3,20,000 yen (a yen is equal to 1 Rupee and nine annas approximately), and of this sum about 20,000 yen is set apart only for these technical schools. About 2000 students receive instruction and about 500 graduates every year. In addition to the regular students, graduates of middle or industrial schools are admitted as elective students in these institutions. Students after graduation may be allowed to stay as graduate students for one or two years if they are of good character and diligent habit. Persons whose names are not in the school register may also be allowed, as listeners, to attend lectures on any special subject. The subject taught are:—(a) dyeing and weaving, (b) civil and mechanical engineering, (c) industrial designing, (d) applied chemistry, (e) ceramics, (f) mining and metallurgy, (g) ship-building, (h) electrical engineering, (i) foundry (j) architecture, (k) brewing and (l) wood work.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

There are 4,400 industrial schools of all grades and these turn out about 30,000 graduates every year. The State offer an annual aid of about 2,30,000 yen to them. They are classified into three main groups. The following table will give further details:

Classification.	No. of State Institutions	No. of Pub- lic and Private Institutions	Total No. of Institutions	Course.	No. of Teachers.	No. of Students.
Industrial Schools (proper)	28	30	58	not available	422	4643
Apprentice's Schools	45	58	103	1 to 3yrs	374	4637
Supplementary Midl. Schools	29	4210	4239	1 month to 1yr	not available	1,71,502
Total	102	4298	4400	—	—	1,80,785

In the industrial schools persons engaged or interested in industrial or manufacturing business are often invited to get expert opinion and suggestion regarding their business and also to see the working of any new machinery. Lectures with special reference to working lines are given. Apprentice schools are meant for the training of mechanics and artisans and are generally attached to Primary Schools. Supplementary Industrial Schools are meant for providing higher education to practical mechanics and artisans and are sometimes attached to Primary Schools. Instruction is sometimes given in afternoons and nights. Interesting lectures on industry and economics are delivered from time to time by eminent teachers and persons of great reputation. There is also an Institute for the training of teachers of Industrial schools, Apprentice's schools and supplementary Industrial schools, so that this may be called a Normal School for industrial teachers.

COMMERCIAL SCHOOLS.

There are 119 Commercial Schools in Japan. About 21,000 students receive instruction and about 3,500 graduates are turned out every year. They enjoy State aid amounting to 90,000 yen per annum. These schools may be tabulated in the following way :—

	State Inst.	Public and Private	Total	Pro- fessors	Students
Ordinary Com- mercial Schools	49	66	115	965	18600
Higher Commer- cial Schools	4		4	122	2400
Total	53	66	119	1,087	21,000

Ordinary Commercial Schools are intended to impart primary and secondary knowledge on commercial subjects. Graduates of Primary Schools can receive instruction for three years. In these schools, scholars or business men of reputation and experience are invited to give lectures, and the pupils are sent to factories, banks, firms and companies, etc., to gain practical experience. From time to time they are

made to travel for the purpose of observing the commercial conditions of different localities at home and in China and Korea. Sometimes the students are turned into ambulant traders as well. The Higher Commercial Schools are established to impart advanced commercial education. There is a professional department to give instructions in such subjects as may be necessary for those graduates who desire to pursue their studies further in any particular branch of commerce. With the Tokio Higher Commercial School is attached the Institute for the Training of Commercial School Teachers for the benefit of those who are to become teachers in any Commercial school. There is still another class of temporary schools called Summer Institutes which are organized and opened every year during the summer vacation only under the patronage of the Department of education, for the general benefit of the teachers of the technical, industrial and commercial schools in different provinces. At the time and place appointed, teachers—the most experienced professors from the Imperial University, the Higher Commercial Schools and the Higher Technical Schools, and the Principals of the public Technical Schools,—come and deliver a series of lectures before the assembled teachers during a period of three weeks. Such institutes are also arranged by the public. With the exception of these Summer Institutes, a thoroughly equipped library full of as many books as are available on different subjects taught, is attached to every school whether technical, industrial or commercial. All these have given a great impetus to the manufacturing industries of Japan.

Thus it will be seen that in Japan there are altogether about 4,800 technical schools of various grades where approximately over 2,00,000 students are annually receiving education out of which about 36,000 graduates come out to materially help the development of the industrial resources of the country. In considering these figures, we must always bear in mind that Japan is only as big as Bengal

If in an industrially advanced country like Japan there is necessity for so many schools, how greater must it be in Bengal—so backward in industrial progress—we can easily conceive.

Proper education alone will dispel the darkness and widen the horizon of our people. It is chiefly for want of this that we Indians as a whole are not enjoying the fruit of civilization of the present day in all its forms. The backwardness of the country will be removed with the spread of education among the masses. Dissemination of knowledge, technical, industrial and commercial will then be much easier. Land will not refuse to yield its full produce, labour will no longer be inefficient; capital will no more fight shy of circulating freely. We must have, then, to begin with, free compulsory elementary education before we can expect to improve the economic condition of India. If we fail to have it, 'all innovations,' as says Sir John Hewett, 'will be regarded with suspicion or with mischievous credulity. The Government has no more urgent duty than that of extending Elementary Education.' After having established popular education, the spread of technical education on the lines of Japan, for the benefit of our capitalists, industrialists as well as labourers, will be easier and much more useful. We may then have a technical school and a chemical

laboratory established in each district town and a Government college for technical education of higher standard in each divisional town, besides many night technical schools for our labourers who cannot afford to attend during day time when they have to work hard for a livelihood. In this way industrial knowledge will be rapidly diffused and a powerful industrial environment capable of regenerating and developing the industrial resources will be created in the country. That will be the proudest and the most glorious day for England when she will be able to help India in reviving and developing her own industries; when the British-Indian industries will secure the most prominent place amongst those of the world; when the sincerest wish of our benign King-Emperor which is still echoing in our heart of hearts "that there may be spread over the land a net-work of schools and colleges from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in 'Industries and Agriculture' and in all the vocations in life," will be fully realised. There are vivifying signs of hope and life in many directions, and let us hope that we shall not have to wait long to see the fulfilment of our earnest wishes.

R. R. GHOSE.

LIFE ASSURANCE IN PRACTICE

BY G. S. MARATHEY, M.A., A.I.A., ACTUARY.

WHAT are the considerations which should be gone into by a person desiring to insure his life: These I shall divide into three classes, (1) Kind of policy, (2) The Good and Bad points of an Insurance Company, (3) Other conditions of a policy. I shall now take these in order.

(1) KIND OF POLICY.

All the schemes of insurance of a Life Insurance Company consist of one, or a combination of more than one, of the following three varieties: (1) Assurance, (2) Endowment, (3) Annuity. (1)

Assurance means payment of the sum assured after death and not during lifetime. (2) Endowment means payment of the sum assured, provided the person survives a certain period agreed upon but not if he dies during that period. (3) Annuity means payment of a certain sum at the beginning of every year during which the person is alive.

Assurance may also be temporary, that is, the sum assured may be payable only if the person dies during a certain period agreed upon. Similarly an annuity may be temporary, i.e., payable for a certain

limited period only or till death if previous.

The schemes which are ordinarily resorted to are:

Whole Life Assurance single payment; this is variety 1 pure and simple.

Whole life limited payment and ordinary whole life; this is variety 1 on the part of the company and variety 3 on the part of the Assured.

Endowment Assurances and Double Endowment Assurances; each of these is a combination of varieties 1 and 2 on the part of the company and variety 3 on the part of the Assured.

Pure Endowment is variety 2 on the one part and variety 3 on the other.

Children's Endowment is really speaking nothing of these three varieties. It is no Insurance; it is merely an investment of money. There are other schemes such as half premium for first five years, payment of interest at say 5 p. c. for a certain number of years on the sums Assured if it is kept with the Company, &c. Joint life Assurances are popular in England. In this scheme the sum Assured becomes payable on the death of either of two lives insured at the same time. The Actuary can quote a premium for any other scheme of the above nature that might be proposed.

A little care should be taken when selecting an Endowment Assurance. There are two classes of these policies, one class maturing on a birthday and the other maturing on the completion of a certain number of years from the date of the policy. The latter class is quite straightforward; but in the former class one is likely to be at a disadvantage in two ways. (i) The number of Premiums payable may be greater by one than the difference between the maturity age and the entry age. (ii) The sum assured would be payable later than if it were payable on an anniversary of the policy. Suppose a person born on 1-1-1886 aged 30 next birthday takes up an Endowment Assurance policy dated 1-4-1915 maturing at the age 50. If the sum assured is payable on completing 50 years of age, the insurer would have to pay 21 premiums, the last premium being payable on 1-4-1935, and the policy would be payable sometime after he pays the last premium, viz., on 1-1-1936. It would be found that the premium for this policy, and that for another

class in which the sum assured is payable on the expiry of twenty years, is the same, while the number of premiums in the latter class would be only twenty, the last premium being payable on 1-4-1934 and the sum assured being payable on 1-4-1935.

(2) THE GOOD AND BAD POINTS OF AN INSURANCE COMPANY.

Under this heading we shall consider the present position, the future prospects, the rates of premium etc., of an Insurance Company. In the first place I shall deal with, the constitution, the Directors, rights of Directors, rights of Managing Agents, present Directorate, fairness of dealings in previous cases (prompt payment of claims, liberality in loans, surrender values, acceptance of proposals etc.). Many of these considerations are the same as are applicable to all other kinds of Companies also. Insurance Companies are of two kinds, Proprietary and Mutual. In the case of a purely proprietary company the policy-holders would have no hand in the management of affairs. This would rest in the hands only of the shareholders who supplied the capital for starting and carrying on the Company. But almost all the proprietary Companies at present allow the holders of large policies, the right of electing two Directors. In the matter of profits, nine-tenths are distributed among the policy-holders as directed by the Actuary and one-tenth among the shareholders. If in any Company the policy-holders are allowed less than nine-tenths of the profits, it is a point against the Company. In a Mutual Company the policy-holders are the proprietors and they get the whole of the profits. It does not follow from this, however, that Mutual Companies are always preferable to Proprietary Companies. Everything depends on the management, whether carried on by the shareholders or the policy-holders. Generally speaking, the policy-holders are not so likely to exert efficient supervision over the management as the shareholders, whose interests are more immediately affected. In a good Company however the directorate must include some representatives of policy-holders.

In some Companies the Directors and in others the Managing Agents have got very great powers. The Managing Agents are generally a Firm of persons who have been actively or potentially instrumental in starting a Company. This Firm reserve

to itself, in the Articles of Association, very important privileges for a considerably long period. From one point of view they deserve to have some special rights, but the extent of these is a matter worth considering according to individual circumstances. It is not fair, however, that such a Firm should take the cream of the profits and leave very little to the policy-holders and shareholders. In Companies with such Managing Agents, it is not usual to see that the Majority of the Directors are members of the Firm of Managing Agents. (A Bill for making this illegal had recently been brought before the Supreme Legislative Council by a member from Bombay, but it failed to pass). This state of things is not necessarily undesirable, if the members of the firm are persons of good character and ability. It would be difficult for the would-be assurer to get information about the Managing Agents, but it would be interesting and useful to call for a copy of the Articles of Association and to see what rights and privileges are enjoyed by the Managing Agents.

It is sometimes the case that the existing directors are merely puppets in the hands of the Manager or Managing Director. Concentration of power in the hands of a single person has got its advantages, but in the case of a well established Company, this should never be tolerated. The Manager is sure to turn such a power to selfish ends, as it is easy for him to deceive the public about the real state of the Company.

There are many other points such as:—

The Company should be Swadeshi; it should be so near to the policy-holder as to enable him to watch over its internal management; its prospectus, conditions, pamphlets, circulars &c., should supply clear and unequivocal information; The Manager, Chief Agents, Actuary, Auditors, and other officers and servants should be honest and respectable; &c. &c.; points about which it is not necessary to go into details here.

The next thing of importance is the reputation of the company for the fairness of its dealings in the past. A company should investigate intimated claims and help the heirs in getting their certificates &c., &c., as if it was its own business. Many times not only does the Company create petty technical difficulties to postpone the payment of the sum assured, but

oftentimes it takes advantage of a slight flaw in the claim to refuse payment altogether. I know one such case of the Oriental Government Security Life Insurance Company of Bombay. It is as follows:— A gentleman named Gopal Vishnu Lele made a proposal to this Company on 11th April 1909. He received an Acceptance letter dated 16th April 1909 in which it was clearly mentioned that no risk would be entertained by the company until the premium is paid. The Premium was paid duly on 1st May 1909 and the gentleman received his policy in due course. It did not strike him, however, that the policy mentioned the risk date as 16th April while the premium was paid on 1st May. According to the terms of the policy the renewal premium was due on 16th April 1910 and the last day of grace was 15th May 1910. If the risk had been taken as commencing from 1st May, the last day of grace would have been 1st June 1910. The gentleman died of plague on the 21st May 1910 without having paid the renewal premium. According to the terms of the policy, the policy had lapsed on account of the non-payment of premium during the days of grace and the company was not liable to pay anything. According to equity, however, as the company was not under risk from 16th April 1909 to 1st May 1910 the risk date in the policy ought to have been 26th April 1909 and in that case the Company was liable to pay the full sum assured less the amount of unpaid premium which had become due.

I do not wish to go into the legal aspect of the question. The widow of the deceased being a very poor lady could not fight the case in the Court for want of means. She only remonstrated to the Company and the company sent a reply displaying offended dignity. The only inference to be drawn by intending assurers is that, however respectable a company may appear to be, they must be very careful to protect their own interests and must not fail to obtain and examine every document concerned with their insurance, very critically. Some Companies try to take advantage of a proponent by first declining to accept a proposal without extra and then accepting it without extra if they find that the proponent is not going to pay an extra. This is haggling and is a point against the Company. The Management of some Companies is very loose.

It takes many days to get a reply to a letter and the Policies and Premiums. Receipts take a long time in being issued. This does not speak well for the management. The Agents sometimes make certain promises orally on behalf of a company which they know full well the company cannot fulfil. The intending assurer therefore must see beforehand, that in any matter he thinks important, the oral promises of the Agent are supported in writing by the Head Office or by any responsible officer.

Every kind of business turns upon the matter of money; we shall therefore consider here the question of funds. According to the new Insurance Companies Act which has come into force, every company must deposit with the Government at least Rs. 25,000. If the annual premium income rises above Rs. 75,000, the amount deposited with the Government must be one third of the net premium income up till a maximum deposit of Rs. 200,000 is reached. No greater amount need be deposited, whatever the premium income. (British Companies are exempt from such deposit, because they are required to make a deposit in England). If the company is young (say 5 to 10 years from its foundation), care should be taken to see what is its authorized capital, subscribed capital, paid up capital, and the amount which has been actually received. It would be of some use also, to see how much of the subscribed capital has been taken up by the directors, by the underwriters &c.; but a person going into these matters must also know what use to make of this knowledge. The actual cash in the hands of a company before commencing business ought to be from half a lakh to one lakh of rupees. This amount is necessary to pay for the deposit with the Government and for the expenses of the company in the beginning until the premium receipts make it self-supporting. In some cases the Managing Agents try to issue as small a number of shares as possible, the necessary funds being obtained by loans. Unless the credit of the Managing Agents is very high, such loans are not obtained without paying a heavy rate of interest, which affects adversely the profits and also the funds of the company. This procedure is adopted on account of the idea that the smaller the subscribed share capital the larger the dividend that

could be declared on it. From the point of view of the policy-holders, however, a loan is a charge on the funds which has the first claim before the policy-holders, while the claim of the shareholders comes after that of the policy-holders.

Uncalled share capital is good security for policy-holders unless the shareholders come from poorer classes, which is likely if the shares and the amount called up is very small.

In the case of a company of some years' standing, the funds are large, and Insurance Canvassers are apt to make an impression on the minds of the intending assurers by showing an imposingly large figure as the amount of funds. But the funds by themselves do not mean anything. A merchant who is about to be bankrupt may have lakhs of rupees in his hands; but if his liabilities, which may be immediately due, are much larger than his realizable assets, he is no better, perhaps worse than a pauper.

The ratio of expenses to premium income depends, as has been said above, upon the amount of new business which has been secured during the year. The expenses of a company in the first year of its existence would be much greater than a hundred per cent of the premium income, even leaving out of account the initial outlay. In a large company with no new business, the ratio should be about 10 per cent and in a company with as much new business coming in as is going out of the books by claims, maturity, &c., the ratio should be less than 15 per cent. The percentage of expenses to premium income, gives a rough idea about the efficiency of the management.

The next thing to be considered is the rate of Bonus that the company has been declaring in the past. The average rate of Reversionary Bonus of British Companies, had been, up till now, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum, on the sum assured. It has to be seen how the war would affect this rate. At every quinquennial valuation, it was usual to declare a bonus of Rs. 75 per thousand for the past 5 years. Some attention should be paid to the bases assumed for a valuation. The table of mortality should be HM or OM, preferably the latter. The true ages are often increased by 5 to 7 years before applying the mortality tables. The valuation rate of interest in England is general-

ly 3 per cent; in India it may be half a per cent higher, but it should never be higher than 4 p.c. The chief source of information about a company's position is the Annual Report together with the Revenue Account and the Balance Sheet. As it requires special study for the average policy-holder to draw inferences from the different items, I do not propose to go deep into the matter. One or two things only might be mentioned. The premium income as well as the Total Business should show an increase. A decrease in those items, however, does not necessarily mean a loss. The ratio of premium income to the total business shows the quality of business. A small ratio would mean a preponderance of ordinary whole life business and a large ratio means a preponderance of Endowment Assurances. The average premium for Whole Life Assurance is 30 to 35 per thousand of the sum assured and that for Endowment Assurances is 55 to 60 per thousand. It does not follow that Whole Life business is less desirable than Endowment Assurance business. The only difference is that the profit of whole life business, though smaller per annum, is extended over a larger number of years.

The figures for surrenders and lapses should not be large. If they are large, it means either that many people have been induced to insure beyond their means, or they have been induced to insure by deceit or misrepresentation.

It would be desirable to find out what rate of interest the company has been realizing on its investments. The way to do this is to add together the funds at the beginning of the year and those at the end of the year; to deduct from this the total amount of interest and dividends received during the year; and lastly to divide by half of the remainder, one hundred times the amount of interest and dividends. The formula is $200 \times I \div (A + B - I)$ where A and B are the initial and the final funds and I is the amount of Interest and Dividends. The average rate realized by Insurance Companies in England before the war had been about 4 per cent and the rate in India should be about four and a half to five per cent at the most. It is essential to see how the funds are invested. Security of investment is far more important for Insurance Companies than a high rate of interest. Hence if

large sums from the funds are invested in Banks or other trading companies, or given as loans to individuals on personal security or on insufficient security, the Companies may be supposed to be on a shaky foundation. Lands, buildings, also are not considered to be a good basis for investment for Insurance Companies. The profits of Banks are largely derived from investments in which there is a rapid turnover of money; they cannot afford to lock up their funds for long periods. But on the other hand they have to take some risk and are liable to loss from the failure of investments here and there. Insurance Companies, however, not being subject to a run at any time, can invest for long periods and on good security. Also the profits of Insurance Companies are largely derived from other sources than excess interest such as favourable mortality, economical management, &c. Hence the funds should not be invested in any risky manner in the hope of larger profits.

It is on account of this nature of Insurance Companies that there is some foundation for the belief, encouraged by Insurance Company managers, that Insurance Companies are never broken up. Really speaking there is no reason why Insurance Companies should not break up. When the assets are not enough to cover the liabilities, the company is insolvent and must break up. There are however one or two things in favour of Insurance Companies. The greater part of their liabilities are not immediate, but likely to be met with in the future, while a considerable part of the assets are actually in the hands of the Company; so that even if the assets are not equal to the liabilities there is sufficient time for the Company to make up the deficiency if it is not very large. There is also another thing in favour of the policy-holders, viz., that even if the Managers are swindlers and are inclined to swallow up everything that comes to their hands, a considerable part of the assets are only recoverable in future and so they cannot be encroached upon.

When an Insurance Company is insolvent, the deficit is in the first instance made good by the unpaid share capital. If this is not enough the liabilities have to be reduced to the level of the assets, so that the sum assured become a smaller amount instead of 1000, to such an extent as is advised by the Actuary. If all

policy-holders agree to this reduction, the Company can go on as before, or the policies may be transferred, with the consent of the policy-holders, to some other Insurance Company. The other Insurance Company which accepts the liabilities attaching to the policies, has to be furnished with the reserve required to meet those liabilities when they would be incurred in future.

If the funds are not enough to furnish this reserve, one of three things must be done: (1) The policy-holders must agree to pay a higher premium (this would increase the assets). (2) The sum assured should be reduced without reducing the premium, or the right to participate in the profits should be forfeited. (This would diminish liabilities.) (3) The value of the policy, as determined by the Actuary, should be taken by the policy-holder in cash. If most of the cash has been squandered away by the Managers, the policy-holders in this case are likely to lose very heavily. All these things have to be done with the sanction of the Insolvency Court.

We now come to an important consideration, viz., that of the Rates of Premiums. On comparing the Prospectuses of a number of companies it would be found that there is a considerable difference in the Rates of Premiums. A person would be naturally inclined to insure in the Company with the lowest rates, but low rates have got some other disadvantages. Small prices mean cheap goods and cheap goods generally mean inferior quality. Companies with low rates are not very liberal in their dealings and they cannot give substantial bonuses. On a very slight defect being disclosed by the Medical Examination, such companies refuse to accept without an extra. The proponent is not bound to pay the extra, and take up the policy, but this fact, of an extra being asked for, comes in the way of the persons getting a policy in any other Company; for there is always a question in the Proposal Form 'Has any other company refused to accept you or proposed an extra?'

By careful selection of lives and by really economic and efficient management, a company may be able to show as good results as another company quoting higher rates. Low rates is really one of the baits to catch policy-holders and hence unscrupulous swindlers easily take advantage of this fact. It is much easier

for a dishonest person to start an Insurance company than to start any other company; because, for the first few years money has only to be received, while the payment has to be made some years later on, since there are hardly any claims in the beginning. It would be quite possible to start an Insurance company with half the usual rates and carry it on for five years. After that when the Valuation comes round, and the Actuary declares the Company to be insolvent, it can be wound up; meanwhile the managers have been drawing fat salaries quite legitimately which cannot come back and policy-holders and shareholders suffer heavily. There is every reason therefore to beware of Companies with low rates. It is also safe in this connection to deal with a company whose rates have been prepared or certified by an Actuary.

No inference should be drawn from dividends to shareholders. The capital required to start an Insurance Company is not very large as compared to the funds that accumulate in its hands after some time, and the profits though not large, may appear so if they are distributed among a small number of shares.

One thing which affects the Rates of Premium adversely is the increasing cost of acquiring business on account of competition. Every new company accepts lower Premiums from the public and offer higher commission to the canvassers, thus encroaching upon the margin of profit. Some narrow-minded persons try to extort from the canvasser a large part of the commission which he would get from the company. This is very hard upon the canvasser, while ultimately it tends to diminish their own profits by deteriorating the quality of the business secured by the company. The canvassers ask for greater and greater commission from the company, which must either increase the premiums or give smaller bonuses. The canvasser, if not adequately remunerated becomes unscrupulous, thus causing a loss to the Company and consequently to the policy-holders themselves.

(3) Policy Conditions, Concessions &c.

We shall now turn to the conditions, concessions and other details of a Policy.

The Days of Grace are well known. All premiums have to be paid in advance on the policy anniversary. If a premium is not paid on or before this date, the policy-

holder is supposed to have violated the terms of his contract and the company is not bound to keep their part of the contract. All companies, however, allow a period of one month (in rare cases 15 days) from the date of the policy anniversary for paying the premium. This period is called, the Days of Grace. If the Premium is not paid even during these days of Grace, the policy is said to lapse, i.e., the contract between the policy-holder and the company is broken.

The company binds itself to pay to the policy-holder, if he does not wish to pay any more premiums, the choice of taking up a paid-up policy or a cash amount, called the Surrender Value, which is equal to a part of the premiums which have already been paid to the company. The paid-up policy means a policy where no further premiums have to be paid and the amount of the policy is to be payable at the same time as the original policy was payable. The sum assured of a paid-up policy, however, is much smaller than that of the original policy, being generally in the same ratio to it as the number of premiums actually paid bears to the number of premiums which were payable according to the original contract. This is not unfair, though some companies give paid-up policies for larger amounts. But if the paid-up policy is for a smaller amount than what this ratio brings out, the company may be said to be not as liberal as it should be. Sometimes the first premium is omitted from all calculations. This would give a slightly smaller ratio unless the number of premiums paid is very small, in which case the ratio would be much smaller.

No Surrender Value can be claimed in most of the companies until two or three premiums have been paid. After that the surrender value varies from 30 p. c. to 30 p. c. of the premiums paid according to the kind of policy, to the near approach to the date of maturity, and to the ideas of the Managers of the Company, the former two coming within the province of Actuarial consideration. The surrender value for an Endowment Assurance Policy is greater than that for a Whole Life one. Some companies are very stingy about giving surrender values. A person therefore who feels that he may have occasion to surrender his policy, should pay attention to the scale of surrender values. It is

better never to surrender a policy. To tide over any temporary difficulties, loans should be taken from the Company or from a moneylender dealing in policies (such persons can be found in large cities) on the security of the surrender value. Very often moneylenders can give high loans than the company itself, and if the policyholder is suffering from a bad disease which may prove fatal early, the policy can be sold for a higher price than the surrender value. The scale of surrender values is generally stated in the prospectus. If it is not stated, it may be asked for.

When a person has been insured in one company, a canvasser of some other company would induce him to surrender his first policy and take up a new one in the other company. My advice is, *never* do such a thing, unless there are very important reasons indeed for doing so.

Nowadays the principle of Nonforfeiture has been adopted by most of the companies. This means that if after a policy has lapsed the insured pays the outstanding premium or premiums together with interest (at least at 9-p. c.) from the date on which they were due, the policy is revived and placed on the former footing, *provided* the policy-holder is in good health. This last fact has to be proved by a personal declaration or by a partial or complete medical examination according to the period elapsed since the lapsing of the policy. (It is maintained by some Actuaries and others that this proviso about the insured being in good health should be removed and the policy re-instated only on payment of the amount overdue together with interest. There is much difference of opinion on this point). As the non-forfeiture condition means practically that a loan is given to the policy-holder every time a premium is due, to the extent of the amount of the premium, there is a time-limit to this condition; for loans are not made without security. The security in this case is the surrender value to which the policy-holder is entitled and the time-limit is the period during which the surrender value is exhausted by these loans, that is to say by the premiums overdue, when accumulated at compound interest.

Another concession is about wrong statement of age. Sometimes the person proposing for insurance does not know his age exactly and he gives it by guesswork. The true age comes out when the proof of

age has to be given. If this true age is higher than the age stated in the proposal, the difference in the premiums for the true age and for the stated age has to be paid to the company with interest. The correction is made in the policy, which is then continued at the higher premium. If the policy-holder cannot pay the higher premium, the sum assured is proportionately reduced, and the policy continued. To avoid all this trouble, it is better to take great care in the beginning in stating the age accurately. The proof of age has to be furnished some time or other, even though the policy-holder is dead. The claim cannot be paid until the age is proved. If an insured dies without proving the age, the survivors are put to great trouble in proving it. Every policy-holder therefore should make it a point never to put off furnishing proof of age and getting a certificate from the company admitting the age stated in the proposal.

Very few persons are concerned with the conditions about suicide, foreign residence, military service &c., so I shall not go into these points here.

There is always a paragraph in every prospectus about—Indisputability. With most of the companies, however, this is only nominal, because there is always a saving clause also about 'fraud', in which case the indisputability is not applicable. Without

fraud, indisputability is not a concession, it is a matter of right which could be established in a court of law. Genuine indisputability is really of great use after the policy-holder's death, because the survivors are not likely to be able to explain things so well as the policy-holder himself. Genuine indisputability is very difficult to distinguish, unless the policy is indisputable after a few years even in the case of fraud.

The person to whom the amount of the policy is payable in case of death is called the beneficiary. The policy-holder can generally nominate the beneficiary, but as this is sometimes likely to be disputed, it is better to Assign the policy. This is done by executing a deed of Assignment on Stamp paper in favour of the beneficiary. A form of assignment can generally be obtained from the Insurance Company's office. A policy can be assigned to any person on receiving proper consideration, which may be either in money or in domestic affection, &c. In the latter case, however, if the beneficiary is not to be the wife or some nearest relation, it would be better to consult a lawyer first. It is best, however, to inform the Insurance Company that the beneficiary would be the legal heirs, and then to dispose of the policy as the holder thinks fit, in a duly made will.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WESTERN WORLD, by H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S. Cambridge University Press, 1916. Price 7-6d net. Pp. 196 with a map and illustrations.

The subject, as Professor Rawlinson says, has never been dealt with as a whole in any English work, and is replete with interest. The author writes with sympathy, and has skilfully marshalled most of the scattered sources of information so as to give the reader a very idea of the subject in its entirety. He begins with an account of the three trade routes connecting India with the West from prehistoric times, goes on to the period of Persian annexation of the Punjab, then speaks of Megasthenes and the Maurya empire, followed by two short chapters on the Bactrian Greeks and the Ptolemies. 'India and the Roman Empire' forms the theme of two ably-written chapters and the author

winds up with a discussion on the effects of the intercourse between India and the West. As we pass the centuries in review through the pages of this book, we are reminded of facts which few are apt to remember, viz., that the Punjab was long under the rule of Darius and his successors and formed the twentieth satrapy of the Persian Empire, that this province, and Sind, were divided among several Greek and semi-Greek princes in the centuries following the rise of Buddhism, that some of the coins of the Greek Kings of these provinces are among the finest of the ancient world, 'that the Greeks in the Punjab and in Western India rapidly became converts to Hinduism and Buddhism, and were so little distinguished from their neighbours that they even took Hindu names' that the Greek element in India was rapidly absorbed and the Yavanas appear among the pious donors in the Buddhist caves of Karla and Nasik, and that shortly before the introduction of the Christian era the Saka Kings founded a great Empire which extended its boundaries so far eastwards as to in-

clude the holy city of Mathura. Few, again, are aware that "Indian troops formed the light division of the army of Xerxes: they must have marched through the bloody defiles of Thermopylae, and their usefulness caused them to be retained by Mardonius (Herodotus, VIII, 113) after the retreat of the king, to take part in the Boeotian campaign....." Alexandria had become the true centre of Hellenic culture after the downfall of Athens, and Dio Chrysostom [died 117 A. D.] mentions Indians among the cosmopolitan crowds to be found there. The large number of Roman coins unearthed in Southern India testify to Roman commercial establishments, which however had no influence on Indian literature or art. Broach [Sans. Bhri-gu-Kaccha, Latin Bary-gaza] was the great port of northern India trading with the West. The author dwells on the familiar complaint regarding the drain upon Roman finance caused by the Indian trade. The subject has been dealt with, in his masterly manner, by Gibbon in chapters II and VI of his celebrated history, and curious to note, often forms the theme of Muhammadan historians like Abdulla Wassaf [1300 A. D.], and Shahabuddin of Damascus [died 1348]—vide Elliot's History, Vol I (1867). On the subject of the Egyptian trade, the author might have culled interesting information from Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians (1837, Vol. III, chap. IX) and much curious and out-of-the-way information might have been gathered from a long and exhaustive, though necessarily antiquated, paper by Lieutenant Francis Wilford on 'Egypt and the Nile from the ancient books of the Hindus,' published in the 'Asiatic Researches,' Vol. III (London, 1807). Similarly, anyone writing on the admixture of races on Indian soil cannot do without referring to the learned essay on 'the foreign elements in the Hindu population' by Dr. Bhandarkar in the 'Indian Antiquary' for January 1911. The subject of the intercourse between India and the West has been learnedly discussed in the first two chapters of Sir W. W. Hunter's History of India, Vol. I (London, 1899).

Regarding the effects of the intercourse between India and the West, the author, of course, admits that neo-Platonism and Gnosticism owe a good deal to Indian philosophy, but he denies, on the authority of A. B. Keith, that Pythagoreanism borrowed anything from India. 'It is remarkable' on the other hand, 'how little the Greek spirit influenced India.' The Gandhara sculptures of the Bactrian Greeks, which have come in for a good deal of abuse at the hands of critics like Havell and Coomaraswamy, "possess," according to Professor Rawlinson, "of course, nothing like the beauty or vigour of the graceful and powerful work of the Gupta period, but many of them are by no means devoid of charm and interest." Architecture, drama, medicine, and religion, are rapidly passed in review, but only in one department of science, viz., astronomy, does the author find clear traces of borrowing on the part of India. The West in its turn borrowed its numerals, some astronomical terms, and some of its fables and folklore, from India. Monasticism, relic-worship, and the use of the rosary are among the customs and practices which were probably borrowed by the religions of the West from Buddhism, and "under the guise of Saint Josaphat, Gautama the Bodhisattva found his way into the Christian church, and was included in the Martyrology of Gregory XIII (1582)."

Prof. Rawlinson has done much to enrich Indian historical literature, and his latest book will be welcome to the increasing group of historical scholars in

India. His knowledge of the classical languages of Europe, supplemented by the knowledge of Indian classics possessed by Oriental historical scholars, will, it may be hoped, light up many dark corners of Indian history, and prove to those who are wedded to orthodox views that ancient India in the days of her greatness was not cut off by a ring-fence of hide-bound customs from the rest of the civilised world, and that her insular tendencies began to manifest themselves only when she ceased to count among the powerful countries of the globe, and inevitably led to her progressive decadence. Speaking of the period circa. 1000 B. C. the author says, "Indians appear in those days to have been experienced sailors..... Evidently from the early days the Indian seamen built ships larger than those usually employed even at a much later date in the Mediterranean." References in support of this view occur everywhere throughout the book. In the Artha Sastra of Chanakya, "we see a highly organised government, and a nation distinguished for its probity and intelligence. The work of Megasthenes refutes the popular idea that because India has no history, she has been incapable of developing political institutions." Since Professor Rawlinson is interested in such subjects, we would take the liberty to point out to him a field of historical activity which, so far as we know, has not been exploited by any other English historian. The spread of Indian civilisation in Cambodia and the far East is a fascinating field of research, and has been ably treated by Mr. Sylvain Levi and other French Orientalists, who possess unique opportunities of studying the subject by reason of the French occupation of Cochin China. Prof. Rawlinson would put a large number of educated Indians unacquainted with the French language under a great debt of gratitude if he were to write a book in English on this subject, as it would immensely widen their horizon on a very important chapter of Asiatic history of which so little is known in India. POL

BRAHMAJINASA or An Inquiry into the Philosophical Basis of Theism. Translated from the original Bengali, with supplementary chapters by Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan. Price Re 1-8. To be had of the author at 210-3-2, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

The book is elegantly printed and nicely bound and readable from beginning to end. The work is written in excellent English, its style is lucid and the matter well arranged. Pandit Tattvabhushan is an eminent writer on philosophy and his name is a guarantee to enable us to recommend it to the University students who will learn at least as much from this book as from any other single volume on Idealism of this size.

As the reader will learn from the preface the *Brahmajinasa* was published in Bengali as early as in 1888. A revised edition with many additions and alterations came out in 1911. The theory defended and expounded herein forms the ground work of all the theological writings of the author. So with the publication of this English version of *Brahmajinasa* Pandit Tattvabhushan's English-knowing readers have got the much needed metaphysical basis of his system of Theistic Theology—of which the *Philosophy of Brahmoism* shows the doctrinal, ethical and social development. *Brahmosadhan* indicates the *Sadhans* or spiritual exercises and the *Vedanta* and its *Relation to Modern Thought and Krishna and the Gita* define the relation to the elder Theism of the country. The author's Hindu Theism is out of print.

We also learn from the preface that "the central doctrine will be found to be, in its essence, the Theism of the *Upanishads*, and in its method, the neo-Hegelianism of British Idealists." I make bold to say that when the theism spoken of was propounded the method was not borrowed from the west. What a pity that today we have got our theologies alive to a great extent but with our Philosophies dead we are to defend the former with the help of foreign metaphysical systems. So far our information goes we had our philosophical systems—not only theologies based on scriptural authority but rational philosophical systems—not less profound than those of Plato and Aristotle on the one hand and those of Kant and Hegel on the other. And they were living systems three centuries ago. Our degeneration has been completed by the last three hundred years. In our *tois* these philosophies are taught but there we find only the dead bones—the form is there and not the spirit, the grammar we find but the sense is wanting; they teach us the word but give not the meaning, therefore they richly deserve the censure passed on them by Raja Ram Mohun Roy. We hear of Hindu revival on all sides. Is there nobody competent enough in the country who can undertake to revive these philosophical systems? If nobody else would do it, the Hindu University at the seat of ancient learning should do it before it is too late. I have had it from a most distinguished scholar who is an authority both on oriental and occidental philosophies that when a wise saying is given out as a sample of original Indian thought in any way akin to some up-to-date European ideas even the savants of the West—not to speak of the ordinary ill-informed superior person—laugh in their sleeves all the while convinced in their minds that this is a clever piece of plagiarising of the western thought by the educated Indian. We must take a note of it in time.

Pandit Tattvabhushan is very rigorous in his definition of "Philosophical argument" as he does not recognise cosmological and teleological arguments as strictly philosophical. We do not think so. Therefore we are happy to find an extra chapter on "Theistic presuppositions of science" dealing with those methods, though they did not form any part of the original Bengali *Brahmajijnasa*. And in Bengali they were not absolutely necessary, either we have got them most elaborately discussed in *Bhakta* Nagendranath's *Dharmajijnasa*. However, whatever Pandit Tattvabhushan may think of it, he has done well by this concession to the popular arguments "helpful to the unphilosophical mind" because to a class of reading public this chapter will yield the most readable matter. All the same we welcome this chapter most heartily.

Another supplementary chapter is on Pluralism which has come to the arena as a reaction against the absolute monistic tendencies of Idealism. James' Pluralism, Pragmatism or Radical Empiricism—any name will apply to his system, if system it be, indifferently well—has been heralded with much flourish as the appearance of a new sun in the philosophical horizon. Of course, we are not concerned about Dr. Mc Taggart's pluralism. It is no pluralism in James' sense. It is a difference under the protection of unity which gives no cause of apprehension to the Idealist. If there is any wrong tendency in his system Dr. Haldar's Thesis should give it the necessary quietus. Our real concern is, about James and it is no concern in the real sense of the term. Because his system carries with it its own death warrant.

The world, to James, is a system of an infinite number of units without any *real* unifying principle to combine them into a system. The word *absurd* is writ large on the forehead of the much talked of philosophy of James. Yet the philosophy has a contribution to make to the progress of human thought. The American philosopher has revived the old rivalry of Sankhya and Vedanta to take the exclusive possession of the field which is not to be, because we have seen the reality of both sides of the shield. Both have been reconciled giving pre-eminence to the latter. Pandit Tattvabhushan has drawn our attention to the fact that the Difference is as real as the Unity. This is the very essence of the book. We do not refer to the other supplementary chapter because it is too abstruse for the ordinary reader and not because we have no sympathy with it.

The world as an object exist for the self which is self-conscious. Consciousness is the very life of the self and it becomes conscious of itself by being conscious of the object. This is the central doctrine of the whole system that has been carefully and logically built up in the body of *Brahmajijnasa*. This is the very foundation of the edifice; one may think that this is the proverbial pyramid on an apex. Yes, but the apex is quite capable of bearing the burden. Now, it is not possible to give an idea of the book unless one goes through the whole book and forms an idea himself. The main book contains four chapters on (1) The Self and the notself, (2) The Temporal and the Eternal, (3) Unity and Difference and (4) The Perfect and the Imperfect which present by way of a thorough index to the well-informed reader the fair range of thought covered by the discussion in the book which we recommend to the attention of the reader.

When *Brahmajijnasa* was first published "we were eating ideas." But those days are gone. We can quite understand that there are natures that would never be convinced of Idealism but it is really deplorable that there should be people who would not understand Idealism. For them the book is not meant. To the rest we recommend the book once again, because it will amply repay the perusal. No library in the country should be without it.

In conclusion we thank from the bottom of our heart the Principal of the Cocanada College and his chief, the enlightened Raja of Pithapuram whose services to the cause of Theistic literature cannot be overrated.

DHIRENDRANATH CHOWDHURI.

THE INDIAN LITERARY YEAR-BOOK AND AUTHORS WHO IS WHO FOR 1916. Edited by Nalinibhari Mitra, M.A., Professor of Mathematics, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad. Allahabad. The Panini Office, Bhubaneswari Asram, Bahadurganj, 1916. Price Rs. 2 only.

This is the second annual issue of this useful year-book. Though, as the editor says in the preface, "the present issue still leaves a good deal to desire," yet it is decidedly an improvement on the first issue. The ably written introduction to the first issue has been reprinted. Some of the figures given in it could have been brought up to date. The introduction is followed by directories of authors, periodicals, news agencies, libraries and reading rooms, literary societies and scientific associations, printing presses, and booksellers and publishers. There is no doubt that these directories will grow fuller and more accurate year after year with the growing co-operation of

the public. The appendices contain the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867; the Newspapers Act, 1908; the Indian Press Act, 1910; Indian Copyright Act, 1914; the Indian Naval and Military News Ordinance, 1914; and the Defence of India Rules, 1915.

Report of the Thirtieth Indian National Congress held at Bombay, 1915. Price: Re. 1-8 exclusive of postage; Rs. 2 inclusive of postage. Copies can be had from the Joint General Secretary, 30th Indian National Congress, Bombay Presidency Association Rooms, Apollo Bunder, Fort, Bombay (1).

It is a big volume of more than four hundred and fifty pages, foolscap folio, neatly printed in big clear type. In addition to a full report of the proceedings, including the speeches, there are in it plans, views, portraits, and groups, and eight appendices containing lists of delegates, members of the subjects committee, members of the reception committee, &c. It is needless to expatiate on the value of such Reports.

Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes. A Study in the Tendencies of Asiatic Mentality. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. With an Introduction by Wu Ting-fang, LL.D., late Chinese Minister to U.S.A., Spain, Peru, Mexico and Cuba: Shanghai: The Commercial Press, Ltd. 1916. Price 6 shillings. Calcutta agents: Chuckerverti Chatterjee and Co., 15 College Square, Calcutta.

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's present work is very valuable, and shows the extensive range of his studies and the wide reach of his mental outlook. Readers of the *Modern Review* can form some idea of its contents from the articles by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar which have appeared in some of our recent numbers, which all form parts of the book. The author has attempted to show in detail the underlying unity of Asiatic thought and culture as manifested in the civilisations of China, India and Japan, and has done his work in a way not yet achieved by any other writer.

He says in the Preface:—

"Neither historically nor philosophically does Asiatic mentality differ from the Eur-American. It is only after the brilliant successes of a fraction of mankind subsequent to the Industrial Revolution of the last century that the alleged difference between the two mentalities has been first stated and since then grossly exaggerated. At the present day science is being vitiated by pseudo-scientific theories or fancies regarding race, religion, and culture. Such theories were unknown to the world down to the second or third decade of the 19th century.

"Comparative Chronology and Comparative History will show that man, as an economic, political and fighting animal, has displayed the same strength and weakness both on the Asian theatre as well as on the extra-Asian.

"Comparative Literature and Comparative Art will show that man, as 'lover, lunatic and poet', has worked upon the same gamut of passions from Homer to Mæterlinck as from the Pharaonic Book of the Dead down to *Gitanjali*.

"Comparative Philosophy and Comparative Metaphysics will show that man, as positivist and mystic, has attacked the problems of the sphinx in the selfsame way and with almost similar results under the guidance of intellectuals from Confucius to Swami Vivekananda as from Socrates to Bergson.

"Comparative Anthropology and Comparative Psychology will show that man has everywhere and always been fundamentally a beast, and that beneath a superficial varnish of so-called culture 'the ape and tiger' hold their majestic sway,—giving rise to superstitions, prejudices, 'idolas' and 'avidyas'—under different guises and conventions. The brute-in-man is a fact,—the *datum*; but the god-in-man is only an idea,—the ideal to be realised."

All this will not be disputed by thoughtful readers, except as regards details and the inclusion or exclusion of the names of particular persons or books. But when Mr. Sarkar proceeds to observe,

"Comparative Religion and Comparative Mythology will show that man in his desire to have 'something afar from the sphere of our sorrow' has everywhere had recourse to the same *modus operandi* and has achieved the same grand failure which in his vanity he always chooses to call success. It would be found that, after all, divinity is but an invention of human imagination, in fact, the first postulate taken for granted. And on a broad view of all the forces that have inspired and governed life and activity, some of which are mis-called religion, and some not, man has ever been essentially a pluralist and an idolist.

"If anywhere there have been people professing a so-called monotheism in religion, a study of their daily life would indicate that they have been polytheists with vengeance in every other sphere—including in thousand and one varieties, social, economic and political. These varieties which take away the monotony of life and give a zest to it, do not, "pragmatically" speaking, differ in the last analysis from the varied rites and practices underlying a so-called polytheistic faith. What the polytheists call religion, the monotheists call culture. Life demands variety; culture, therefore, is varied. If you abstract a millionth part of this *kultur*, e.g., the unverifiable hypothesis of man about God, and choose to call it religion, every race can be proved to be monotheistic. But if you take the total inspiration of a human being or the chart of the whole life that a people lives, mankind has ever been polytheistic.

"If again, anywhere there have been people who have repudiated idols in religion, a study of their heart and feelings, their daily habits, their literary and artistic tastes, would indicate that they are paying the debt to "old Adam" in the shape of hero-worship, souvenir-cult, love-fetishes, "pathetic fallacy", mementos, memorials, relics, and what not. As formative principles of character, these "charms" are of the same genus as images erected in the temples by those who in their simplicity say—"We do not understand, we love."

"If there is superstition in the one form of pluralism and idolism there is equal superstition in the others. These are really 'human, all too human.' In fact, the greatest and most abiding of all superstitions in world's history has been the human demand for that ambiguous term Religion."

We cannot but say that he has fallen into many grievous errors. He is utterly and absolutely mistaken in thinking that "divinity is but an invention of human imagination, in fact, the first postulate taken for granted." He is equally mistaken in thinking that religion is the greatest and most abiding of superstitions. When he compares the souvenir-cult, love-fetishes, mementos, memorials, relics, and the literary and artistic tastes of some persons with the Hindu's worship of idols, and says that "what the polytheists call religion, the monotheists

call culture,' he does grave injustice to both the parties. The sincere and orthodox Hindu worships his idols, prays to them, makes vows to them, holds them sacred, and fans, bathes, and feeds them. Does any collector, admirer or connoisseur of art objects do the same to his pictures, images, &c.? If a man indulges in a thousand and one varieties social, economic and political, that does not show that he is a pluralist. He may be essentially devoted to the pursuit of the one underlying the many. It is not many years ago that heat, light, electricity and magnetism were supposed to be different physical forces, and the sciences were also held to be many, confined to distinct and water-tight compartments. But now it has been practically demonstrated that what is called physical force or energy is essentially one, though its manifestations may be different; consequently Science is now held to be one, though the sciences are many. Mr. Sarkar makes as great a mistake in practically saying that monotheists are really polytheists, as if one were to say that the older views of heat, light, electricity, magnetism, &c., and the many sciences, are the same as the opinion now held that force or energy is one and Science is one.

We thoroughly agree with the author in the following observations :

"It has been held generally that the Orient is static, and that the dynamic doctrine of Change is essentially non-Oriental. Thus, the following verses of Tennyson—

'The old order changeth yielding place to new
And God fulfils himself in many ways
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.'

are supposed to embody exclusively the spirit of the Occident. Let us, however, take a bit from the mind of China,.....Even the Great Sage himself was an advocate of the 'new order.' The second article in what may be regarded as the Educational Creed of Confucius is thus worded by Mr. Ku Hung-Ming in his recent translation of the classic *Ta Hsueh* :

'The object of a Higher Education is to make a new and better society.'

He then illustrates his point of view from Hindu Scriptures also, and concludes that "the idea of God fulfilling himself in many ways is neither an accidental patent nor a modern discovery."

The book is divided into 12 Chapters entitled the Hypothesis, the Cult of World-forces in Pre-Confucian China and Pre-Sakyan India, Confucius the historian and Sakyasimha the philosopher, the Religion of Empire-building—Neutrality and Eclecticism, the God-lore of China and India under the first Emperors, the Birth of Buddhism, a Period of so-called Anarchy in China, the Beginning of Hindu culture as World-power, the Augustan age of Chinese Culture, Japanese Religious consciousness, Sino-Japanese Buddhism and Neo-Hinduism, and the Study of Asiatic Sociology. Mr. Wu Ting-fang's Introduction is instructive, and gives the reader an insight into the philosophic toleration of all religions, practised in China. There is a copious bibliography and a good index. The printing is very clear and bold, and the binding neat.

No Hindu and Buddhist should fail to read the book, which ought to be a vade mecum of all patriotic Indians. The followers of other religions also will have their mental outlook widened by its study.

THE KING'S INDIAN ALLIES: THE RAJAS AND THEIR INDIA. By *St. Nihal Singh*. 56 illustrations.

London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Ltd. 1916
7s. 6d net. Pp. 308. Cloth gilt.

This book supplies a long-felt want. It could have been produced only by a journalist of Mr. Singh's standing working in London, with all possible sources of information accessible to him. It furnishes the reader with descriptions, narratives, facts and figures, which have not hitherto been available in any single work, or even in ordinary libraries, such as they are in India. No Indian patriot, publicist and platform-speaker should now claim to be well equipped who does not possess his copy of this book. In the study of geography were not now at a discount in our schools and colleges, one would expect such a book to be included in their curricula of studies, and certainly a place ought to be found for it in all educational libraries. It is both a book of reference and a work to be read through, and we have read every sentence in it with interest and profit.

The book directs attention to the Indians who exercise sovereign power over 850,000 square miles of India and 78,000,000 Indians. This area is slightly more than seven times that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; or nearly one third that of the United States of America, or more than two-thirds that of British India; though India of the Rajas does not form a compact block of territory. The population is about one and two-thirds that of the United Kingdom or more than four-fifths that of the United States of America; or a little less than one third that of British India. The powers possessed and exercised by the Indian rule, who number about 710, their administrative and private lives, their relations with the British, and their services to the Empire are described in the work. The races and religions of the Rajas and of their subjects, and the main facts concerning the portion of India that is under Indian rule, are dealt with. Only general information is given, no attempt being made to treat of individual States or Rulers.

The style of the book is clear, and all the chapters and sections interesting. The illustrations have been very artistically reproduced. THE EDITOR.

OUTLINES OF JAINISM by *Jagmenderlal Jaini*, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Judge of the High Court of Judicature, Indore State; President of the All India Jaina Association; Late Editor of the "*Jaina Gazette*"; Author of "*Roman Law*" Edited (with Preliminary Note) by F. W. Thomas. Cambridge: at the University Press. Messrs. Macmillan and Co. Ltd. Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Pp. xl + 156.

The author is a well-known person of whom the Jaina community to which he belongs may very rightly be proud. His present volume, which is issued by the *Jaina Literature Society* (London) in advance of a series designed to consist principally, but not exclusively, of translations from authoritative texts" is actually a Manual or Handbook of Jainism and is the first of its kind. Both the arrangement and treatment of the subjects dealt with are good and logical. Indeed, in a small compass Mr. Jaini has furnished the exposition of the texts selected systematically and printed in the Devanagari character suitably in the Appendices in such a way that a reader can very easily consult the authority of whatever he reads in the main body of the book which provides a pleasant reading. The Introduction

and the Appendices are full of various accounts of Jainism, and its literature, etc.

In showing (Introduction, p. xxxix) the points of difference between the two sects, Shvetambara and Digambara, Mr. Jaini writes that the Digambaras "do not admit of nuns," for they hold "that salvation is not possible for a woman." It seems to be a strange thing and quite contrary to the views of the sect of which he writes. It is a highly injurious belief that "Salvation is not possible for a woman!" But in fact, according to the sacred writings of both the sects women are allowed to become nuns; and nowhere they are denied salvation, nor prohibited to aspire to it. Their detailed account is to be found in several books, ancient and modern, with which, we cannot think that Mr. Jaini is not acquainted. We cannot, therefore, understand what he really means by writing so.

Mr. Jaini has rightly observed that the two substances *dharma* and *adharma* "are the greatest peculiarity in Jainism;" but the variety of uses of those two terms has confounded the true significance conveyed by them in Jainism. He has discussed it a little, but considering the importance of the subject one would welcome a more detailed discussion. Mr. Warren is perhaps the first man who has attempted to explain the terms in a scientific way saying that they imply nothing but two kinds of *ethic*. But he has not advanced any proof or argument. Nor is any one seen to support or refuse it. Truly speaking, the present reviewer frankly confesses that he could not yet fully grasp what the *dharma* and *adharma* of the Jaina Philosophy are in reality, to which so much stress has been laid.

"There are five *astikayas*—matter, time, space, *dharma* and *adharma*" (p. 26). In this line time has carelessly been put in the place of *jiva*, for time is not included in the *astikayas* as the author himself has said (p. 16).

There are also some printing mistakes in the Prakrita portion of the Appendices.

THE HINDU DOCTRINE OF TRANSMIGRATION
by the Rev. Canon W. Hooper, D.D. The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras, Allahabad, Calcutta, Rangoon, Colombo. Pp. 19. Price 1 Anna.

One thoroughly conversant with the systems of Indian Philosophy as well as Hinduism with all its aspects would write the pamphlet differing widely from the author who has refuted the Hindu doctrine of transmigration in it.

VIDUESHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

BENGALI.

PRITHVIRAJ. By Jogindranath Bose, B.A. Sanskrit Press Depository, Calcutta. Rs. 2.

Prithviraj is the third historical poem in Bengali, the other two being the romance of Padmini by Rargalal Bandyopadhyaya and the Battle of Plassey by Rabind Chandra Sen. Unlike his predecessors, the author of *Prithviraj* has depended more upon historical facts than upon his imagination. The copious references given at the foot of almost each canto bear eloquent testimony to the poet's anxiety to maintain historical accuracy for his graphic narration and development of the thrilling incidents leading to the downfall of the last of the Hindu Kingdoms at Delhi. The author has very faithfully traced the causes of this downfall, the most potent of which,

as every reader of history knows, was not the superiority of the Turkish Military strength, but the utter demoralisation of the Hindus in the twelfth century. Prithviraj, the bravest of the Rajputs, except perhaps Rana Pratap Singh, had repelled Muhammad Ghori at least once according to the author though several times according to tradition, but at last fell a victim to mutual jealousy, spite and treachery among the Hindu princes, foremost among whom was his cousin Joychand of Kanauj whose name has been handed down to posterity as the blackest traitor to his country. The deplorable want of cohesion and solidarity among the Hindus, their utter lack of patriotic sentiment and reckless indulgence in tribal animosities are all depicted in dismal colours which seem to reflect even the condition of the eighteenth century clothed only in the language of a remoter past. The character of Sanjukta is well defined and that of Prithviraj well sustained; while the patriotic Tungacharya stands out in bold relief as a heavenly inspirer vainly trying to infuse life into the dead bones of the valley. The book is noted for chastity of language, purity of diction and sublimity of thought. Its versification is varied and sonorous, although I would have very much wished that it had been written entirely in blank verse, which, in my opinion, is best suited to the sublimity of an epic poem. The author is a prominent figure in Bengali literature and his present achievement, which I fervently hope is not the last, will shed a lustre on his bright name.

AMBIKA CH. MUZUMDER.

HINDI.

PRACHIN KIRTI VA SAPTA ASHCARYYA by Pandit Shivanarayan Dwivedi. Published by Do. Crown 8vo. pp. 77. Price—rs. 8.

This contains accounts of the "Seven Wonders of the World" as also of four other similar wonders. The accounts are long enough to make the descriptions really useful and interesting. The book is illustrated and nothing necessary has been left out. The language is very good and the manner in which the publishers select the subjects for their publications, shows their knowledge of the trend of the present Hindi-reading public. The get-up of all the books published by the enterprising firm is excellent and on this point nothing need be said. No doubt the publishers are doing real service to the Hindi language.

NAISHADHCHARIT CHARCHA by Pandita Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi. Published by Do. Crown 8vo. pp. 119. Price—rs. 8.

This gives a critical review of Naishadhcharita and its author Shreeharsha. Considerable original research has been shown by the author in fixing the time and identity of Shreeharsha. The author has carefully discussed the views of all the previous critics on the controversial points connected with the great Sanskrit poet. An edition of this book was published long ago; but in this second edition various alterations have been made in the light of new information.

KARTAVYA by Pandit Shivanarayan Dwivedi and published by Do. Crown 8vo. pp. 233. Price—rs. 12.

This is a Hindi translation of Smiles' "Duty." The original book has proved so uniformly useful that much need not be said about the welcome reception which this translation will necessarily have from the

Hindi world. Dwivediji has proved himself a good Hindi writer and his rendering has been good. We had a translation of Smiles' "Duty" in Urdu and we hail with delight this much needful translation in Hindi. The get-up of the book will no doubt make the book attractive and suitable as a very nice prize-book.

PATIVRATA SUNITI by Pandita Katyayani Datta Trivedi and published by Do. Crown 8vo. pp. 78. Price—as. 4.

The Pauranic story of Dhruva and his mother Suniti has been described in this book in the form of a novel and the author is really to be congratulated on the way in which he has given life to the story. There is not one dull page in the book and both the language and style are attractive. This is a new and fruitful way of describing old stories. The get-up is excellent.

GULISTAN by Shree Haridas Vaidya and published by Do. Crown 8vo. pp. 360. Price—Re. 1-4-0. Second Edition.

Shaikh Sadi's Gulistan has been admirably translated by the author and at the end of every story the author has added his "moral." The particular point with the translation is that it is in simple language. The Persian Gulistan is very much appreciated and the translation has not receded so much from the spirit of the original as to make it less attractive. We believe the book will have encouraging reception.

MADHAV MANJARI by Pandeya Lochan Prasad and published by Do. Crown 8vo. pp. 90. Price—as. 4.

This is a collection of 32 poems composed by the author. We are struck by the fact that unlike most other publications in Hindi there is real poetry in a large number of these poems. Some of them are adaptations from English poems. The author must be encouraged in his endeavour. He is gradually making a name in the Hindi literature and we hope to see him push up.

RAJANI translated by B. Arajnandan Sahay and B. Raghunath Prasad Singh. Published by Messrs. Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 164. Price—as. 8.

This is a translation of the well-known novel of the same name written by Bankim Babu. As to the merits of the novel it is needless to say anything. Suffice it to say that the way in which Bankim Babu has adapted from the English novel of Lord Lytton is admirable—he has not borrowed much, but when he has borrowed, there is not much to distinguish it from an original production. The novel itself turns over a unique leaf in the pages of "love," and its manifestation, and no one except the illustrious author could deal with this aspect of it in the way he has done with the aid of his wonderful imagination. The translation has been chaste and very nice. The get-up of the book has kept up the reputation of the publishers who must be congratulated on their providing such literary treats for the Hindi-reading public.

PATROPHAR by Pandita Narmada Prasad Misra, Published by Do. Crown 8vo. pp. 63. Price—as. 4.

This contains a series of letters to a son which aim at giving apt instructions to him. This is a novel method in the Hindi literature of teaching morality and the author has carried out his plans with con-

summate dexterity. The subject-matter of the letter has been skilfully arranged and the book cannot but be useful. We commend the style and language of the publication.

ASHCHARYAJANAK GHANTI ETC., by Swami Satyadeva, published by the Satyagranthamala office, Johnstonganj, Allahabad, Crown 8vo. pp. 78. Price—As. 5. Second Edition.

We reviewed this book when its first edition was published. The stories are eminently readable and have much newness in them, both with regard to their matter and form. They are not love stories and this makes them all the more attractive, as there is a want of this sort of literature in Hindi. The book deserves encouragement certainly.

SANDHYA by the same author and published by the same office. Crown 8vo. pp. 14. Price—o.c. 5.

This contains mantras in Hindi like those used in Sandhya, but they relate to the improvement of self and the country. The analogy has been very carefully kept up. Towards the end there are some poems and a very short lecture. The book has a picturesque turn in it.

SAIVADHARMA by Mr. G. S. Amudah and published by Kumar Devendraprasad Jain, the Central Jain Publishing House, Arrah. Demy 8vo. pp. 6. Price—As. 4.

These pages have been very neatly got-up and contain the thoughts of the author on service of our fellow-brothers. The ideas have the tinge of universal brotherhood preached by theosophy; and they are imbued with a pious and noble spirit. The printing is very nice and the publishers have paid special attention to making the book attractive.

BALUPDESHA by Pandit Ramnarayan Misra and published by the Saraswati Sadan, Camp, Indore. Crown 8vo. pp. 69. Price—As. 4.

This contains very useful instructions, bearing on every phase of a student's life. The author has tried to make them catching by means of apt illustrations. There is considerable originality in the book and the author's method has not been the quoting or borrowing from other authors. The publication would be very suitable as a prize-book.

MAHADEVA GOVIND RANADE by Pandit Rameshwar Prasad Sharma. To be had at the Charit-mala office, Juli, Cawnpore. Foolscap 8vo. pp. 58. Price—As. 2.

This is the second of the Charit-mala Series and gives us a short but instructive life of the late justice Ranade. The facts and the different phases of his life have been very aptly selected, and the manner of description is satisfactory. Towards the end, several incidents of his life showing his magnanimity and expressive of his character, have been narrated. The style and language are good.

AMERICA BHRAHMAN PART I, by Shree Satyadeva, published by the Manager, Satyagranthamala Office, Johnstonganj, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 127. Price—As. 8. Second Edition.

We are glad that the second edition of this book

has been brought out. We reviewed its first edition at some length and need hardly repeat that the contents of the book are very interesting indeed.

JATIYA SHIKSHA by Shree Satyadeva and published by the Satyagranthamala office, Crown 8vo. pp. 21. Price—1-0-0.

In the form of questions and answers, the author gives in this little pamphlet the principles which constitute national life in India. Without definite ideas as to what a nation is and what material life consists of, people sometimes find difficulties and the book will remove this want. What is noticeable is the clear way in which the author has explained his points. The style is as usual simple and attractive.

BHARTIYA-VIDYARTHI-VINOD by Mr. Bhagwan Das Maheshwari and published by Pandit Ramjeelal Sharma, Hindi Press, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 88. Price—As. 6.

Some thoughts on different subjects of studies have been given in the book by the author. The articles were originally published in a magazine and they have been reproduced in the book. The views of the author are sound and he attaches much importance to the fact of Hindi being the national language of India. The language and get up are good.

(1) **SALAM KARAN DHARMA** by Pandit Dipchandrarajee Parvar, Narsinghpur, Crown 8vo. pp. 98. Price—As. 6.

(2) **ARADHNA SWARUP** by Munim Dharmachandrarajee Harjivandis, Crown 8vo. pp. 48. Price—As. 4.

(3) **SAGOR DHARMAMRITA** by Pandit Lilaram Jain, Indore. Second Half. Crown 8vo. pp. 313—535. Price—Re. 1.

To be had of the Manager Digambar Jain Fustakalaya, Surat.

(4) **JINENDRA MAT DARPAN** by Babu Banarasi Das, M.A., LL.B. Crown 8vo. pp. 29. Price 1 anna. Published by Brahmachari Shitalaprasad, Lucknow, and to be had at Hirabagh, Gurgaon, Bombay.

(5) **SACHCHAI SUKH KA UPAY** by Brahmachari Shitalaprasad and published by the Jain Sabha, Burnagar, Malwa. Crown 8vo. pp. 29. Price—not mentioned.

(6) **JAIN NIYAM-POTHI** by Brahmachari Shitalaprasad and published by the Jain Sahitya Prasarak Karyalaya, Chandavari, Gurgaon, Bombay. Royal 8vo. pp. 30. Price—6 p.

The first three publications deal with Jain philosophy and rituals, going into the details critically and in an explanatory way. Certain portions are no less useful to the general reader than to the followers of the Jain religion. The original quotations have been in most places given. The fourth book relates to the history of the Jain religion and strives to prove its antiquity by apt references. The fifth again gives a short account of the principles of the Jain religion and gives a reference to its propagators. The sixth is a collection of several series of vows of a suggestive nature and made in connection with the daily life of the Jains. They are all very practical.

SHREE RAMNAMAMRITA published by Babu Dwarkadas Kedarbhus Bhagat, 4, Chinipatti, Calcutta. Distributed gratis.

The publication has been due to the religious fervour of the publisher. The pages contain the sacred name of Shreerama repeated 21610 times, the number of breaths a man takes in a day and the author recommends its reading from beginning to end. The book has been introduced by a discussion of the worth of the name with a reference to several quotations and the preface also deals with the same point. Some adverse criticism has been passed against the book by a Calcutta paper, but we do not see anything to justify the points of the criticism.

CHAMPA by Mr. Krishnalal Varma and published by Mr. Amichandrarajee Jain, at the Pramimala Office, Gohana (Rohak). Crown 8vo. pp. 91. Price—As. 7.

There is much of interest in this novel which deals with the vicissitudes of a girl at the hands of her step-mother. The plot is simply laid and justice is made to triumph in the end. There is a great deal of pathos in the book, though the narrative is devoid of many intricacies. The style and get-up are good.

VILAYATI SAMACHAR-PATRON KA ITIHAS by Mr. Pyarilal Misra, Bar-at-Law, Chhindwara, (C.P.) and to be had of him. Crown 8vo. pp. 60. Price—As. 4.

The account given of the English newspapers in this book is really interesting and is calculated to increase the desire of Indians for patronising Vernacular paper. The author has published the narrative from his own personal experiences and from what he has himself seen. This has made the description particularly graphic. Some help has been taken from other publications as well. The language is good. We commend the book to the reader in general.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

ELEMENTARY GRAMMAR OF THE GUJARATI LANGUAGE, PARTS I. II. by Rao Bahadur Kamalashanker Trivedi, B.A., published by MacMillan & Co., Bombay. Paper Cover. Price Re. 2-0-2-0. (1910).

Nearly a generation spent in the educational department has fitted Rao Bahadur Kamalashanker to write with authority on this subject. It is needless to say that he has treated this difficult subject in a very able way, and in spite of some lapse here and there, we are of opinion that the books would serve their purpose very well.

PRABHUMAYA JIVAN, by Manilal Nathubhai Dashi B.A., published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmadabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 299. Price Re. 0-8-0. (1916).

This book introduces to the Gujarati reader, the very well-known works of Ralph Waldo Trine, (1) In Tune with the Infinite, (2) Every Living Creature, and Character Building and Thought Power. The translations are made by one who is in complete sympathy with the principles enunciated in the works.

SIX PAPERS ON KINDERGARTEN, by H. G. Anjaria, M.A., LL.B., Superintendent, Bombay Municipal Gujarati Schools, printed at the Lady Northcote Hindu Orphanage K. N. Sailor Press. Cloth bound. Pp. 82. Price: unpublished. (1916).

In his foreword the writer admits his lack of knowledge and experience, sufficient to enable him to write with authority on the subject of infant education. The papers which follow are we think too difficult to put an outsider into the correct path without extraneous help. We can therefore only echo the pious wish of Mr. Anjaria, that his book might assist others in making the subject more attractive.

RAS' MANDIR, by Gokuldas D. Raichura, printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Pp. 78. Paper cover. Price Re. 0-8-0. (1915).

This book contains songs which the writer has intended to be sung by Gujarati ladies as Garbas. The subject matter of the songs is necessarily moral. We however are a little sceptical about the capacity of those for whom they are written to understand the words and sentiments conveyed by them.

AITIHASIK RAS SANGRAHA, Pt. I., EDITED by Jain Acharya Shrivijaya Dharmasuri, printed at the Anand Printing Press, Bhavnagar. Pp. 96. Paper cover. Price unpublished. (1916).

This compilation consisting of six Rasas composed in the 17th and 18th centuries of the Vikrama era record many commendable deeds of the Jaina gentlemen of those times. The learned Acharya has indeed done a useful service to literature by bringing them out of obscurity. They are interesting from a historical point of view no doubt, but they also would prove of interest in their philological as well as social aspect.

GUJARATI VANCHAN MALA, FIRST BOOK, by K. G. Delvadakar, printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Ahmadabad. Paper cover. Pp. 24. Price Re. 0-2-0. (1916).

The writer calls himself a Kindergartenist and he has written this book according to his lights. There is nothing special in it.

KUSUM ANE KUMUD, PUBLISHED by N. B. Vibhakar, B.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law. Printed at the Surat Jaina Printing Press, Paper cover. Pp. 39. Price Re. 0-6-0. (1916).

This is the seventh publication of the Vichar Pushpa Mala, started by Mr. Vibhakar. Kusum and Kumud are the two heroines of the late Mr. Tripathi's well-known novel, Saraswatichandra, and two papers referring to several incidents in the delineation of their character and their fate are reprinted in this little book so that they might assume a more permanent form than that of journalistic contributions, which they originally were.

PANCH PREMKATHA, by Chandrashankar N. Pandya, B.A., LL.B. Vakil, High Court, Bombay, printed at the Manoranjan Press and published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Book-sellers, Bombay. Paper cover. Pp. 51. Price Re. 0-6-0. (1916).

Mr. Chandrashankar, whatever subject he touches, endows it with a special refinement of its own.

These fine love stories, though they tell us nothing unusual, are all the same gracefully written. They follow in their main outlines, the usual run of such stories, at present found all over the cultured vernaculars of India, in fact two of them are translations from Hindi, in their turn translated from Bengali. Still the style in which they are written, together with the sincerity of purpose they display, make them eminently readable. K. M. J.

URDU.

SAVANEH UMRI SRIDHI PRAKASH DEV JEE by Mr. Ram Narain Gupta. Printed at the Cent a. Printing Works, Lahore. Crown 8vo. pp. 206. Price—As. 12.

This is the biography of a great Brahmo saint whose life was one of ceaseless and cheerful toil amidst difficulties which would have upset the average man. The author has had the advantage of knowing the inner details of the life of his hero and hence he has been eminently successful. We commend the manner of his description. There are several nice blocks in the book. Several anecdotes of Mr. Dev's life will be found very instructive. The language of the book is chaste and good.

BRAHMO DHARM KAI BUNYADI USUL WA AQALD by Mr. Prakash Deva. Printed at the Central Printing Works, Lahore. Crown 8vo. pp. 145. Price—As. 5.

This is based on a book written by Maharsai Devendranath Tagore giving the general principles of Brahmo religion in a simple and intelligible manner. The author made the translation in the last two years of his life in the course of his illness and he could not have it published within his lifetime. However his strong and pious personality has left its trace on the book and made it all that could be desired.

EVERYBODY'S PROVERBS AND QUOTATIONS by M. Abdul Malik, 37, South Road, Italy, Calcutta and to be had of him. Crown 8vo. pp. 61. Price—As. 4.

The author is the Librarian of the Anjuman Mufidul Islam at Calcutta. The book is in two sections and is a collection of proverbs in English, the first section giving their Urdu equivalent also. Some of the proverbs have not been correctly given. The printing and get-up are very nice.

AKHBARI LUGHGHAT by Munshi Zayauddin Ahmadd Khan Sahib B.A., and to be had of the Manager Sultani Agency, Chhata Lal Unai, House no. 94 Delhi. Royal 16mo. pp. 155. Price—As. 10.

This book will be found very useful by them who do not know English and who find difficulty in understanding the Urdu newspaper fully, on account of their non-acquaintance with certain special and technical terms. The publication is pretty exhaustive and the book will supply a great want. The explanations are sufficient for the purpose required. The get-up of the book is satisfactory.

M. S.

TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Thou comest with the winsomeness of spring
 Upon a frozen land ; thy wandering feet
 Are heralded by the glad wakening
 Of moss and herb ; choirs of singers sweet
 From far-strewn islands range our scarped hills
 And warble thine own songs ; waters resound
 With sunny joy ; the air a murmur fills,
 Echoing the holy rapture thou hast found.
 O Master, when our hands are locked in strife,
 When men are scattering strength that might have made
 This world a happy home, we turn to thee
 To charm us from our wrath and agony
 Into the paths of love, whence we have strayed
 Long years, spurning the heavenly gift of life.

U.S.A.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

HOW TO MEET THE NEW ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN INDIA

BY HON'BLE BABU SURENDRANATH ROY, M.A., B.L.

WHAT is the cause of the present unrest in the country ? Is it due to Economic conditions or to the wild pulsation beating in the hearts of all persons at the present moment in the East as well as in the West. The range of horizon of our young men is not now confined within the four corners of the country but the vision of the vast world and its wonders captivates their minds. They see Japan rise like a bright Star in the firmament of heaven, an *enfant terrible* destroying the strongest mountain fortress in the world and laying low the proud Bear and dictating terms of peace to him. They see her manufactured articles flooding the country, before which those of the continent of Europe and America are fast disappearing. They hear as it were the war drum beating near their ears and see small European States fighting for their hearth

and home against terrible odds. They see even the sickman of Europe in a state of convalescence. They see the world filled with commerce—themselves dependent for their articles of everyday use upon foreign countries. Impressionable youths naturally enough lose their balance and brood over their unhappy lot, real or supposed. Is it to these causes that is due the present unrest or is it to the new Economic conditions in the country or to both ? Is it not a fact that the bread problem has become the most important and the most difficult of all problems in the country ? Agriculture, which was the principal source of maintenance and support, is not adequate to meet their ordinary wants, few though they be.

If the inner man remains satisfied, if one has not to think of the morrow, much of the unrest will disappear. What then is

to be done to bring about this desirable state of things? That the Government are anxious to solve this difficult problem which has presented itself before them is undeniable. Many are the remedies suggested both by Government officials and others who think a word of advice or of suggestion would not be superfluous.

Two or rather three very important solutions have been placed before the public, viz., (1) to give to the people Commercial Education by the University of Calcutta, (2) To promote agriculture, (3) To foster the industrial development of the country.

The question of the establishment of a college of commerce and of giving a degree in commerce is now before the University of Calcutta. The establishment of a College for commercial teaching or the conferring of a degree in commerce will not solve the problem of middle class unemployment.

I should like to say a few words about the development of industries in this country. It appears from the string of questions issued by the Holland Commission that the Commission means to work in right earnest and that something substantial can fairly be expected as the result of its deliberations. The Report of Mr. Swan on the Industrial Development of Bengal has touched upon some of the points, but from the nature of its scope it is not exhaustive and has not dealt with all the questions. I think we owe this Holland Commission to various causes—last but not least of which is this great war. Our rulers have at last come to realise not only the utter helplessness of the Indians to carry on their ordinary work and to satisfy their ordinary wants without the help of foreign products, but that England herself is powerless to supply their daily necessities. What with the contact of a civilised nation living almost an artificial life, what with its ideas of living which the Indians of ancient times never thought of, we have at last become hopelessly dependent upon foreign articles. There is another important subject to which we are indebted for this attention of Government to the industries of the country. It is the appearance of a number of youthful anarchists, mostly of the *Bhadralok* class. It is considered by many, probably even by some among our rulers that their appearance has something to do with the economic conditions of the

country. Hundreds, many thousands of our young men are now being yearly turned out from our schools and colleges, who are destitute of the wherewithal to support life or to earn an honest living. In these days when we ask for bread and receive a stone it has become absolutely impossible for our young men of the *Bhadralok* (or middle) class to earn a decent living. Every door is barred with gold and opens but to golden keys. Government cannot remain any longer an idle spectator of the scene. The steps therefore that is being now taken by Government should it lead to the industrial development of the country, would not be taken too soon. When the charter of the East India Company was renewed in 1813 the House of Commons showed great concern for the general welfare of the people of India; but they at the same time endeavoured to discover how the Indian manufactures and Indian industries could be replaced by British manufactures and British industries. But I think the Government both in England and in India are now seeking to replace foreign manufactures, by which I mean German, Austrian and Japanese manufactures and industries by Indian and British manufactures.

The Swadeshi movement of 1905 gave at first a great impetus to the industries of the country. It gave food to very large number of people who were struggling for existence. In 1912 I saw in the Railway Station at Kumarkhali—a comparatively unknown place in the District of Nuddea, cotton goods worth many thousands of rupees. They were all manufactured by the villagers of that place and were, I was informed, being manufactured since the Swadeshi movement had been set on foot and were sent out day in day out to the distant parts of the country. Young men of the *Bhadralok* class set up cottage industries with a capital of only Rs. 250 or thereabouts some for the manufacture of socks and some with a higher capital for that of banians and vests. This brought in sufficient profit to live upon and made them independent of clerical service. But the Swadeshi movement, sad to say, was looked upon in many instances with suspicion. It never entered the mind of our Government that British goods had already been to a large extent forestalled by foreign goods, I mean the manufactures of Germany, Austria and Japan. The result

of this apathy and laissez faire on the part of Government served to encourage these foreign industries which nipped in the bud the infant industries of the country and drove out of the market those of England as well. The cheap woollen fabrics of Germany competed with those of Cawnpore and Dhariwal and practically displaced the British woollen fabrics. Paper, pencil, dyes, hide, glass, medicines, steel and iron were generally all imported from the continent of Europe. The Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, of all governments in this country, took a genuine interest in the development of industries since that time. What with the apathy and indifference of Government, what with the want of commercial morality and business habits among my own countrymen, the Swadeshi movement could not very well prosper. Government have come to realise although too late, the gravity of the situation. Side by side with the Swadeshi movement of 1905 there was visible in all directions a spirit of restlessness among the youths of this country. The bread problem had become more difficult than any other which a statesman in India had to deal with. The Government could not any more shut their eyes to the changing times and to the stern realities which stared them in the face. It was time for Government to bestir themselves and to do something to keep the nation afloat so that it might not sink in mid-ocean in its struggle for existence.

What then ought the Government to do for the people of this country?

We understand that in England the Board of Education has issued a scheme for the organisation and development of Scientific and Industrial research. We have, thanks to the liberality of Sir Rash Behary Ghose and Sir Taraknath Palit, the nucleus of an Institution which may be productive of great good hereafter in the development of industries. Heaven knows what they are doing at Bangalore in the Tata Institute. What then should be the line of action which the Government ought to take under the present state of things and what will conduce to the real welfare of the country.

India, especially Bengal, is essentially an agricultural country. We cannot, however, expect young men of the *Bhadralok* class to take to agriculture, to become actual tillers of the soil to earn a living.

But we must also in this connection take into consideration the fact that we are dependent entirely upon Providence for seasonable rains. India with its abundance—nay—almost inexhaustible raw materials, with its mines and minerals, with its population gentle and sober and contented with little, if properly utilised can find employment for her myriads of sons. But the people are generally of a non-enterprising nature. It will be necessary to create a spirit of enterprise. Moreover we have not in this country as in Europe, cheap capital ready for investment for large enterprises.

What then is to be done with the young men of the *Bhadralok* class of this country? We have not the hundreds, may be thousands, of appointments in the commissioned ranks of the army or navy open to such youths as are open to the youths of the British isles or in the continent of Europe. We have not the hundreds of ecclesiastical appointments where educated young men can find comfortable employments. We have very few industrial concerns where these young men can find suitable occupations. The prospect before them is not hopeful—nay it is gloomy. Time was when the caste system stood in the way of the *Bhadralok* class taking to any and every occupation. But times are altered. The struggle for existence has become keen and acute. The bread problem has become the most difficult of all problems and it has effected a complete revolution in our ideas. Young men would be glad to take to manual labour if by that they can earn a decent living and our idea of decent living is only to keep body and soul together. I have known members of respectable families—even Brahmins now reduced in circumstances take to work as blacksmiths. I know numbers of young men who have taken to the work of Electrical mistries as they thought they would thereby be able to earn an honest living. And as in England so in this country we hope to see at no distant date a great part of the artisans ceasing to belong to the "lower classes" in the sense in which the term is used in this country. In that honest and really Swadeshi concern, the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Limited, not only 34 are *Bhadraloks* out of a total of 68 men employed in the office, but that in the factory, out of a total of 376 men employed, 62 are *Bhadraloks*, of whom 5 are

graduates and 6 are undergraduates and the average pay of the latter is Rs. 51 per month.

As I have already said that several have been the causes which prevented the growth of the industrial development of this country at the time of the Swadeshi movement. The Government did not look with favour upon the Swadeshi movement and anything which is not looked upon with favour by Government cannot at least in this country prosper. Not that money was not forthcoming. Individual people and very respectable people came forward with money to support such industries, as for instance match factories, but in all cases want of Government help in making arrangements for facilities by Railways, want of expert knowledge and last, but not least, want of business morality among my countrymen all contributed to the failure. Of course in Europe, where generally industrial movements are carried on by Joint Stock Companies, such development owe their growth to a very large extent to the growth of business morality, to a spirit of honesty and uprightness in commercial matters among those who undertake to carry on the business.

The country is not very rich and cannot therefore undertake big enterprises like Jute Mills. But the people can co-operate and undertake small industries. If the country is flooded with such industries, not only will the question of the middle class unemployment be to a great extent solved but that the lower classes may also be usefully employed. Want of Capital will gradually have to be solved. As Professor Marshall has said, "Co-operators who have firstly a high order of business ability and probity and secondly the personal capital of a great reputation among their fellows for these qualities will have no difficulty in getting command of enough material capital for a considerable undertaking."

There are several sorts of industries in this country. Cottage industries which can be undertaken with a small capital, and industries which require large capital to make it a success. In a country like India where some of the industries are almost in an infant stage we cannot expect any great success unless Government were to help the undertaking not only with money to foster their growth but also by making purchases, for the Government are in this country large consumers of manu-

factured products—now purchased from other countries.

With reference to some of the questions of the Industrial Commission I think the public cannot give any satisfactory answer. It would be much better for the Commission to have those answers direct from Government. For the information so obtained will be firsthand and it is sure to be correct. Such questions as "what experience have you had of financial aid by Government of industrial enterprises" can best be answered by Government. It is, however, it is the intention of the Commission to be informed about financial aid by foreign governments to many of their industries I think all we shall be able to say is from the published reports of these Governments which are available more to our Government than to the public men of our country.

There are, as I have said, several means by which Government can help the industrial movement :

- (i) By guaranteeing a reasonable profit to the shareholder,
- (ii) By making advances on low rate of interest,
- (iii) By direct subsidising,
- (iv) By giving facilities to the transmission of raw products from one part of the country to the other,
- (v) By putting restrictive duties upon the imports of other countries,
- (vi) By fostering co-operative credit societies,
- (vii) By making purchases of manufactured products in India in preference to those of England and the continent.

(1) The system of guarantee by government or by semi-government bodies like Municipalities or District Boards has been to a very great extent a success in this country. The large number of light Railways which have intersected large tracts of land and which generally yield a very fair profit not only to the shareholders but also to the public bodies which guarantee the minimum profit have proved a great success. If it had not been for this guarantee these Railways could never have been undertaken. In fact in some instances undertaken by European firms Government have invested the moneys in their hands belonging to the Court of Wards, or rather have advanced moneys belonging to the Court of Wards for undertaking these enterprises. We do not grudge this. What we say is

that the same treatment has not been accorded so far to purely Indian enterprises of this nature.

(2) The second method is by making advances either to individuals or to a joint Stock Company on low rate of interest. I do not advocate that such advances should be made wholesale but where the Government is satisfied with the solvency of the concern or the solvency and honesty of the persons who have let afloat the concern, I think the Government can help it with some pecuniary assistance. This is a principle well recognised and adopted by Government in making *taccavi* advances. The risk generally is not very great—and even where there is some, Government ought to be prepared to undertake it.

(3) The principle of direct subsidy is one which ought to be made in exceptional cases. We have heard much about bounty-fed sugars of Germany and Austria and also the manufactured articles of Japan, many of which cost their manufacturers comparatively less amount and can therefore compete very well with such articles of other countries.

(4) The giving of facilities for transport to the raw products of one part of the country to the other part is one which can be done by Government without any pecuniary loss to anybody. If the raw materials are brought in Railways at a comparatively small cost, it reduces the cost of the eventual outturn of the manufactured articles and also gives an impetus to the exports of raw produce to export them in larger quantities.

(5) This is putting restrictive duties upon imports of other countries. The countervailing duties upon sugar which I think Lord Curzon imposed upon foreign sugars is a case in point. While on this subject I cannot help mentioning how the interests of the Bombay mill owners were sacrificed for those of Lancashire. There was no justification for it. But the Lancashire votes in the House of Commons were more powerful than the voice of the dumb Indians.

(6) With regard to Co-operative Credit Societies, I think Government can foster them without much risk, whereas it may have the indirect effect of fostering true self-help among the masses of the population.

(7) As I have already said Government in this country is a large consumer of manu-

factured articles. But unfortunately Government generally prefer English made goods to those of this country. More than a quarter of a century ago from his place in the Imperial Council Sir Griffiths Evans in a Budget debate criticised the action of the Government of India in purchasing stores required for India through the Secretary of State. But it seems no one took much heed of the same. For it appears that the purchases are still made of articles made in England in preference to those of this country even when they are manufactured by English firms. The other day the Bengal Chamber of Commerce had to point out to the Minister of Commerce about the purchase of cement in England by Government though the article was being manufactured in India. Government with their numbers of offices, with their army, with their Railways require a large number of articles and can support and foster a number of indigenous industries. And if the public know that the Government will patronise them by making purchases they will be only too ready to enter the field of industry and I think if the Government have to pay a little more for articles of this country than those of England Government ought not to grudge that.

These are no doubt some of the ways by which the industries of the country may be fostered. But what this country wants is not that one or other of the means should be applied with a liberal hand. There should be a network of industries all over the land where young men now running to waste may find fair fields for honest work and may earn honest living. Any money spent in this direction will not be money thrown away. The suggestions above made are only some of the ways by which the country may be saved. If the statistics of imports and exports of raw products and manufactured articles of this country were to be examined, it will be seen that the proportion of the former to the latter is very great.

Helpless as this country has become, more helpless than many people are prepared to admit, helpless even to carry the ordinary and everyday work without the help of articles of foreign import, we should take early, nay immediate steps, to be independent of them. And in this Government ought to stretch out their helping hand whether it be by the guaranteeing of a fair

dividend to the shareholders or by helping them with loans or by subsidising them. They will thereby not only help to work out the industrial salvation of the country and make the people independent of any foreign article but give employment to a large number of young men of our country who in the absence of any useful employment can never prove to be useful members of society.

That Government can help her in diverse ways, if they really mean to help us, is amply testified by the action taken by the Government of the United Provinces. It has, as I have said, taken a genuine interest in the development of industries from the commencement of the administration of Sir John Hewett. We find for example the following in the report of the Director of Industries on general industrial work in the United Provinces for the year 1915-16.

"Government sanctioned a grant to Messrs. D. Waldie & Co. Limited, on the recommendation of the Board of Industries for the purpose of experimenting in the production of bichromate of potash upon a commercial scale. The chromite ore was procured from Beluchistan, the Railways concerned kindly granting a very special rate for its carriage. The experiments have now practically reached their final stage, it is settled that we can make it at a price which will compete with imports even in normal times. The local production of bichromate will be of great benefit to the glass dyeing and tanning industries.

"The same Company are now making epsom salts from magnesite ore procured through the agency of this Department, and in this case also the Railways concerned have given very favourable terms of freight."

I need hardly say that Messrs. D. Waldie & Co. are a Calcutta Firm.

The Government of Bengal have, I have already said, at least in one instance, helped a British Mercantile Firm in the construction of light Railways by advancing money of the Court of Wards which they had in their hands. There is also another instance in which the entire cost of acquiring land for a similar undertaking was paid by Government.

My countrymen have taken to tea plantation and they have become very successful so far. But one of the members of the Bengal Legislative Council found fault with Government the other day for showing un-

due preference to the European teaplanters of Jalpaiguri in the matter of road facilities.

The Government of Bengal set apart in its last Budget a lac of Rupees for the industrial development of the Presidency besides the pay of a Director of Industries. But on account of the Holland Commission it has not been able to utilise the amount.

The work of the Victoria Memorial and the Behar High Court given by government to Messrs. Martin & Co., the largest shareholder of which is an Indian, or the building contract given to Messrs. J. C. Banerji & Co., by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce shows that the Government or the European Mercantile Community at times favour Indian enterprise, at least when it is quite certain of the success of the undertaking.

It was only the other day (21st October) at the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Ahmedabad that the following resolution was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Puroshottam Das Thakurdas of the Bombay Legislative Council:

"That this conference accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement and earnestly appeals to our countrymen to make sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries by giving preference wherever practicable to Indian products over imported commodities, even at a sacrifice, and respectfully invites the attention of the Government to the necessity of actively encouraging and promoting the same by (1) the early abolition of the cotton excise duties: (2) adopting a special system of import duties to foster the growth of nascent industries: (3) by arranging to provide financial facilities and special concessions for the development of textile and other Indian industries through the Presidency banks."

That the system of guaranteeing or subsidising or advancing money at low rates of interest to private efforts till private enterprise could support itself is one of the recognised methods which have the sanction of great authorities in Political Economy. Says Mill,

"A good government will give all its aid in such a shape as to encourage and nurture any rudiments, it may find, of a spirit of individual exertion. It will be assiduous in removing obstacles and discouragement; to voluntary enterprise, and in giving whatever facilities and whatever direction

and guidance may be necessary. Its pecuniary means will be applied when practicable in aid of private efforts rather than in supersession of them, and it will call into play its machinery of rewards and honours to elicit such efforts.

"Government aid when given merely in default of private enterprise, should be so given as to be, as far as possible, a course of education to people."

But while on the subject of industrial development we think that steps should be taken to have a proper Technological Institute in the country. No doubt the Shib-pore Engineering College has considerably improved of late under its able Principal but it is capable of further expansion. Young men of some education after getting proper practical training in the Institute may not only carve out a career for themselves but may find useful employment in the numerous industries which may be developed. Or young men of some education having a practical training in a big industrial concern, such as a Jute Mill or a Cotton Mill or a Railway workshop can enter such institute in order to have a knowledge of the theoretical branch of the subject. The report of the Committee appointed by the Government of Bengal for the opening of a Technological Institute has been before the Government for some time. The Holland Commission may very well consider the report.

That we have the best materials in this country for industrial enterprises admits of no doubts. This is the country which pro-

duced the finest muslins in the world, the best ivory works, the shawls of Cashmere, the carpets of Cashmere, Amritsar and Agra, the lace and silk work of Benares and the silk of Murshidabad. That the people of this country, if properly trained, can make the best artisans in the world, has been amply proved by the fine works of art which they have produced. It is not necessary to impress upon the Government the present sad industrial state of the country. The facts are well known to Government. The very cloths that we wear every day and the sugar that we use, the iron vessels wherein we cook our food, the shoes, the soap and other articles of everyday use, even the implements of husbandry and the ornaments with which we adorn our gods and goddesses are all of European manufacture. No doubt much will depend upon the honesty, business capacity and perseverance of my countrymen for the revival of its industries whether dying or dead, or for the starting of new ones. If the Government would work in right earnest for the industrial development of this country we have every reason to believe that it would redound to its laudable endeavours; and the people of this country would bless the days to come and bless the Government for having inaugurated an era of prosperity among the teeming millions of a poor and law-abiding people, rendered, in some instances, lawless and discontented, not by misrule, but by dearth of sympathy and rarity of Christian charity.

GLEANINGS.

Japanese Topknots.

Though the topknot is now a thing of the past in Japan its origin and history as well as the cause of its disappearance may prove interesting to those not well acquainted with the spirit and custom of Japan.

Of course the topknot was worn only by men, women having their own manner of coiffure. In the remotest times the man of Nippon wore long hair, divided in the middle and falling loosely down each shoulder, usually, however, tied at the ears in what is known as the *mizura* style. On solemn or very special occasions small branches of trees or leaves of

plants were stuck in the hair, or wreathed about the head, the *hikage-no-kazura* and the *masaki-no-kazura* being favourite vines for this purpose. In the time of the Emperor Suiko about the middle of the sixth century high officials were ordered to wear special headgear, which made it necessary to form the hair into a queue and bind it on the top of the head, ordinary persons wearing the hair in the ordinary way. In the Kamakura era the queue was formed so as to accommodate the headgear of officials, the topknot being tied in what some have called the "gun-hammer," style, or *chommage*. In the Tokugawa period it was often tied behind with a string, especially among the lower and middle classes.



Japanese Coiffure of the Chivalrous age.

During the civil wars of the Kamakura shogunate long hair was found inconvenient to the warriors; and so they used to shave the forehead far back, and wear a short queue behind. This gave the head a tonsured appearance; but the style was comfortable, as it afforded the escape of heat from the middle of the head during violent action. In time this tonsure style came into fashion in Court circles also, being quite generally adopted under the Ashikaga regime, the Court officials wearing their queues erect, called the *chasenmage*, or the "tea-stirrer" queue, which was built up in a lofty position toward the crown of the head, bound tightly with cord, the colour of the cord showing the rank. Court nobles of the 5th rank wore purple cord, the next rank white cord, while general officers wore red cord, and so on. Thus the nobles were distinguished from commoners by wearing a special style of queue, the lower classes having only a common tuft of hair tied behind, with their foreheads shaven. Physicians usually wore their heads shaven like priests.

The long peace of the Tokugawa era led to various changes in the style of wearing the queue, which became enlarged considerably and assumed a position somewhat ornamental turning to the top of the head, the hair being thrust out at the base of the head and the short queue protruding above it, not exactly on the top, but between the top and the back of the head. Children had a style of their own; before adolescence they had the forelock dressed; but on reaching manhood it was shaved and the queue appeared. The short queues of earlier Tokugawa era gave way to a longer style from the year 1772



Japanese top-knots.

and great attention was given to showing artistic queues. Pages wore their queues sticking out straight behind, or else had their heads close shaven all over. Ordinary persons now began to extend the queue more and more toward the top of the head, having it lie flat on the middle of the tonsure. Some had their tonsure cut wide and others preferred it narrow. There were some 40 or 50 styles of male coiffure at this time. The method of tying the queue was different for merchants, *samurai* and artisans, and so on. The merchant's queue had more of a bulb on the end than that of the laborer, and was longer also; the artisan wore a short queue with the end spread somewhat like a brush and had no pomade.

With the coming of the Meiji period the people were ordered to cut off their queues; but they did not at all take to what they regarded as a barbarous style of wearing the hair. In the remoter portions of the country the peasants clung to their old way of coiffure; and some do so even to this day. The number is gradually dwindling, however; and now it is very seldom that one sees a man with a queue. So long has the custom been out of fashion that now the average Japanese has forgotten the distinctions between the various queues that each class should wear. It is a coiffure that only hairdressers attached to theatres understand, as they have to dress the heads of the actors according to the period the play represents. The only persons who still wear the topknot are the professional wrestlers, as this is their distinctive mark.

—The Japan Magazine.

Ancient Hindu Science.*

(Nature)

A characteristic feature of the present day literary activity of the philosophically minded men of science in India is seen in the commentaries they are publishing from time to time on their ancient system of scientific doctrine, partly, no doubt with the object of enlightening western nations concerning the existence in these systems of certain root ideas which are usually held by us to be the product of western thought alone. The more our knowledge grows, the more certainly will it be seen that many of these fundamental concepts are common to all systems of philosophy, and that, in the absence of an accurate chronology it becomes increasingly difficult to determine where or with whom their germs originated. It is possible, of course, that some of these fundamental ideas were independently conceived, but it is equally probable that they may have had a common origin or have been radiated from a common source. In such case there is ground for the supposition that this common source was India. But in reality it is impossible to say with any approach to accuracy how eastern knowledge travelled in the far off times to which we are referring. We can only surmise that these ancient philosophies found their way along trade routes through Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria to the Greeks and Egyptians and thence along the Mediterranean littoral into Spain and western Europe.

In the book before us, Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal makes no exaggerated claims to the antiquity of the body of knowledge with which he deals. Indeed, he says, in the present state of Indian chronology it is impossible to assign dates to the original sources from which his material have been drawn. Practically, he thinks it may be assigned to the millennium 500 B. C. to 500 A. D., which is comparatively late in the history of human thought. With respect to the west, all he definitely asserts is that the Hindus had, if not a prior claim, at least an independent share with the Greeks in the work of constructing scientific concepts and methods in the investigation of physical phenomena. Indeed, it is probable that they were earlier than the Greeks in accumulating a body of knowledge capable of being applied to industrial technique. It is at least certain that Hindu scientific ideas deeply influenced the course of natural philosophy in Asia, in China and Japan, towards the East and in the Saracen Empire in the West?

The book under review consists of a series of monographs on the positive sciences of the ancient Hindus. Some portion of it has already appeared in Dr. P. C. Ray's *Hindu Chemistry*, viz., the chapters dealing with the mechanical, physical and chemical theories of the ancient Hindus and with their scientific methods. The author regards his book as preliminary to a more comprehensive work on Comparative Philosophy, since philosophy in its rise and development is necessarily governed by the body of positive knowledge preceding or accompanying it. Hindu philosophy, he considers, on its empirical side was dominated by concepts derived from physiology and philology, whereas Greek philosophy was dominated by geometrical concepts and methods. The ultimate object of his labours, apparently, is to attempt a comparative estimate of Greek and Hindu

science, with, it is hoped, a measure of success and some approach to finality.

Dr. Ray's work on Hindu chemistry has already been the subject of notice in these columns. On the present occasion, therefore, we purpose to restrict ourselves to an examination of the chapters dealing with Hindu ideas on kinetics and acoustics; on plants and plant life; on the classification of animals; and on Hindu physiology and biology.

To begin with, a western student of the book meets with an initial difficulty in the different systems of transliteration adopted by the two contributors. It is to be hoped, in the interests of uniformity, that if western literature continues to be augmented by eastern contributions of this character some understanding on this matter may be arrived at. It is difficult enough as it is for the western mind to assimilate eastern thought, or to appreciate its subtleties, without the difficulty being unreasonably increased by a matter which is surely capable of satisfactory settlement by philologists. A more serious difficulty consists in the employment by the author of terms like 'Isomeric,' 'Polymeric,' etc., which are essentially modern, and used by us in a perfectly definite sense to express modern ideas but which in the book are adopted to connote conditions which are only very remotely analogous. Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal is well aware of what he admits is a questionable freedom. It would be difficult in all cases to suggest an alternative, but it must be admitted that the loose use of well defined modern terms to express vague or only very distantly related ideas does not conduce to accurate thinking.

The chapter on mechanics deals with ancient Hindu ideas of the analysis of motion, of motion considered in relation to its causes; of motion not due to material contact of which the mechanical causes are unknown, and which are to be ascribed to the universal final cause (Adrishta) e.g., first motion of primordial atoms, the upward motion of gaseous particles, the movement of iron towards the magnet, capillary motion as of liquid particles from the root to the stem of a plant, etc. The idea attached to the hypothesis of Adrishta (which simply means 'unseen') seems to have been modified in the course of time. Originally it would appear to have been used as an expression for agnosticism, no transcendental interpretation being attached to it. The chapter next treats of force; the causes of pressure and of impact; gravity; curvilinear, vibratory and rotatory motion; fluidity and the motion of fluids; measurement of motion; units of time and space; relative and serial motion. The author shows no inclination to see anticipations which are not strictly legitimate. He points out that the Vaisheshic theory of motion made only a distant approach to Newton's first law of motion, and that whilst a good foundation was laid for the explanation of the accelerated motion of falling bodies, Galileo's discovery was not anticipated. But there would seem reason to believe that Vachaspati laid the foundations of solid geometry eight centuries before Descartes and that Bhasker (1150 A.D.) computing planetary motion, appears to have used the differential calculus.

Ancient ideas on acoustics have a remarkable similarity to modern theories. Echo was supposed to be a reflection of sound, as an image in a mirror is a reflection of light. Attempts were made to explain pitch, intensity and timbre by difference in the characteristics of the air waves. The nature of musical sounds and intervals was the subject of acute speculation. Mediaeval compilations explain musical

* *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, by Dr. B. Seal. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1916)

tones and their relations with reference to melody as harmony was altogether unknown.

The wonderful plant life of India naturally stimulated attempts at classification, and a short account of the various systems attributed to Charak, Prasastapad, Amara, and others is included in chapter 4. A section is devoted to elementary ideas of plant physiology characteristics, of plant life, sexuality and consciousness. It is a curious and suggestive chapter not without interest to the modern plant physiologist.

Not less interesting are the early Hindu attempts at the classification of animals based upon mode of origin whether placental, oviparous from moisture and heat, or from vegetable organisms. Snakes naturally received much attention, and elaborate accounts are given of the action of the poison of the several venomous families. This is one of the longest chapters

in the book, and the accounts of the various systems are given in considerable detail.

Space precludes any attempt to give any description of ancient Hindu ideas concerning physiology and biology. Naturally the phenomena of metabolism, of the circulatory system, and of the vascular and nervous system; of the seat of consciousness; of foetal development, sex, heredity, received attention and were the subject of speculation, often based upon accurate observation, always interesting, and frequently highly suggestive. But enough has been stated to show that Dr. Brajerendra Nath Seal has given us a most valuable contribution to the history of science by means of a work which must have involved a vast amount of study and research into a literature which is practically inaccessible to European students of physical science.

THE DOMINIONS AND INDIA

BY HY. S. L. POLAK.

IN "The problem of the Commonwealth", Mr. Curtis, as spokesman for what Sir H. H. Johnstone calls the "Round Table" school of Imperialism, commits himself and his fellow-workers to the following opinions:—

"Responsible men like Sir Robert Borden, Sir Clifford Sifton, and Mr. Fisher have declared that the time is at hand when the various self-governing peoples, for whom they speak, must come to control their own foreign affairs no less than the peoples of the British Isles. In order to do this some changes must clearly be made, and the sole purpose of the present inquiry is to state the conditions upon which such control can be given without dissolving the Commonwealth into independent states. And one of those conditions is surely this, that a British citizen in the Dominions cannot be made responsible for the foreign affairs of the Commonwealth, without also becoming responsible for the Government of its subject peoples and sharing in the long and difficult task of training those peoples to govern themselves. The two things are by nature inseparable."

And we are told, besides, that "the task of preparing for freedom the races which cannot as yet govern themselves is the supreme duty of those who can."

Two important facts emerge from the views thus expressed. First, we may gather that the inhabitants of "the Commonwealth"—by which, of course, is meant the British Empire—may be separated into two main divisions, namely, "British citizens" and "British subjects,"

the latter, including the people of India, being subordinate to the former. Secondly, we have the assurance that the class known as "British citizens," merely by their being self-governing, in the political sense, are fitted to control the destinies of the subordinate class of "British subjects," which, in fact, it is their "supreme duty" to do, until the latter have achieved the sublime heights of self-government already gained by the more fortunate and superior—in fact, the Imperial—class. This, of course, is merely Teutonism in another form, though its authors do not appear to be aware of it.

The British connexion, with its undoubted blessings to India, has also created class-interests which are diametrically opposed to anything in the nature of an extension of self-government to the great Dependency. Those who have criticised most forcefully the claims of the European members of the Indian Civil Service to control Indian affairs, for as far as the mind can reach, do so because, for one reason, they denounce the vested interest of foreigners in the rule of India. Apart, too, from the military group of special and permanent interests, there are certain elements in the European mercantile community, both in England and in India, whose financial interests

render them equally irreconcilable to the government of India by Indians. In fine, so soon as class and race interests are assailed by the storm of public criticism of their validity and their real and permanent value to the country in which they have been created, all thought of political progress must be jettisoned, or, in the opinion of the privileged castes, the ship of state—in India—will founder. To these fixed and perpetual interests in the governance of India Mr. Curtis and his friends now propose to add yet another, that of the self-governing Dominions. No doubt the proposers of the innovation would urge, in support of their thesis, that the young democracies, as they are poetically described, the strong and fruitful daughters of Britannia, will naturally favour the adoption of measures calculated to bring nearer the happy day when India shall emerge from the sorry condition of the dependant and enter the radiant state of complete political equality.

Some years ago, following upon the destruction of the inefficient Republican regime in the Transvaal, an era of Efficiency—with a capital E—was inaugurated by Lord Milner, to whom a free hand was given in the difficult task of restoring order out of chaos. He surrounded himself with a number of "young lions"—locally known as the "Kindergarten"—to whom was entrusted the administration of the various departments created *ad hoc*, and whose watchword, too, was Efficiency. They had passed brilliantly through Oxford. They were imbued with lofty ideals of what was for the good of "the people." They produced carefully thought out—and very expensive—schemes of social and economic amelioration. They showed themselves as grave, earnest, and zealous exponents of the whole art and science of government but at this time they did not believe very much in self-government. They were juvenile, it is true, but they were tremendously efficient and very leonine in their majesty. They held themselves aloof, like the gods on high Olympus, took themselves very seriously, as is the wont of divinities, and raised supercilious eyebrows at the criticism of unfavoured persons dwelling in the "outer darkness," who might not even have studied at Oxford, who could not be expected to appreciate "efficient," "majestic," or "leonine" methods of administration, and who even

suggested, with a quite unwonted temerity, that "efficiency," "majesty," and the other great virtues were possibly not all that was necessary for their good government, in which, perhaps, a gift of humour and sympathy, and a knowledge of some of the foibles of human nature—that sometimes likes to try to govern itself—might play a humble part.

Now it is never pleasant to hark back to a man's past, of some of whose incidents he may not be altogether proud, but it is occasionally necessary to examine his credentials when he comes forward, philanthropically proffering great gifts, even when we are bidden not to look a gift-horse in the mouth. But though the Latin proverb *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*, may not be quite applicable, it would not be entirely out of place in the case of Mr. Curtis, for *he* was one of Lord Milner's "young lions" of those days, and *he*, more than any other, was responsible for and strongly advocated, in the columns of *The Times*, whose hospitality was specially bespoke for him, the Transvaal Asiatic Ordinance, whose passage, in the nominated Legislative Council, in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of the Indian community, for eight years plunged South Africa into a vortex of racial passions, and shook the Empire to its depths. No-one, of course, would accuse Mr. Curtis of having acted with malice and a forethought. Doubtless, indeed, he believed that he was doing the Indian population of the ex-republic a great and inestimable service, in indicating how it could best be regimented and placed under the parental guardianship of officials who, unfortunately, were not sufficiently olympian to escape immersion in the sea of colour-prejudice by which they were surrounded. In fact, Mr. Curtis believed that people who do not count politically must be governed for their own good, in spite of themselves, and without any heed of their very unnatural protests that all the conditions of their environment were not known and that action should be stayed, at least, until they were. His views have, beyond doubt, been very much modified since the halcyon days of 1906. To him must be attributed much of the credit for the spade-work that later led to the Constitution of the Union of South Africa. Ten years of observation of the results of one's errors of judgment are, besides, calculated to add to the wisdom and experience of most

thoughtful men; and probably, with his greater knowledge of life, his deeper insight into human motives, and his wider realisation of the imperfection of even the most perfect schemes of government, Mr. Curtis, if he had to envisage again the problem that confronted him in 1906, would choose a less thorny avenue of approach. These pages of history are here turned merely to show some of the dangers that "young Oxford" not so long ago let loose upon "the Commonwealth," and to ask whether "young Ottawa," "young Capetown," "young Auckland," or "young Melbourne" may be expected to produce less harmful results. For, be it noted, the appeal of Mr. Curtis and his colleagues is to the "young," heady, and ambitious statesmen of the self-governing Dominions. The older group, with their fixed theories of Imperial relations, will hardly be expected to turn their backs upon the political beliefs of a lifetime, and adopt new and far-reaching ones more in accord with the demands now made of them. They believed in letting circumstances guide their actions, in a pragmatic Commonwealth, that would grow from within outwards, according to the needs of its own nature, and not along the lines demarcated for it by political doctrinaires. But the younger generation of Dominion politicians, bred in the stimulating atmosphere of scientific exactitude and of artificial but architecturally correct constitutions and codes, may perhaps be expected to take more kindly to the new pabulum of Empire, especially when mixed with the jam of bright promise, in the shape of "running" some one else's affairs as brilliantly as, *pace* themselves, they have "run" their own.

It is to be observed, too, that though the principle of democracy is essential to the government of a white community in a new country, it cannot ordinarily and does not exist in the relations between white and coloured in a mixed community, particularly where the latter are in any numbers, as, for example, in the Great Republic. Keeping, however, within "the Commonwealth," no people are more democratic—among themselves—than the Boers. They are democratic to the very verge of anarchy. They enjoy the fullest franchise, their own Government is in power, and yet they have not scrupled to resort to physical force—"rebellion," as the one side puts it; "armed protest," according to the other—

in order to tell their rulers that they must make room for better men. And, for the statement that this tendency to anarchy is "the way of the Boer," we have the authority of the late General Delarey himself, a Boer of Boers. But what is the attitude of all Boers, whether pro-Botha or pro-Hertzog, towards the non-white population? Hardly democratic: Not even aristocratic. It is autocratic and also in the highest degree, and it is even influencing, in some respects, that of the non-Boer population of the Cape for the worse. Nor need we go to the Boer for our illustrations. Natal, the most "British" province of the Union, can furnish them for us in abundance. One may almost say of the "Garden Colony" that it is the stronghold of non-Dutch sentiment, just as the Free State embodies the non-British ideal. But this "British" province has on its statute-book, unrepealed, a mass of colour legislation, or legislation designed to keep the coloured population in a condition of perpetual subjection, greater than that of all the other provinces combined. Observe the attitude of Natal to the question of indentured labour and the £3 tax. Whilst, as an independent Colony, it had grown rich upon the labours of a despised and ill-used people, harshly disciplined and kept in servitude under a servile system, its Parliamentary representatives, when the rest of South Africa had practically united to consent to the repeal of an iniquitous tax—universally condemned—upon the honour and chastity of the men and women who had given the best years of their lives to the enrichment of their white employers, with one or two bright exceptions, resisted that repeal. Sir Harry Johnstone rightly says:

"Those of us who have railed in the past against American illiberality in regard to 'coloured folk' have had little notion of how far in advance of South Africa all America is in its treatment of the Negro and the Negroid. Dutch South Africa has been intensely narrow-minded in this respect."

Yet to the free and independent "democrats" of this self-governing Dominion, amongst others, Mr. Curtis would entrust, in part, the government of India and the control of the destiny of her peoples. Barely two years have elapsed since the Indian trouble, beginning not long before Mr. Curtis's own departure from office, was settled. Barely ten years ago, a bloody native rebellion in Natal was bloodily quelled. Johannesburg and the Reef have

produced two tragic strikes in the last five years, involving much bloodshed in the second and the arbitrary deportation, without trial, of some of its alleged leaders. Hardly a year ago, a dangerous rebellion by a section of the white population was put down, and even now the whole country is seething with the spirit of unrest. Yet South Africa, which has not yet succeeded in learning to govern itself, and to solve its own problems, is invited to partake of the choicest dishes at the Imperial banquet, and to decide what shall be the dietary for India and the other dependencies of the Crown. Why, even little Rhodesia, with its few thousand white inhabitants, refuses to enter the Union, because it fears and will have none of the Union's control of its welfare!

Take, now, an example outside the Union, where South African influence has spread. East Africa, to-day, is within the boundaries of the British Empire because of Indian pioneer work, still proceeding, and with a history of at least three centuries behind it. For this statement, there is the uncontradicted testimony of British official witnesses before the Sanderson Interdepartmental Committee of Inquiry into the question of Indian Emigration to the Crown Colonies. One would have thought, then, that Indians would have an irresistible claim upon the gratitude and good-will of the British Administration of that Protectorate—virtually a Colony. Without the Indian, the country would become immediately insolvent and rapidly relapse into an unproductive wilderness and a state of semi-barbarism. Yet, astonishing as it may seem, the governing authorities have not deemed it necessary or desirable, for several years, to nominate an Indian member of the Legislative Council, though the little neighbouring island of Zanzibar has its Indian representative on the Executive Committee. Time was when the Indian community received far more consideration from the powers that be, but that was before a sinister and utterly selfish influence began to make itself felt. Since the Boer War, a number of South Africans have settled in the territory and particularly in the uplands, which they have attempted, with no small measure of success, to convert into a white man's preserve, confining the Indian, so far as may be, without inconvenience to his white

fellow colonist, to the unhealthy and far less pleasant lowlands at the coast. And even at Mombasa, one portion of the town is set aside exclusively for European residence, on the pretext of sanitary defect in the Indian community, though the house of Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee, at Nairobi, some years ago, was the only place found suitable for the accommodation of Col. Winston Churchill, on his memorable tour through the Protectorate. And now there is a growing outcry for the restriction of further Indian immigration into a country that owes its present existence to Indian enterprise! Race-differentiation has, slowly but surely, characterised the methods and attitude of the Administration, unchecked by the effective criticism of healthy public opinion, until, so lacking in sympathy and out of touch with the Indian community has it become, that, on the outbreak of the present War and the proclamation of martial law, Mr. Ritch, who had settled there and become the trusted adviser of the Indian community, and, incidentally, had built up a large legal practice (naturally at the expense of vested interests, in close association with local officials, whose "prestige" had been upset by his independent attitude towards them and advice to the Indian community), was one day suddenly and secretly deported, without trial, and even without reasons being advanced for the extraordinary violation of personal liberty to which he was subjected. To this moment, no-one, outside of official circles (all of whom deny any knowledge or responsibility) knows why he was removed from the sphere of his legitimate activities, in this summary fashion, though the reason is fairly obvious, even to the most obtuse. Mr. Ritch had committed the dire offence, unpardonable in the eyes of the local bureaucracy, of stimulating political thought in the Indian community and helping to give form and substance to its fear and anxiety, by founding, with a few enthusiastic friends, and association for the community's protection against the ever-growing encroachments upon its rights and privileges, under the pressure of South African influence, always hostile to the exploitation of the country's resources by other than white enterprise. And this association, which was commencing to criticise the methods and attitude of the Administration, threatened to become a power—a very undesirable one

—in the land. Hence the necessity of killing it in its infancy. Hence Mr. Ritch's summary deportation from the scene of his mischievous activities. Upon his removal, a reign of terror was inaugurated, and in the name of martial law, without trial or charge laid, several Indian gentlemen (one of them a high government official who had loyally served the state for over twenty years), rightly or wrongly supposed to be connected with that dangerous institution, were arrested, ordered to be shot, and only after the intervention of a high judicial officer, sentenced to imprisonment for life. What their offence is has never been revealed to them; but it is significant that, though they are still serving their sentences, a countryman, convicted subsequently of blackmail upon other leading Indians, has not been allowed to return to East Africa upon the expiry of his term of imprisonment. Almost as significant was the recent refusal, under martial law (though its withdrawal was daily expected), to permit the present writer to land at Mombasa, whilst his steamer was in harbour, though his fellow-passengers, including aliens, were freely permitted to visit the shore. In spite of repeated application, no reason for this strange procedure was vouchsafed, though he carried a passport personally issued to him by the Acting Under Secretary of the Interior at Pretoria. "It must be evident to you," he was informed, "that it is not always in the interest of the public service to give reasons for any action carried out at such times as this." The old, old shibboleth! Presumably it was feared lest he might upset the delicate equilibrium of the local Indian community! No wonder that British East African Indians breathed forth a prayer of joyous thanksgiving when Mr. Bonar Law recently stated that the administration of the conquered territory in East Africa would be placed under the control of a Colonial Office representative, who would be responsible and report to the Imperial, and not the Union, Government. No wonder the Zanzibar Indians are fearing the day when, for administrative purposes, the island will be annexed to British East Africa, and thus be brought under the dreaded South African influence from which, at present, it is almost immune. The toad under the harrow knows where it grips!

The spirit introduced by students from

South Africa and the other Dominions into British Universities, legal, medical, and other educational institutions, which has partly resulted in driving many Indian students to similar institutions in Germany, America, and Japan, needs no special emphasis. Almost every returned Indian barrister, doctor, professional man, or graduate bears witness to it. And we turn to the other Dominions, we need not anticipate anything better. Each has its own vast problems to occupy it. Industrialism has not yet reached its permanent level in any of them. The perennial conflict between Capital and Labour is still in its early stages, and, if a recent *Round Table* writer is correct, that between the various opposing factions into which the Labour party threatens to dissolve, at least in Australia, is about to commence. Neither Canada nor Australia recalls happy memories to India, where the tragedy of the *Komagata Maru*, following upon the shameless prohibition against Indian wives joining their husbands, in British Columbia, has not been forgotten; and Australia is still remembered as the first of the Dominions to proclaim and enforce an all-white policy, with its unveiled attack upon Indian crews, and its impossible "education" test in Lithuania, to secure the exclusion of a Ranjitsingh. Pointed expression has recently been given to this sentiment by the action of Sir Rabindranath Tagore in declining to lecture at Toronto and Montreal, because of the manner in which his countrymen had been treated by the Canadians. He wished this to be published and generally understood. He had been asked to go ashore at Vancouver, but refused. He would never set foot, he said, on Canadian or Australian soil while his countrymen were treated as they were: nor did he expect that things would alter until the psychology of Nations was changed.

It is probable that these demonstrations of racial feeling, in some, at least, of the Dominions, will in time, become considerably modified. That there are not warning signs that this is actually happening, we have the evidence of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson, though, perhaps, they are somewhat over-sanguine as to the rapidity and thoroughness of the process. They tell us, for example, that racialism has practically died down in New Zealand, where the Maori has equal rights with the white

New Zealander, and that, in Australia, educated men have risen at public meetings, who have condemned the "White Australia Policy," and declared that educated Australians, one and all, were opposed to the disrespect shown to educated Indians in their statutes, and that the country would soon be with them in demanding a revision of their ordinances. Without doubt, an appreciation of Indian culture and the intimate association of Indians with the dwellers in the various self-governing Dominions, upon innumerable battle-fields, where they have mingled their blood, made mutual sacrifices, and shared and helped to assuage each other's sufferings, have contributed to create this growing change of sentiment. The lessons of Anzac, Flanders, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and East Africa, can never be forgotten. But, when all is said that must be admitted in favour of the Dominions, not all their inhabitants have been brought into this close contact with India's representatives and India's culture; and, when the War is over, when men's recollections are dimmed and their minds are again engaged in their normal occupations, it will require far more moral fervour than the Dominions generally have so far shown, in their daily relations with the non-white peoples of the Empire, before all fear from that quarter, based upon differences of colour, which cannot be altered, and of national psychology and economic standard, which, if at all possible of approximation, can be resolved only after revolutionary changes of view-point, involving equally revolutionary changes of social conditions, will disappear in India. She will demand very much more than verbal assurances, given in the exuberance of what may be a merely momentary enthusiasm, before she will be prepared to recede from the position of scarcely concealed hostility implied in the question, put some four years ago in the imperial Legislative Council by a prominent non-official member, inquiring how many Colonials were in receipt of salaries as members of the Indian Civil Service; or alter her attitude towards Lord Hardinge's appeal for the adoption of a policy of reciprocity, which, in her own way, she interpreted as the right to retaliate, if the need arose—of which she was to be the sole judge—against any Dominion that permitted the ill-usage of her children

resident therein. It may be, of course, that the heaven is working in the Dominions of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand far more rapidly than would ordinarily be hoped for. If so, well! But that is not the way of human nature, that is not the custom of large masses of human beings long obsessed by deep and selfish prejudices. Even, however, were it so, that would still give the Dominions no prescriptive right to regulate the affairs of India, and it would still leave South Africa out of the calculation. But the Union, least of all, may be left unconsidered in any plan for the rectification of the inner structure of "the Commonwealth." Though there has been a perceptible change in the attitude of the government and of certain sections of the public there-towards the Indian question, to which the writer would be lacking in a plain duty if he forbore to bear witness, this is to be attributed, in part, to the absorption of all public energies in the external struggle that is now proceeding on the world's battle-fields, and the internal conflict that is being waged, more or less openly, between the five divisions of the white population—the labour section, the British industrial interests, the cosmopolitan capitalist group and their associates, the Botha-Smuts party, and the Hertzog faction. But all parties are united, with the exception of a few political idealists, to withhold, so long as possible, any real extension of self-government to the non-white peoples of the Union. It would, then, be, in the highest degree, fatal to entrust the problem of the development of self-governing institutions in India to Dominions that are still learning to govern themselves, and one of the most prominent of which is concerned to refuse such development to its own subject peoples.

There remains one other important aspect of the question. To what extent, if at all, have the self-governing Dominions demanded a finger in the pie of government in India? So far from there having been any vocal sign of such desire, everything goes to show, not only that the Dominions have their hands full with their own problems awaiting solution, but that they recognise that they must be prepared, as the price of Imperial overlordship, to yield up some of their own most cherished rights of independence. They feel that nothing can make up for the unparalleled degree of self-government that they have

been able to secure. They do not wish to meddle with the vast problems of India which not only they, but stay-at-home Britishers, have never studied, and can never solve at a distance. And here again we have to come back to South Africa for our illustration. General Hertzog, shoddy and uninspiring as is much of the political gospel that goes by the name of Hertzogism, is gathering under his banner, as *The Times* carefully points out, a daily-increasing following, and his slogan is: "Down with Imperialism." The South African Nationalists want nothing of the Empire but the right to develop South Africa according to their own narrow ideals, free from Imperial restraint, independent in all but name. They refuse to recognise any kind of responsibility or obligation towards what Mr. Curtis calls "the Commonwealth." If they had a free hand, they would tomorrow deport every Indian, whether born there or not, segregate every native, save such as were required to enable the "farmer" to refrain from the labour of development of the soil—it was General Botha or his other half, General Smuts, who once satirically remarked that the great fault of South Africa was that the level of the land was so low, that the farmer had to stoop to cultivate it—and make continued residence next to impossible for every white man of British origin, whilst making room for the number of German store-keepers required to supply the small needs of the dominant remainder. In fine, they would restore the whole of that archaic structure of Krugerism that the British Empire, at much cost in men and money, during a three years' campaign, was at much pains to destroy. It must be plain to even the dumbest of men that South

Africa, faced with the tremendous problem of dealing with this anti-Imperial idea, is far from desiring or being in a position to participate in the, to the mind of many, distasteful and unpromising task of training India in the arts of peaceful self-government.

To the questions: "Have the Dominions, by their own records and their known attitude towards India, shown their fitness to share in her government?" and "Have they expressed any active desire to do so?" an emphatic "NO" must be returned. And the answer of India—and probably of Anglo-India—to the question whether she is prepared to add to her masters is likewise unmistakably in the negative, for, though the statement that no people is fit to govern another must, in the nature of things, be regarded as a counsel of perfection, nevertheless, no Indian will be so bold as to assert that he will be prepared to see his Motherland administered by, amongst others, the people of the Union of South Africa. Then, in spite of the blandishments of Mr. Curtis and his gathering of well-meaning paladins, why not, as the *Times of India* thoughtfully remarks, leave it alone?

India is not content to be the hand-maiden of the Dominions, the Cinderella doomed to subordinate service, for that, in fact, would be the inevitable outcome of the *Pound Table* propaganda. She aspires to be a free and equal partner with them in all the bold enterprises for the common good that the future will bring forth, an equal participator in all the honourable privileges of "the Commonwealth," equally sharing in the grave obligations of the Empire, and freely giving her special gift to the sisterhood of nations.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

John Christie contributes to *East and West* for November a lengthy article entitled

Ineffectual Genius

which provides some interesting observations on poetry as it should be to be

abiding, and points out the defects of some otherwise great poetry. It is not impossible to agree with the writer when he says at the very outset that "there are men of genius who are not artists, and artists who are not men of genius, yet no man

who is merely either will become a permanent force in literature."

The things that are needful, according to the writer, to the production of a perfect poetic work of genius are :

Not only dramatic insight, imagination or creative power. These are indispensable ; but so, too, are, judgment in the selection of themes and forms, an infallible sense of proportion, a faultless ear, a perfect mastery of expression, a taste that rigorously excludes defective or ineffective words or phrases, as well as alien incidents, illustrations or reflections, and an art that knows when to stop with a verse, a paragraph, or a complete work.

Regarding the much discussed topic as to what should be the language in which abiding literature is to be written, the writer is of opinion that it should not be the "dialect of a sect or a class or of a crude undeveloped people," but it should be such as "the simplest educated mind can understand." The writer, in this connection, reminds us that

there is a difference betwixt a dialect spoken by a provincial nation or people and the jargon or slang used by persons who are merely the fungoid growths of debased social conditions which cannot last.

The writer goes on to say :

The abiding writers are those who deal with what is vital and permanently characteristic of human nature, not with evanescent moods and interests, phases of life which are crude and transitory, vanishing modes in manners or transitional types amongst men. Much mental power is wasted through not being confined to the sphere within which it can be at its best. A gifted man fails somewhat in his mission when he omits to exercise discrimination in this connection. Milton, more almost than anybody else, exhibits sureness of discrimination in respect to subjects suited to his genius, though he encumbers his treatment with some things without which his work would be greater than it is, because it would be even in the power with which it aspires to be interesting to what is unchanging in the mind of man. This power is at its best in his portrayal of Lucifer and the other devils, because these are magnificently made up of permanent elements in human nature. But when he deals with the Deity and the angels, and with the theologies of schoolmen, Hebrew priests, and English puritans, then—

In the lowest deep, a lower deep

Still threatening to devour him, opens wide.

Every great work should have an atmosphere within which he who once draws breath must be fain to breathe for ever ; but this character can never be adequately given to a book by any man who writes for the multitude of persons who read for mere excitement.

It must be admitted that, in the case of original genius, much of what a poet writes may be written almost in spite of himself, when his sensibility and vocal gift yield inevitably to the pressure of the spirit of his time as the branches of a tree do to the wind. Indeed, it may be said that no poetry really worth reading or preserving is ever written except under this influence ; but even work so done will lack enduring efficacy unless it is expressed in the forms

and terms of perfect art. A great poet may be the voice or interpreter of an epoch, but his greatness will be only half realised unless his vocal methods answer the tests of his art at its highest in all particulars. This is where Byron fails in much of his work. Poetry must do more than interest or instruct the sociologist ; even in dealing with a given phase of the human spirit a poem must so deal with it that that spirit shall, in all ages, find it stimulating, strengthening, edifying, or entertaining—a place of perennial refreshment or perfect rest ; and in itself, as a work of art, it must breathe all through of the rose of perfection.

The writer sums by saying that

The man of genius who would do work worthy of genius must beware of the merely local and particular, and keep his eye fixed on Nature's universals—earth, sea, and sky, day and night, wind and rain, the interchange of seasons ; the prevailing passions and experiences of humankind—love, hatred, egoism, altruism ; life and death ; spiritual unrest ; man's yearning for the face and favour of woman ; woman's for the man or the child she loves ; and the everlasting effort to translate the ideal into the real and the real into the ideal in all things. He must also press into the service of his creative faculty everything essential to the production of a perfect organic whole, as an architect, in planning and constructing a great original building, draws within the co-ordinating scope of his own genius all the lessons to be learned from his predecessors, and the best in kind in all the materials requisite to the harmonious execution of his perfect design. Immortality and universal acceptance are assured only to works which exhibit the triumph of the soul. They may show it struggling with the direst afflictions and the bitterest trials, but, through and under and in spite of all these, it must gain in character and in strength ; in its ultimate aspect and attitude it must be seen to be a gainer in itself or in its relations to universal humanity, or in both ; and the reader or spectator must not be made to feel that even the most tragical death is like that of a crushed worm, which in so far as the intelligence of man apprehends, imparts in dying no impact of any kind to any sensory nerve in the universe.

The Service of Man

is the theme of an article appearing in the *Young Men of India* for November from the pen of G. H. Leonard, of which the following is, in brief, the substance :

Charity is a great word, but in our day it has lost something of its earlier meaning. It has become definite and it has narrowed with the definition. Love in primitive times took the form often enough of a "charity" that kept "for long its early and beautiful spirit. Men had to give of their substance," where they could. They had to lend a helping hand to their neighbours—men living in the next street, or whom they met by the way. Large schemes of philanthropy were beyond their power.

The service done to individuals is beautiful and necessary ; but social service is a different and a larger thing. It is not less beautiful and it is far more wide-reaching in its effects.

In our own day greater things are possible for us, —larger schemes, more wide-reaching in their conse-

quences, going into the root of the matter. What is wanted to-day is a constant supply of men and women fired with the idea of social service, who will take views of the duty they owe to their neighbours which are wide and far reaching. We want something that we may call the statesman's brain in charity. "Prevention is better than cure"—and we gradually become aware that many evils could be prevented, if only our leaders would look ahead, and make wise provision for the future. I am thinking of leaders of thought—men with ideas—who in the long run move the world.

The student must make it his business to understand something of political economy and social science, and strengthen the hands of thinkers and administrators who are working out a problem which is beyond the skill of most of us. Even if he can do no more, he can learn to care about the things and hold up an ideal of social welfare before his countrymen. "We needs must love the highest *when we see it*." We have been so apathetic in the past: we have seen so little of the possibilities which are really ours.

Indian Journalism.

Mr G. A. Chandavarkar writing in the *Hindustan Review* for October says, not incorrectly, that

In western countries, journalism is one of the most lucrative of professions and many a literary man there has amassed more wealth than an exceedingly successful barrister practising in an Indian Law Court. Many men there who became in their after-life eminent politicians began their careers as journalists and there can be no denying the fact that journalism was a good training-ground for the future politician of the west. But in India journalism does not seem to attract the best intellects of the land, a fact which is deeply to be regretted.

The causes which repel men from entering this useful field are:

In the first place, it is believed that the profession is not at all lucrative and undoubtedly there exists a foundation for such a belief. Very few young men can hope to get a decent remuneration if they chance to produce an excellent article for an Indian journal. There are some journals which, however, do make payments but they are never commensurate with the labour bestowed upon a piece of writing. For this state of affairs sound reasons can be assigned. To the conductors of magazines or newspapers, the business by itself brings in no large profits sufficient to pay decent honorariums to the contributors. The magazines are hardly self-supporting. The financial condition is, in nine cases out of ten, far from being sound. This in no way reflects any discredit on the organisers or the founders of the journals. It can never be affirmed that the managers themselves are niggardly and want to feed themselves fat at the expense of contributors. Any journal is entirely dependent on two sources of income, viz., one from the actual sale proceeds of the paper and another from the income derived from the advertisements inserted in the paper. In India unfortunately income from both these sources is miserably low. In a country where only five per cent. of the population receives education, necessarily the purchasers of journals must be few, when compared with the purchasers in those

countries where more than 70 per cent. of the population is educated. As for the second source of income, to be derived from the advertisements, the state of affairs is equally gloomy and discouraging. India has not got many indigenous industries whereby their promoters could go in for advertisements. In the absence of goods to advertise no payments can be made to the managers of journals.

The writer offers consolation to the journalists, who do not get any remuneration for the work they do, by saying that they are "indirectly doing yeomen's service to the cause of a healthy growth of Indian nationality and are making sacrifices which will ultimately lead to the growth of journalism."

In conclusion Mr. Chandavarkar advocates the inclusion of journalism in the curricula of our universities.

The series of masterly articles under the heading

The Ideal of Human Unity

is continued in the October number of the *Arya*. The learned writer points out quite correctly that the limitation of armies and armaments is an illusory remedy of war or manslaughter on a large scale. For even if there could be found an effective international means of controlling them, it would cease to operate as soon as the clash of war actually came.

National egoism remaining, the means of strife remaining, its causes, opportunities, excuses will never be wanting. The present War came because all the leading nations had long been so acting as to make it inevitable. But even if Germany were expunged from the map and its resentments and ambitions deleted as a European factor, the root causes of strife would remain. There would still be an Asiatic question of the near and the far East which might take on new conditions and appearances and regroup its constituent element, but must remain so fraught with danger till it is settled that it would be fairly safe to predict the next great human collision with Asia as its field of origin. Even with that difficulty settled, new causes of strife must necessarily develop where the spirit of national egoism and cupidity seeks for satisfaction; and so long as it lives, satisfaction it must seek and repletion can never permanently satisfy it. The tree must bear its own proper fruit, and Nature is always a diligent gardener.

The writer goes on to say:

The authority of Law in a nation or community does not really depend on any so-called "majesty" or mystic power in man-made rules and enactments. Its real sources of power are two, first, the strong interest of the majority or of a dominant minority or of the community as a whole in maintaining it and, secondly, the possession of a sole armed force, police and military, which makes that interest effective. The metaphorical sword of justice can only act

because there is a real sword behind it to enforce its decrees and its penalties against the rebel and the dissident. And the essential character of this armed force is that it belongs to nobody, to no individual or constituent group of the community except alone to the State, the king or the governing class or body in which sovereign authority is centred; nor can there be any security if it is balanced or its sole effectivity diminished by the existence of other armed forces belonging to groups and individuals and at all free from the central control so as to admit of their use against the governing authority. Even so, even with this authority backed by a sole and centralised armed force, Law

has not been able to prevent strife of a kind between individuals and classes because it has not been able to remove the psychological, economic and other causes of strife. Crime with its penalties is always a kind of mutual violence, a kind of revolt, and even in the best policed and most law-abiding communities crime is still rampant; even the organisation of crime is still possible although it cannot endure or be powerful because it has the whole vehement sentiment and effective organisation of the community against it. But what is more to the purpose, Law has not been able to prevent, though it has minimised, the possibility of civil strife and violent or armed discord within the nation itself.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Enfranchisement of Women.

Sir Harry H. Johnston writing in the *Review of Reviews* says that there is a proposal adroitly fostered by certain Liberal and Unionist politicians and journalists for once more postponing the claims of woman to full citizenship by enlarging and reforming the Register in such a way as to ensure a vote to every man in the fighting forces and pretending to be deaf at the same time to the appeal for the enfranchisement of women.

It was hoped in certain recalcitrant quarters, still blind to the importance of women in the civilised community, that by admitting to the suffrage the whole of our five or six million soldiers and sailors (whether or not they were under the age of 21 years) to swamp the claimants for the equal electoral rights of women when the war came to an end and so-called contentious questions of home politics could be again debated. Such persons in Parliament and the Press were ready to exclaim against the revival of Woman Suffrage agitation as unpatriotic in the midst of this critical struggle. Yet they tried to rush through Parliament a measure for enormously increasing the number of male voters in the hope—possibly the false hope—that these full-blooded, virile, new voters when they come to the ballot boxes would snow under the advocates for a just treatment of women.

Sir Johnston ably pleads the cause of women in the following lines and clearly points out that women too, in England are as much on active service as the men. Says he:

Let us, by all means, give the vote as soon as we can to every man—if he does not already possess it—who is guarding us at home and fighting for us abroad. It has always seemed to me one of the most disgusting among the many disgusting anomalies of our electoral system that soldiers in barracks or

soldiers and sailors on active service should be deprived of any means of making their opinions felt in the politics of the land they served. But can you—in all conscience—refuse at the same time similar privileges to women who have been mothers, women who by the million now are doing man's work and doing it well? Can you refuse the vote to the Red Cross nurse at the front and in innumerable hospitals at home, the woman who as freely exposes herself to danger for her country's cause as the man, who braves shells and mines and infectious diseases in many ways more terrible than explosives? Can you refuse it to the mother of the dead boy whom she has sent to the fighting line, to the wife of the dead soldier, the sisters of the dead soldier who is trying bravely to fight at home against adversity, so that the soldier's children may be brought up as good citizens? Can you refuse it to the woman worker in powder factories, in munition works, in a hundred difficult and exhausting civic functions, to the woman worker on the land, the woman in journalism, in commerce, in literature and art, in music, in the schools and laboratories, in the missions, in public offices, shops, restaurants, and the indispensable branches of domestic service?

I certainly do not want to see idle or worthless women, such as social conditions still create, entrusted with a vote. But all women who have been mothers, all women who have worked for their living or who have worked for others, should have one. All such are as worthy as working men to be responsible citizens.

If our women get the vote the majority of them will tend to exalt virility above all other attributes. It is against effeminate men-muddlers as against public plunderers and poisoners that the woman's vote will be cast.

How Animals Clean Themselves.

As regards cleanliness many a bird and beast of the forest puts to shame the human race. This is the conclusion one arrives at after perusing a highly interesting and

informing article contributed to the *National Review* by Frances Pitt. We read:

The majority of wild creatures rank cleanliness next to life itself.

Perhaps the daintiest of mammals are the mice. They all wash frequently, and some of them spend quite half their time in cleaning. It is a treat to see the little harvest mouse, balance itself upon a straw, making fast by means of its prehensile tail, when it will sit up and proceed to wash its face with lightning speed. First it licks its forepaws, which are just like tiny pink hands, then it passes them over its head and down its nose; again they are licked, again they move over the face, but this time they include the ears; and this is repeated again and again until it is satisfied that these parts are clean, when it twists round and licks its back. Next the stomach has to be attended to, then the hind feet have each to be done, and lastly the quaint little sensitive tail is untwisted and brought round to be attended to.

Another dainty mouse is the long-tailed field mouse. It is indefatigable as regards the care of its fur, and is a sleek, smooth-coated, long-tailed, large-eared, and large-eyed mouse, very graceful in its movements and appearance, but one of the most nervous of creatures. After every start or fright it at once sits up and washes itself.

Though mice are so careful to clean their tails, rats are just as careless of this important organ.

Wild rats often get their tails coated with dirt, though as a rule they manage to keep them out of the mud by carrying them clear of the ground, but this does not save the tails when they go thump on the ground after the rats have made an extra long hop.

Another indefatigable mouse where cleaning is concerned is the little red bank vole. It does the work most thoroughly, and does *not* forget its tail! The short-tailed field vole is also very particular, and often stops nibbling at the grass stems—its favorite employment—to attend to its fur. A larger relation, the water vole, generally but inaccurately called the water "rat," is especially "faddy" about its fur, and you can often watch it by the streamside busy over its toilet.

Rabbits and hares are strangely cat-like when cleaning themselves. I have seen a rabbit—who little suspected that he was being watched—stop eating the grass, sit up, and lick his paws, and then rub them over his nose, afterwards passing them behind first one ear and then the other, so as to pull them forward, and down over the eyes. I had a tame hare who was a great pet, and I noticed that he always washed his face after a nap, also after a romp (he would play wildly when in the right humour) or any extra excitement. I also noticed that he often stopped to shake his forepaws and flip his hind ones, exactly as if they were damp, though this was impossible considering that he was running about indoors on carpeted floors! Wild hares and rabbits do this at every few steps, especially if the grass is damp, and by this means keep their feet wonderfully clean. Like a cat they seldom, unless hunted, get their feet dirty.

Of course a cat is most particular where she steps, carefully avoids mud, puddles, or anything which might soil her fur, and the disgusted way in which she shakes her feet if she does put them down in the wrong spot is really most comical. The care with which she makes her toilet has become proverbial.

Among the less particular wild animals may be

mentioned the polecat. For one thing dirt does not readily cling to the glossy hairs of its coat, so it can manage with the minimum of licking, but it does do a good deal of rubbing and rolling in long grass, rubbish, or on dry soil, and no doubt this helps to keep the fur well groomed and glossy.

Cattle especially take a great deal of trouble, licking their coats most carefully, and a cow will often do for a neighbor the parts the latter cannot reach herself. I have often seen them standing face to face or side by side, licking each other's heads and necks. And of course they do the same for their calves, indeed I do not know of any prettier sight than to see an old cow affectionately going over the coat of her calf.

Horses that are out at grass do a certain amount of grooming by rubbing and rolling. The latter seems to play a considerable part in keeping the animal in health, indeed many trainers of thoroughbreds attach so much importance to it that they have special "sand baths" for their charges to roll in!

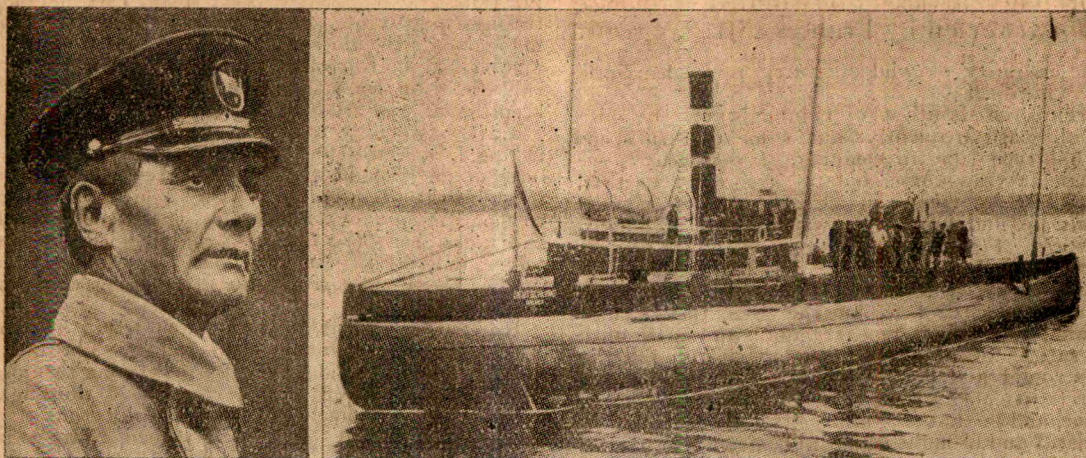
The average pig, confined in a narrow sty, has little room in which to practise the virtue of cleanliness, but a pig that is at liberty is by no means such a dirty animal as it is supposed to be, and if it can get plenty of straw it will take the greatest care arranging its bed, gathering up the straw in mouthfuls and placing it carefully here and there. Pigs certainly like in hot weather to wallow in muddy places, but a coating of soil serves to keep the skin cool and supple.

Most of the birds take very great trouble to keep their plumage in perfect condition. Even the despised common sparrow may often be seen bathing in roads, de puddles, and the bigger and shyer birds of the woodlands are equally fond of bathing.

Two ravens were so jealous of one another, that as soon as the first was in the water the second tweaked his tail and made him jump out, but before he could avenge the insult No. 2 was in the bath, though he in his turn was quickly brought out. So they would go on for quite a long time, until both were sufficiently wet through to be satisfied with the washing. Eventually one of them was lost, and the survivor can now enjoy his baths in peace. Like the owl he will wash every day in hot weather, and even in frost does not like to go for more than two days without a tub. But I believe it is his conscience, not love of it, which drives him into the water when it is very cold, as I have seen him stand and shiver and hesitate on the verge as if he could not summon up his courage to face the icy plunge, and then at last he has gone in, only after splashing the water far and wide to jump out again and flap his wings vigorously. But back he hopped, after a few moments, for he likes to jump in and out of his bath repeating the splashing three or four times before he retires to dry his soaked plumage. He dries and preens in exactly the same manner as the owl, and no wonder that his feathers are so glossy when the time he spends in caring for them is considered.

This raven does a most curious thing when there is a fall of snow. He washes in it exactly as if he were bathing in water. He will duck his head, beat with his wings, spread his tail out and work it up and down, at the same time rolling from side to side, all exactly as if in the water, and he will play for hours like this in the snow, apparently deriving the greatest pleasure from the performance.

Hawks too are very fond of washing, and the falcons of olden days knew it and attached the



Deutschland and its Captain Herr Konig.

greatest importance to the bath as a means of keeping the birds well and healthy.

Ducks and geese, despite their oily plumage, are just as fond of washing as other birds. It is wonderful how thoroughly wild ducks will manage to wet themselves through, and I have seen Canadian geese play the wildest pranks when taking their "tub." They dashed about in the water, beating with their wings, and splashing it far and wide. Then they rolled from side to side, ducked their heads, and tried to get the water over their backs. Some of the geese would turn complete somersaults in their frantic efforts to get thoroughly soaked. At last, when quite finished, they swam to the shore, and landed on the bank to quietly complete their toilets, when they smoothed their feathers with curious little sideways movements of their heads.

There are some birds, such as pheasants and partridges, which do not bathe but dust instead, and there are a few which do both according to opportunity. They find a dry, sandy spot, scratch and scrape, and then lie and behave very much as if they were washing in water, and the sand which they scoop up with their wings runs through their feathers in a cooling stream.

To go to "lower creatures," such as frogs, toads, and snakes, their "clothing" is not of the type to need much attention, but I have seen a portly old toad wipe its eye with its paw, and have also seen a lizard rub her nose—after eating a slimy worm—from side to side on some ferns in the same way a bird cleans its bill when it has finished feeding.

Many insects, for instance, water beetles, comb and dress their bodies with stroking movements of their legs. And other insects, including wasps, bees, and ants, take great trouble to groom themselves, taking particular care of the antennae, which they are constantly stroking with their front pair of legs.

The Super-Submarine.

The *Nation* has a laudatory article on the cruise of the now-famous *Deutschland* in the course of which it observes, not incorrectly, that man, having with incredible difficulty and skill sub-

dued or exterminated the appalling monsters of primeval creation, has proceeded in his earthly omnipotence to create for his own destruction innumerable monsters seven times worse than any which he has destroyed. So it is that the desert roars with guns more terrible than the lion, and the deep boils with inorganic apparitions to which leviathan was a child.

Yet in this anticipation the *Nation* perceives one small gleam of hope.

That cheerful little captain of the "*Deutschland*" (only five foot high, they say) told the Virginians that in mid-Atlantic he sunk his ship to avoid a storm. Only a few years ago, even a Marine would have laughed at such a tale. It would have sounded like cutting your throat to avoid a cold. But it was true, and to the next generation it may seem the natural thing. When billows crash and roar, "towering mountain-high," as old novelists always described them in a storm—when typhoon lashes the deck, and masts shiver at his blows—when even sailors stagger and the seacock is at his wit's end—how sweet to sink to rest in the placid thickness of the ocean, like a storm-tossed bird finding shelter in the forest depths! What relief, what safety as the good ship sees her deck awash, settles slowly down, and sinks with a gurgling whirlpool beneath the waters! At the first sign of wind, at the first sense of rolling, how the passengers will clamor to the captain to scuttle his ship without delay! "Let us go down at once!" they will implore, and, like the First Lord in the "*Pirates*," the captain will reassuringly sing that when the wind doth blow he generally goes below. From shore to shore we shall journey through an element of liquid green, more peaceful than the Doldrums, nor will physical qualms disturb our appetites, our cards, or our flirtations. We shall live at home among the porpoises, and sharks will peer harmlessly through our portholes as we climb to our berths.

Signalling between Animals.

Under the above heading the *Westminster Gazette* has an interesting article

from the pen of Horace Hutchinson. Certain animals have bright color on some parts of their bodies which are visible only when they move, thus acting as a signal to other animals of approaching danger. The bright color also serves to attract the friends and lovers of the animals.

Therefore we find a brilliancy in the upper coloring of the wings of butterflies, which yet, when they come to the natural pose of rest, with wings set close together, show an under-side matching admirably with their surroundings. The gaudy orange tip rests, for preference, on the flower of the hemlock or wild parsley, where the mottled white and green of the under-sides of the wings makes it scarcely visible. The gold of the yellow under-wing, or the gorgeous crimson of the crimson under-wing, are gaudily conspicuous in flight. At rest the over-wings cover this bravery with a drab shield, beneath which not even the great round eye of the owl can espy them.

The writer goes on to say:

If you should happen to be in a rabbit warren, when the little beasts are sitting at the mouths of their burrows, and a far-off gun shot should sound—even a bursting tire or a sudden thunderclap will produce the like effect—you may be astonished by the multitude of the unsuspected rabbits that appear and disappear—"visible only in the act of vanishing"—as they start from their feeding and dive down their earth with a flick of their white flag of a tail. It is quite a revelation. The hue of the upper sides of the coney, gray-brown, is very protective, very unobtrusive. It may lie still while its enemies pass close beside it or flit overhead, without betraying itself, but the moment it begins to move, this white scout "gives it away." How is the flag of use to him? they should have some signal by which they may recognize each other afar off, and it is just this service, as has been conjectured, which is rendered by the hoisting of the white flag. The animals that live in herds and flocks take much of their information, for their self-preservation, from each other. It is not to be thought that there is much signaling with the tail on the part of our own deer of the moorland and mountains, but any of us who are used to the great sport of stalking them know well how quickly information is spread from one to all the herd if only the youngest hind in the company lifts her head and gazes in one direction as if she saw there or suspected some object which threatened peril to herself and all her kin. She gazed because she suspects danger, and, seeing her action, the others, having learned by the inherited observation of countless generations to associate such fixed gazing of another with a menace to the common safety, gaze also. Thus the red-deer, as well as most of the beasts and birds that are gregarious, accept hints one from another as to dangers or other causes of emotion which one of them may see or scent or hear. With them the signal is not delivered by any wave of the white flag. But when we consider the case of the antelope on the big level plains, or even our own native bunny in his warren, we have to realize that the white flag is the signal-giver, just because it is so conspicuous, and because it is discovered chiefly in the moment of alarm. At that moment tails, as well as heads, go up, and when the alarm has become so acute as to set the antelope in quick movement, or the bunny at the gallop to his earth, the flag makes undulatory movements that no

other animal of the same species, can possibly misinterpret.

The *Islamic Review and Muslim India* for October contains a well-written article entitled

Originality

penned by John Parkinson from which we cull the following:

Causation is not merely a succession of antecedents and sequences; it is an *epigenesis of things*, the transformation of a definite amount of matter and energy without the addition or loss of substance. It is not a chain, but a complex of warp and weft, of interwoven antecedents and sequences, where the threads weaving the fabric are themselves transforming. They are the transformers and the transformed in one.

No growth of ideas is possible without an interchange of thought. *Soul-life is a communistic polity that lives and develops by its own interaction.* The transference of soul is the principal factor in education, the most powerful and most efficient part of the environment in building up character. The fact is more recognized in religion than in any other field of the social life; all evangelic work is founded on it. The more educable the individuals of a community, the more rapid will be the progress of that community and the greater the possibilities of its development.

All conversations are transferences of soul from one person to another, interchange of ideas, interactions of thought. During the process of reading the writings of others, transference of soul takes place; the writer's soul becomes interwoven with the reader's and affects it either for good or evil, as the case may be—raising up or dragging down according to the influence of the teachings imparted by the book. Good books, therefore good reading, are the greatest assets in the education of a nation, in the education of the individual and therefore of the national character.

So the soul flows onward: a continuous flow, but not a uniform one. The movement varies; the waves are travelling at a myriad different speeds, crossing and recrossing each other, dashing forward to recoil and retreat, and then return—yet, as a whole, onward, ever onward. Causation knows no stay; the intersecting, interacting waves do not hinder one another any more than rays of light from different sources interfere in their passage through the selfsame ether—they only intensify the brightness of the whole.

We are tradition, and originality is rare among us, the originality that makes a decided leap forward, solving a problem by a new method and making a wider and more reliable generalization or a more correct world synthesis.

Great movements, and what at times appear as sudden revolutions, are generally the outcome of a multitude of minor changes of thought working through a considerable period of time in a mass of individuals; although at times a single individual God-inspired has focused in himself ideas that have changed the thought and lives of thousands, and guided the conduct of millions down the succeeding ages.

When a new departure, or at least what appears to the mass as a new departure, is made it behooves those interested in the development of mind and the progress of the entire social system to examine it.

critically and carefully, and to note wherein the fresh departure lies : to ascertain whither the system tends to lead us—into realms of nature fair with colour and pied with flowers, or into regions quaking with bog and treacherous morass : whether to the solution of problems universal in their application and eternal in their sway, or into a mental cul-de-sac where Reason seeks in vain to find an outlet. At least this is incumbent on all who seek for Truth.

The past has left its impress on every cell and tissue of our body, on our every action and our every thought. We are individual only as the mote in the

sunbeam, and it is but the focus where a continuous stream of sun rays meet, and from which they ever flow.

We are original only in so far as we see farther and better than others the relations and uniformities of the mutations of reality, and are enabled thereby to construct more correct, more artistic, and more substantial combinations, and formulate laws of conduct, permanent and valid in their application to life, and universal and eternal in their range.

THE RETURN

When I was a little child,
In the days that I ran wild,
And I tried the truth to smother,
'Fore the judge, who was my mother ;
Oft I heard a stranger speak—
Whisper myst'ries, every week !
Tell me things more weird than thunder,
Things that filled my heart with wonder ;
Till I felt a powerful yearning
To do good—my heart was burning.
Then I seemed to grow quite wise,
And my childhood to despise ;—
Not a needle would I ply,
I would be a butterfly,
Flitting forth from bough to bough,
Willy-nilly, anyhow ;—
Till there came a touch of frost,
When my grandeur all was lost.
'Cause my wings were tipped with age,
Mer turned down the used page.

So I flew in terror wild
To my habits as a child,
Sank in meditation deep
Till at last I caught a peep
Of a world I once had known,
And had thought to make my own.
Then I rose and tried to make
Such a soul as God would take :
Not a frail thing, like a feather,
But a soul to 'stand the weather ;
'Stand ill favour and bad passion,
Winsome wiles and foolish fashion :
And for twenty years, I rate,
I've been master of my fate ;
I'm as free as any flower,
And the big world is my bower.
Men may frown or men may flatter,
Make me gifts or take my platter,
'Tis all one ; for be it known,
I my soul I call my own.

Wilfred Wellock.

NOTES

Individualism, Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism.

In spite of their differences in complexion, features, stature, build, &c., men of all the different races can be easily distinguished from all other animals, includ-

ing those which, like the gorilla and the chimpanzee, resemble man most. Like this external resemblance, there is an inner resemblance, namely, that in the constitution of human nature. The laws of thought, as logicians call them, are the same for all races ; and, fundamentally,

men are also alike in the way their feelings are affected or moved. It is this inner resemblance between man and man which led Emerson to observe :

"There is one mind common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same.... What Plato has thought he may think ; what a saint has felt he may feel ; what at any time has befallen any man, he can understand."

Owing to this essential unity of human nature, the progress made by any nation in any branch of knowledge, has never remained confined to itself ; other nations have been able to appropriate the knowledge which it was the first to acquire. This has been the case not only with an exact science like mathematics, but with other kinds of knowledge as well. In this way, the civilised nations of antiquity and of modern times, have been indebted to one another for their progress in philosophy, history, economics, political science, sociology, pedagogy, &c. Oriental man as a political animal is not and has not been different from western man as a political animal, as the histories of the forms of government and of municipal and rural institutions in both regions clearly show. Industrial processes and mechanical inventions have been similarly becoming the common possessions of all enterprising nations. Methods of warfare and engines of destruction have a similar story to tell.

That history repeats itself, has repeated itself, and will repeat itself,—nay, that this repetition may in future be due to man's foreknowing, calculated and deliberate action, is due to the fundamental unity of human nature.

This unity is equally manifest in those embodiments of the culture of races which have to do with man's emotional and aesthetic nature, namely, poetry and the arts. The history of the literature of any nation will show that it has been at some stage or other influenced by other literatures and has also influenced other literatures in its turn. But for the essential unity of human nature, but for the fact that men, generally speaking, feel in the same way, this would not have been possible. The translations of the poetical and dramatic masterpieces of one country into the language of another and their appreciation in the latter, supply another proof of the unity that we speak of. If heroism, love, sacrifice appealed to different races in quite different ways, if they aroused dia-

metrically opposite feelings in the hearts of different peoples, the epics, dramas and other poetic productions of one country could never have been enjoyed by the people of another. The arts of painting sculpture and architecture of various countries are mutually related. Chaldean, Egyptian, Greek, Persian and Indian art have affinities which have been traced by art-critics. The Buddhist Art of India and those of China, Korea and Japan are connected with one another. European music and Indian music seem very different to ordinary men, but there are points of contact in both, and there are Indians and Europeans who take genuine pleasure in both oriental and occidental music.

The spiritual yearnings of man and the response to these yearnings have not been fundamentally dissimilar in different countries and continents. The Elder Brothers of the race who were born in Asia,—in India, China, Persia, Palestine, Arabia,—have received the spiritual homage of man in all continents in varying measure.

This is the case for cosmopolitanism, of international concord, of the parliament of man and the federation of the world, and of a universal religion and a universal language.

But just as no two men are exactly alike in body, so no two men are exactly alike in mind. Their eyes and ears, hands and feet are differently trained or not trained, and in differing degree, resulting in difference in artistic perception and skill, and in industrial dexterity. Their bodily strength, too, is not equally developed. Intellectually and morally they are not equal. All do not possess equal strength of will. All are not equally emotional, nor is the power of aesthetic perception developed to the same extent in all. Even in whatever measure a man may be gifted with bodily and mental powers, he is responsible for the use and exercise of these powers to the same extent. That there have been men possessed of great bodily and mental powers, cannot justify any person of lesser talents in allowing these to rust in disuse. The very fact that we are not moving automata, shows that we must act and think and feel and perceive for ourselves. The result of the independent exercise of our powers may or may not be the same with that of a similar exercise by others. It is not the resemblance or the

difference that matters ; the essential thing is that as each is a distinct individual, separately gifted, so there must be individual exertion. Of course, this exertion may either be independent or in co-operation with others. What we say men ought to do, men have done from natural inclination, and sometimes from necessity. Consequently the productions of different men, bear marks of their individuality. There have been great seers and lesser seers, great poets and lesser poets, great philosophers and lesser philosophers, great scientists and lesser scientists, great artists and lesser artists, great literary men and lesser literary men, great statesmen and lesser statesmen, great craftsmen and lesser craftsmen, great engineers and lesser engineers, great merchants and lesser merchants, &c. ; but their achievements have borne some marks, more or less conspicuous, of their individual gifts and training. And what is of special importance for us common men to note is that the existence, endeavours and achievements of the great have not made the existence, endeavours and achievements of lesser men unnecessary or superfluous. The great alone have not sufficed for the preservation and progress of the race. The lives and labours of great and small, of the common and the uncommon have combined to make the world what it is ; and the future progress of the race will undoubtedly depend, even to a greater extent than in the past, on the exertions of those who are called "the common people," in concert with the labours of the great.

From God-vision to the production of the things which men require for every-day use and consumption, there is room for individual exertion in all spheres of human activity.

As individuals differ in mind and body, so do peoples, nations and races of men differ. These differences have, in part, made their history different in some respects. Their religion, their social structure and customs, their philosophy, their poetry, their art, and even their science have differed to some extent owing partly to this cause.

The world has not yet had the full benefit of all the varied powers and characteristics of all the peoples of the world. Taking countries by themselves, those countries which educate all their boys and girls, countries of which the inhabitants

enjoy freedom of speech and action, countries which make it possible for all classes of men irrespective of birth to follow what profession they will, and which give women, too, the freedom to choose and prepare themselves for their life-work,—such countries are coming to contribute most to the world's culture and progress ; for the greater the amount and variety of talent brought under requisition, the greater must be the result. Countries where social custom or political institutions keep down the majority of classes or castes and where women have very few opportunities to educate themselves and make use of their God-given powers, are deprived of the services of the entire female sex and of the majority of the male inhabitants in all those kinds of work which make for the spiritual, political, social, intellectual, moral and aesthetic advancement of mankind.

Just as the majority of the inhabitants of most countries are not contributing as much as they can to the cause of civilisation, so most races, nations and peoples of the world have not done what they are capable of for the realization of the ideals of humanity. Some have not yet arrived at the stage of maturity which may enable them to take part in the world's higher work ; some have not got the opportunity ; and to many the opportunity is being denied. Lust of power, and greed, with the consequent conquest, imperialism, autocracy and bureaucracy, stand in the way of many nations and races making a full use of their powers and thereby adding to the material and immaterial wealth of mankind.

Nationalism is not confined to the field of politics alone, or only to that of economics in addition. It is as wide in its scope as the range of all the powers of man. There is nationalism in religion, in politics, in economics, in social institutions, in literature, in arts, in philosophy, in science,—in all the forms and things in and by which the human spirit expresses itself.

The most widespread religions are not the same in all the countries in which they are professed. Buddhism is somewhat different in Nepal, Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, China and Japan. The Hinduism of Kashmir differs from the Hinduism of Bengal, Ceylon, or the island of Bali. The Christianity of Italy is not the Christianity of

Russia, or of Syria, Travancore, England or Sweden. Even Islam, which imposes greater uniformity than other faiths, is not in reality exactly the same cult in China, Turkey, India, Persia, Java, the Philippines and Arabia. Each religion is somewhat different not only in different countries, but in the same country it has been somewhat different in different ages.

In politics forms of government have been different among different peoples, and different in different ages among the same people. Absolute monarchy is not exactly the same thing in all monarchically governed countries. All ancient and modern republics are not alike in all respects. The characteristics and circumstances of peoples and times give distinctive features to political institutions which go by the same name.

The distinctive features of national literatures, arts, and philosophies need not be dilated upon,—they are so obvious.

The stamp of national individuality which has naturally impressed itself on all forms and products of human thought, feeling and activity, suggests two lines of action;—for man has arrived at the stage of self-conscious and self-regulated effort. One is that national distinctiveness in every thing, so far as it is beneficial, or, at any rate, not harmful, must be conserved. The other is, the so-called smaller or more backward nationalities or peoples must be freed from the over-whelming influence of the economically and militarily stronger nations, and given proper education and opportunities, so that they may be able to give full and free play to their powers, and thus add their own idealisms and achievements to those of other nations.

Nationalism implies that no country and no age has a monopoly of any kind of power. The world does not know all its prophets, seers, saints, heroes, discoverers and inventors. Who first made fire artificially? Who first cooked food? Who made houses? Who made bridges? Who tilled the soil for crops? Who were the first weavers? Who first conceived the idea of one God and prayed to Him? We do not know. There are numerous efficacious medicines, and various curative processes of which the discoverers are unknown. In science, too, we may no doubt say that the Hindus were the inventors of the decimal system of notation, or that

geometry originated with the Egyptians or the Hindus; but nobody knows the names of the persons to whom the credit should be given. So with regard to many moral and philosophical ideas. The most famous people in history were not necessarily the only or the most heroic or patriotic people. We are accustomed to think of the Red Indians of America as mere savages. But hear what the American reformer and orator Wendell Phillips has said of them:—

"From Massachusetts Bay back to their own hunting grounds, every few miles is written down in imperishable record as a spot where the scanty, scattered tribes made a stand for justice and their right. Neither Greece nor Germany nor the French nor the Scotch can show a prouder record. And instead of searing it over with infamy and illustrated epithet, the future will recognize it as a glorious record of a race that never melted out and never died, but stood up manfully, man by man, foot by foot, and fought it out for the land God gave him."—The American Journal of Sociology, September 1916, p. 263.

Dependent, "decadent" or small nations should not be despised. It was a small self-governing clan in North India amongst whom Buddha was born. It was a conquered and dependent and small nation which gave Jesus Christ to the world. The dependent island of Corsica gave to France its future Emperor Napoleon Buonaparte. The small island of Haïti was the scene of the unsurpassed heroism of the Negro Napoleon, originally a slave, Toussaint L'Ouverture. Rana Pratap, greatest of Rajput heroes and patriots, belonged to the small state of Mewar. In modern times, the Nobel prizes for medicine, physics, chemistry, and literature have not all been awarded to persons belonging to big and powerful countries. Even dependent countries like Poland and India, not to speak of small countries like Denmark, Belgium, and Switzerland and a "decadent" country like Spain, have shared in the glory. The achievements of the Negroes in America in fifty years show what the most backward races are capable of.

The creed of nationalism is that,—taking all kinds of achievements and potentialities into consideration, considering what particular nations have been in the past, are in the present and may be in future,—all nations should be treated as equal members of the great brotherhood called mankind. The actual or potential equality of all peoples is not mere idle fancy. When Greece and Rome were civilized and powerful, the

inhabitants of Britain and France and Germany were painted savages. Did the ancient Greeks and Romans imagine that the descendants of these savages would be more civilised and powerful than themselves? Things never dreamed of have happened and will come to pass again. The nationalist does not despair of the future of any nation, as its present condition may not give any clue to its future.

If a country was or is not politically great, it may yet be great; its soul can find expression and means of action in its own political institutions evolved by itself, — of course, with the help of the experience of other nations and its own past experience. If a country is not spiritually great, it may be great yet. God-vision, spiritual insight, will come to it, as it has come to others, with right endeavour.

As with religion and politics, so with economics, industries, art, literature, science and philosophy.

The last page of human history has not yet been written. Every nation will go on adding fresh chapters to it. All have a potentiality in every direction. Nationalism demands that, though there is and must be and ought to be interdependence among nations in all things, no nation should be in bondage to or almost entirely dependent upon any other nation as regards religion, statecraft, science, literature, art, philosophy, machinery and the necessities of a civilized existence.

Nor should a nation plume itself on its past, or depend on or be in bondage to its past. We find that, though India was great in ancient times in many branches of knowledge, we have to learn anew, discover anew, teach anew, to be able to live like men and get a hearing from the world. We find that though ancient India grew rich by her manufactures and commerce, that fact does not fill our empty stomachs; we have to make progress in commerce and the industries for ourselves in order to drive the wolf of hunger from our doors. Though in days of yore, there were republics, municipal and rural institutions for self-government, monarchies with checks on the regal power, councils of the people, and the power of public opinion in ancient India; though there were great monarchs and statesmen like Asoka, Harsha, Chandra Gupta, Dharmapala, Samudra Gupta, Sher Shah, Akbar, Sivaji, Chana-

kya, Todar Mall, Abul Fazl, Nana Fadvis, &c., in days of yore; their existence is only of indirect advantage to us. We learn from them, they inspire us with hope and confidence; but we have to acquire for ourselves the power to manage our own affairs and to prove that we possess it. Convinced that we possess it to a great extent we demand Home Rule. All this is obvious enough. But in religion and the structure of society, we are content to rest on the achievements of our ancestors. We forget that our ancestors and ourselves, though distantly related, are different individuals. Our bodies and souls are not their bodies and souls; their environment is not our environment. Their spiritual enlightenment cannot by itself make us spiritually enlightened. The fact that some of them were prophets, seers, saints and sages, does not mean that we are also prophets, seers, saints and sages. If we want to be spiritually as great as our ancestors, we should no doubt learn from them, but we must also engage in strenuous spiritual endeavour for ourselves, see truth for ourselves, and hold communion with God for ourselves. The social structure of those days may have suited and sufficed for those days. But we, while not rejecting the experience of the past, must also build where necessary according to our changed circumstances. It is not an all-round nationalism which recognises the need of fresh and independent endeavour in the fields of politics, economics, art, science, literature, &c., but is blind to the fact that in spirituality and social mechanism, too, there is need of independent and individual effort, in each age and in each country.

In nothing human has the last word been said. Man will yet attempt and scale greater heights in religion, science, art, literature, philosophy, politics, mechanical invention, &c. We respect all the great ones of the past and present; we love and honour all who have loved and dared, worked and suffered, for humanity. But we feel that we should be unworthy of being called their fellow-men, if, knowing that we too possess souls which we call our own, we also did not love and dare, work and suffer for humanity. We are not automata, moving and working according to the devices of our ancestors. We think, feel and will, and possess initiative. This is our birthright, and there is a corres-



Lokamanya BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

Photographed, October 1916, by N. V. Virkar, Bombay.

porcing responsibility that we must acknowledge in practice.

This is our individualism, this is our nationalism, and this is our cosmopolitanism.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

When the telegraphic wires flashed the news all over the country that the Bombay High Court had upset the judgment of the Poona magistrate which bound *Lokamanya* Bal Gangadhar Tilak to be of "good behaviour" for one year and as a guarantee that he would be "well-behaved" for that period required securities amounting to Rs. 40,000 in all, it caused a flutter of joy in all patriotic hearts. *Lokamanya* means *Honoured of the People*. It is a great distinction, and joy indeed, to be honoured and loved by one's own people. But though Mr. Tilak certainly appreciates the honour and is happy, it is neither the distinction nor the happiness that must matter to him most. It is the opportunity which he has again got to freely serve the Motherland which, one may be sure, he values most. We also value it highly. All honour to the sturdy elder brother who has loved and dared and worked and suffered for the Motherland!

The judgment of the Bombay High Court, if followed by Magistrates who demand or forfeit securities under the Press Act, may make the work of criticising Government measures and Government servants less risky than it is. But this is a thing scarcely to be hoped for. Still the judgment may be expected to have some restraining effect.

Baroda Representative Assembly.

The Maharaja Gaekwar has directed that a representative assembly of the people should be formed to receive suggestions on and discuss questions affecting public welfare. The Dewan will preside and heads of all departments will be present to give information and help in discussions. Each district and divisional local board will send one representative. The first meeting of the assembly is fixed for January 3, 1917. During each session of the assembly representatives will be treated as state guests.

This is good news. Mysore, Travancore and Bikaner already possess Representative assemblies. It is meet that the progressive state of Baroda should also have one.

Patna University Bill.

Next to the question of Home Rule, of all the matters that are or ought to be at

present receiving public attention, the Patna University Bill is the most important and most far-reaching in its direct and indirect consequences. We commented on it briefly in our October number and at some length in the last issue. Before the present number is published the special session of the Behar provincial conference will have met, criticised the Bill and passed its resolutions. As we write, the conference has still to meet.

Though our comments in this issue will not be of any use so far as the conference is concerned, they may be of some use to other persons. Hence we proceed to make a few more observations.

In Act No. II of 1857, which is the Act of Incorporation of the Calcutta University, Section 2 runs as follows:—

"The Body Corporate shall be able and capable in law to take, purchase, and hold any property, movable or immovable, which may become vested in it for the purpose of the university by virtue of any purchase, grant, testamentary disposition, or otherwise; and shall be able and capable in law to grant demise, alien, or otherwise dispose of, all or any of the property movable and immovable, belonging to the University; and also do all other matters incidental or appertaining to a Body Corporate."

In the Indian Universities Act of 1904, Section 3 runs as follows:—

"The University shall be and shall be deemed to have been incorporated for the purpose (among others) of making provision for the instruction of students, with power to appoint University Professors and Lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, to erect, equip and maintain university libraries, laboratories and museums, to make regulations relating to the residence and conduct of students, and to do all acts, consistent with the Act of Incorporation and this Act, which tend to the promotion of study and research."

In the Patna University Bill, clause (3) of Section 3 corresponds to the two sections quoted above, and runs as follows:—

"The University shall be deemed to have been incorporated for the purposes, among others, of making provision for imparting education, of promoting original research, of examining students and conferring degrees, of admitting educational institutions to its privileges, and of supervising and controlling the administration of colleges of the University in all matters of education and discipline, and of inspecting and supervising external colleges."

It will be seen that the older Act of 1904 is more explicit than the new Bill and mentions in detail the means of imparting education and of promoting original research, such as the appointment of University Professors and Lecturers, and the erecting, equipping and maintaining of univer-

sity libraries, laboratories and museums, &c. But it may be said that the words "making provision for imparting education, of promoting original research," imply all these things, though we should prefer a definite and explicit promise of these things embodied in the Act. It can hardly be held, however, that they imply also the power to hold and manage educational endowments which the Acts of 1857 and 1904 have conferred on the University of Calcutta. Is this omission due to oversight? Or is it intentional? In Sir C. Sankaran Nair's speech it is stated that Government have been unable at present to equip the Bihar and Orissa colleges properly owing to financial stringency. That should be a strong reason for seeking endowments; though even if Government had a overflowing treasury educational endowments should be welcome, as they are to very rich Universities in very prosperous countries. Bihar has some very wealthy landholders, such as those of Darbhanga, Dumraon, Hathwa, &c. The Durbhanga Raj has enriched the Calcutta University, the Hindu University, the Sanatan Dharma College in the Punjab, &c. Other estates too in Bihar have given princely donations to educational institutions. It is obvious, then, that the Patna University should have the power to hold and manage educational endowments.

We have already shown how from no point of view can the restricting of affiliation to colleges situated only in the town of Patna, Mozufferpur, Bhagalpur, Cuttack, and Hazaribagh, be justified. The number of high schools in the different districts of Bihar and Orissa also show the unjustifiable character of the restriction. The districts which now have colleges and may have more, have the following number of high schools:—Patna, 12; Mozufferpur, 5; Bhagalpur, 7; Cuttack, 10; Hazaribagh, 4. It may, therefore, be taken that those districts which have 4 (like Hazaribagh) or more than 4 high schools, ought to be allowed to aspire to have colleges. And they are: Balasore, 5; Darbhanga, 7; Gaya, 4; Lohardaga, 4; Manbhum, 6; Monghyr, 4; Saran, 7; Shahabad, 6; and Santhal Parganas, 7. And in future every district which comes to have four or more high schools ought to be allowed to have a college if it can equip and maintain one.

The Work of the Home Rule League.
Though Home Rule Leagues or branches

thereof have been established in a few other provinces also, the Home Rule propaganda is being actively carried on only in the Deccan and the Madras Presidency. This will never do. The other provinces must show greater activity. It is the height of unwisdom to quarrel about names, and it is worse than unwisdom to refrain from action because others have been in the field earlier in their provinces.

Nineteen elected Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council, being the majority of such members and including representatives of Hindus, Musalmans and Parsis, of landholders, middle-class professional men and merchants, have presented a scheme of self-government to the Viceroy. And at the joint conference of the All-India Congress Committee and the Moslem League held in Calcutta in the Hall of the Indian Association on the 17th and 18th of November,

The draft Reform Scheme of the All-India Congress Committee was placed before the conference for discussion along with the draft prepared by the Reform Sub-Committee of the Moslem League. There was absolute unanimity of opinion regarding the following important points: (1) the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State; (2) the expansion of the Imperial Legislative Council to 150 and of the Provincial Legislative Councils in the major provinces to 125, together with an extension of the franchise; (3) four-fifths of the members of all the Legislative Councils to be elected; (4) half the number of members of the Viceregal Executive Council as well as of all the Provincial Executive Councils to be Indians elected by the elected members of the respective Legislative Councils; (5) the commissioned ranks of the army to be thrown open to Indians; (6) Indians to be allowed to enlist as volunteers; (7) Indians to be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor throughout the British Empire; (8) the Judicial and Executive functions to be separated.

The question of Mohamedan representatives was discussed at considerable length and a settlement arrived at regarding most of the provinces, the few points of difference being left to be decided by the Congress Committee and the Moslem League when they meet at Lucknow in December.

Such being the case, it is certain that a practically identical scheme of self-government will be formulated at the ensuing sessions of the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League, and this will be united India's demand of self-government. But a mere verbal demand or one on paper, even if it be presented in person by the presidents of the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League cannot bring the winning of Home Rule appreciably nearer. The few days' sessions of the Congress

and the Moslem League should be followed by propagandist work all the year round. And this work should be carried on along many lines.

In every province there should be a large circulation of Home Rule leaflets and pamphlets in English and the principal vernacular or vernaculars of the province. And there should be lectures on Home Rule topics in English and the Vernaculars. Whatever is spoken or written on the subject may be eloquent, but it must not be mere declamation; it should be severely argumentative and based on unassailable facts and figures. Every province and, wherever practicable, every district, should have its League office with a *whole-time staff*, honorary or paid, as circumstances may require. But we should be prepared to pay for all services rendered. Similarly there should be both whole-time and occasional lectures, honorary or paid, according to circumstances. There should be exchange of leaflets and pamphlets between the provinces and districts.

In order to thoroughly equip students of Home Rule principles, writers of Home Rule literature, and lecturers on Home Rule, there should be Home Rule libraries and reading rooms at all convenient centres, containing standard works on Indian politics, economics, industrial and commercial questions, education, &c. Complete sets of the Reports of the Indian National Congress, the Moslem League, the Industrial Conference, the Indian Education and Universities Commissions, the works or speeches of Raja Rammohun Ray, Ranade, Dalabhai Naoroji, Romesh Dutt, Digby, Gokhale, Surendranath Banerjea, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, D. E. Wacha, Mrs. Annie Besant, Ambica Charan Mazumdar, Jadunath Sarkar, Narendranath Law, Pramathanath Banerji, Lajpat Rai, &c., should be kept in these libraries. Standard works on political science, economics, educational principles, &c., should also be there. To begin with, it would be best to publish a list of the Reports and books which it would be desirable to possess. Supplementary lists may be published from time to time.

Though educative and propagandist work in England is essentially necessary, it should never be forgotten that the greatest immediate need is the conversion of our own unbelievers in Home Rule, and of in-

spiring with hope and courage the faint-hearted among our own countrymen.

At the ensuing sessions of the Congress and the Moslem League there should be a resolution entrusting some competent persons with the work of preparing a Bill embodying the new constitution of the Government of India which we require, to be introduced in the House of Commons when the ground has been prepared in England and India for such a step to be taken. The Bill is to be on the lines of the resolutions to be adopted at the next sessions of the Congress and the Moslem League.

In order to educate public opinion in England, as soon as the war is over a deputation of competent representative Indians should visit the United Kingdom and work there as long as may be necessary.

When the draft of the Home Rule Bill is ready a special joint session of the Congress and the Moslem League should be held to adopt it.

Before or at the time of the introduction of the Bill in Parliament, it should be supported by petitions from all provinces, districts and towns in India.

It is worse than useless to conceal from ourselves or from would-be Home Rule workers that there is some risk involved in carrying on the work of propaganda. It is the duty of the executive and the police to keep the peace and maintain order. But it is not every member of these services who understands that it is not all kinds of public-speaking and pamphleteering which undermine public peace and order. The tendency is to mistake stagnation and the silence of death or coma for peace and order. Few there are who understand that the *public* ventilation of all questions in a constitutional manner is a preventive of anarchism. We must take into consideration the psychology of the executive and the police as it is and be prepared for occasional harrassment. Those who may be thus harrassed cannot generally be expected to have sufficient money to obtain legal help in self-defence. The Home Rule Leagues or their friends should see to it that such men do not go undefended.

We journalists should, as far as we can, discuss all public questions from the Home Rule standpoint. Our endeavour should be to show how a self-ruling India, a self-ruling province, a self-ruling district, a self-ruling town or a self-ruling village

would deal with or would have dealt with such questions.

Those who do not like the name of Home Rule, may carry on the kind of work suggested in this Note under any other name which they may prefer. They may, for example, call it the work of the Congress Executive Committee. The name is not so important; what is material is that work should be done from day to day, week to week, month to month and year to year.

Maximum Number of pupils in School Classes.

The Hon. Khan Bahadur Syed Alay Nabi recently moved a resolution in the U. P. Legislative Council recommending in substance that the maximum number fixed for boys in school classes should be raised from 33 to 40, or that in the alternative the Government should allow evening classes to be opened in schools for boys who, for want of accommodation or owing to the rules made by the educational department, could not find accommodation in schools. The resolution was lost. In criticising it the Hon. Mr. O' Donnell observed that "Government would be no party to any policy which proceeded on the assumption that in matters of education all principles should be thrown to the winds." So to Mr. O' Donnell it is an immutable principle that no class should contain more than 33 boys,—immutable, of course, for the United Provinces. For elsewhere we find that it is very much mutable. Let us take first the despised and backward province of Bengal, where, however, education is still controlled by Government and where all high schools have to conform to the regulations of the Calcutta University. These Regulations, it should be remembered, were drafted by the Senate framed by a Committee specially appointed by the Government of India, and formally sanctioned by that Government "in the precise form in which they left the hands of the Committee," as they saw "no reason for introducing any additions or alterations." Chapter XXI, section 2, sub-section (1) of the Calcutta University Regulations provides :—

"That no teacher is allowed to teach—

(i) in the Entrance class or Second class or any section thereof, more than 50 pupils at the same time;

(ii) in any of the classes from the Third to the

Sixth, or any section thereof, more than 40 pupils at the same time;

(iii) either the Seventh or the Eighth class, or any section thereof, more than 30 pupils at the same time."

We learn from Resolution No. 600 of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, dated Simla, the 11th August, 1906, that, Chapter XXI of the Regulations, of which the above provisions form a part, "is practically identical with the draft submitted by the senates which is understood to represent the unanimous opinion of the Fellows belonging to the Education Department of Bengal." When the Government of India sanctioned these regulations, *representing the unanimous opinion of the Fellows belonging to the Education Department in Bengal*, did they throw all principles to the winds? We want a direct reply from the Honourable Mr. O'Donnell of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Is it a very patent fact that the undergraduates turned out by the high schools of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam and Burma are very much inferior to their U. P. brethren? Or are the schools in these provinces deplorably less efficient than those in the U. P.?

Let us next turn to England. In our last July number (p. 107) we find we quoted the following sentences from *The Times* of London :

"One way of economising expenditure in the education department has been found by reverting to the old system of larger classes."

"In the bad old days, when classes numbered normally 70 or even 80 pupils, the wonder was how much good work was done. Teachers will rise to the occasion now as they did then, and they will have a satisfaction that was denied their predecessors; for in doing their work under distressing conditions they will be doing their part in the great effort the nation is making."

The Times admits that "in the bad old days, when classes *normally* numbered 70 or even 80 pupils", "much good work was done." It would seem then that in those days, Englishmen did not throw all principles to the winds. And that journal also gives the information that expenditure has been economised during these war times "by reverting to the old system of large classes." In a more recent issue *The Times* reports that among the resolutions passed at an educational conference held at Oxford was the following :—

"The size of classes should be reduced to not more than 40 scholars."

This resolution implies two things, viz.

that there are classes which now contain more than 40 students, and that a maximum of 40 per class is not incompatible with efficiency.

The last country to which we shall refer is the United States of America. In chapter xviii of the Report of the Commissioner of Education (U. S. A.) for the year ended June 30, 1915, which is devoted to School Surveys, we find (vol. 1, p. 437) that in San Francisco one of the specific recommendations was, "I. An increased appropriation which shall provide: Enough teachers to reduce all classes to 40 pupils;" &c. In Covington, Macon, and Morgan Counties, Alabama, the school surveyors report with regard to 343 teachers whom they visited that "when they arrive at the school-house" "they are to teach 41 pupils each" (Vol. 1, p. 444). In Springfield, Illinois, "Classes range in size from 17 to 53, with an average of 36" (vol. 1, p. 449). But we need not multiply examples. Mr. O'Donnell perhaps knows that the United States of America are more advanced in education, both as regards quality and quantity, than the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and this result they have attained by throwing to the winds, not all educational principles but only such educational principles as Mr. O'Donnell seems to hold. It should also be remembered that in England and U. S. A. both the people and the Governments are immensely richer than in the U. P., and that in those countries illiteracy is the exception, not the rule. If in those countries there can be classes of 40 and more than 40 without loss of efficiency, why not in the poor and illiterate United Provinces of Agra and Oudh?

The Japanese as seen by one of themselves.

Dr. Motoda, the president of St. Paul's College in Tokyo, has written a book entitled *An Analysis of the Japanese Mind*. The *Independent* of New York thus summarises the analysis made by the Japanese author:—

Among the good traits of Japanese character Dr. Motoda mentions patriotism, loyalty, affection for family and relatives, love of children, cleanliness, power of adaptation, appreciation of beauty in nature, politeness, manual dexterity, and a keen intuition of the spirit of things. He offsets these virtues with such defects as lack of public spirit, devotion to red tapism, nervous self-consciousness, careless respect for the truth, official contempt for the

common people, fickleness, unpunctuality, indulgence in personal criticism, clannishness, poverty of facial expression, and indulgence in physical appetites.

The American journal's own opinion of the Japanese is expressed as follows:—

For our part, we should say that the Japanese were superior to us in patriotism, loyalty, cleanliness, estheticism, alertness and thoroughness, but that we were far ahead of them in our treatment of women, in business morality, in financial and industrial development, and in the qualifications we impose for the suffrage.

Internments in Bengal.

Internments continue to go on in Bengal with unabated vigour. It is probable that by this time about a thousand persons have been either interned, or deported according to Regulation III of 1813. As not even one of these persons has been deprived of his liberty after a regular trial, we cannot justly assume that any of them is guilty. They must all be presumed to be innocent until the contrary is proved.

By casting their nets very wide, it is possible for the police to take under custody some men who are really guilty. But is it just or is it statesmanlike to adopt a procedure which causes great hardship to many innocent people, in the expectation that possibly wrongdoing by a few may be prevented?

The possibility of injustice to anybody should be guarded against with the most scrupulous care. But it can not be said that Government have taken all the possible steps necessary and practicable, to prevent the unjust infliction of hardship on innocent persons. It is not yet too late to do so.

Though Lord Curzon did not inaugurate the policy of repression, he despised and disregarded public opinion. His successor had in consequence troublous times to deal with, and began the policy of repression, which has since then gone on. And it is now at its height. Repression is certainly necessary under certain circumstances. No sane man can oppose the repression of crime. But the repression of guilty and innocent alike, most probably more of the innocent than of the guilty, which results from the method of house-searches, arrests, internments and deportations adopted in Bengal which the public consider indiscriminate, is not consistent with true statesmanship.

We are able to write these things quite

calmly and without any effort to be calm, because internments and things of that sort have now become quite everyday and ordinary occurrences in Bengal. That means much.

We do not write to excite pity. We do not therefore refer to the loss and sufferings of the interned and their relatives. Nor do we think that the policy now being pursued in Bengal will, can, or ought to result in any serious secret movement directed against the British Empire. It is true the connotation of the epithet British has in recent years undergone some change in the public mind in India; and that is something on which the people of Great Britain and Ireland may or may not care to seriously reflect. That is their lookout. The main reason why we write on the policy of internments is that we have what many people may consider a "superstitious" veneration for mere justice. Justice, irrespective of our power of anticipation of good or bad consequences, stands above all political and other considerations. Justice should be done at all costs, because righteousness exalts a nation, not injustice. Injustice, even to the weak and helpless, saps the vitality of the mightiest human fabrics in ways unimagined.

We have reasons to think that justice, —not perfect justice, but only such as is humanly practicable,—is not being done to many of the interned. Is it too much to expect that justice will yet be done? In previous issues we have thrown out a few suggestions as to how adequate arrangements may be made for this purpose. The employment of not one but several judicial officers, of not one but several public defenders, is necessary. There is a limit to human capacity, and the working hours of the most capable cannot be indefinitely prolonged day after day. It is inconceivable that a single officer, however capable and conscientious, can sift the charges and evidence against the shoals of persons caught in the police nets almost every day.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Canada.

Nothing less could be expected of Sir Rabindranath Tagore than the firm and dignified reply he gave to the Canadians when he was invited to visit Toronto and Montreal and deliver lectures there. He declined the invitations. V. Jamieson writes to the *Toronto Daily Star*, dated the 27th September last :—

[He] Sir Rabindranath Tagore wishes this to be published and generally known. He said that he was asked to go ashore at Vancouver, but refused. He would never set foot on Canadian or Australian soil while his countrymen were treated as they were: nor did he expect that things would alter until the psychology of nations was changed."

The Statesman observes with an air of superiority which is quite amusing that it is difficult not to sympathise with the poet's sentiment, but it thinks that the exhibition of it might have come after the war! What the war has got to do with the matter, it requires a very superior brain to understand. Perhaps the "Friend of India" means that the poet ought to have told the Canadians that he would let them know after the war whether he could accept their invitation.

The Canadians are responsible not only for the humiliation and misery of those of our countrymen who are in Canada, but also for the death and deprivation of liberty of many Indians who were passengers in the *Komagata Maru*. But for their ill-treatment in a Canadian harbour they would not have been in the mood which, combined with the maladroitness of some officials, led to the unfortunate events resulting in death and imprisonment to many of them.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore in America.

In the course of a contribution to the *Christian Register* of Boston, that genuine friend of India, Dr. J. T. Sunderland, writes :—

"We in this country are apt to think that America has much to teach India. In this we are quite right. But India has also some things that are important to teach America. She has some things to teach us about literature, about education, and certainly about religion. No land in the world has ever produced profounder thinkers on all the problems of religion and of life than the India of the past. The India of to-day has no wiser, kinder, more broad-minded, or greater teacher than Mr. Tagore, none more eager to receive from us whatever of value we have to give, or better able to impart to us the best wisdom of his own historic land.

"In the story found in one of our New Testament Gospels of the Wise Men who came from the East to see the babe Jesus in Bethlehem, we read that 'when they had opened their treasures, they presented to him gifts; gold, frankincense, and myrrh.' This wise man who is coming to us from the East will be very modest about opening his treasures; but we may be sure that if we are wise enough to desire them, he will present unto us some precious gifts of spiritual gold, frankincense, and myrrh."

New India writes that "interesting reports from American newspapers show that Sir Rabindranath Tagore, whom they

call the 'Shakespeare of India' is creating a great impression. He is booked to give 40 or 50 lectures under the auspices of the Pond Lyceum Bureau, and explained as follows the reason for the tour :

"The lectures I am to give in the United States are for the purpose nearest my heart; to get funds to carry on my school for boys in India. That is the thought nearest my heart. My boys, they come from all parts of India, speaking all languages and dialects to study with me. There is no inharmony among them after they have been in the school for a little time. Some are sent to me because they are wicked, or thought to be so. But the differences in human beings are personal, not fundamental. With the right understanding, I think all men would be generous and kind. I take no boys above 11. They soon grow to like the school and each other. We get along famously. The Nobel prize came just when I needed the money for the school. All the royalties from my books go to keep up the school. That is my great ambition."

The Independent of New York says :—

Rabindranath Tagore, in the course of his visit to the United States, will lecture in sixteen of our large cities. Beginning in Seattle on September 25 and ending in Boston April 1, his tour will include Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver, Chicago, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Nashville, Detroit, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Brooklyn and New York.

To this American weekly Mr. Lajpat Rai has contributed a critical appreciation of the poet.

Rabindranath's Works in Malayalam.

A correspondent writes to the *West Coast Reformer* that "a Nair gentleman of South Malabar, of uncommon linguistic attainments, has obtained in person from the great Tagore the legal permission, along with his invaluable benedictions, to translate all his works into Malayalam." We hope the translations will be from the original Bengali. Naturally it is only the original Bengali versions which are racy of the soil; in them alone one finds not only his ideas and sentiments, but the Indian air, the music, the true Indian colour and the full Indian flavour. It is only by reading *all* his works and that in the original that one can judge of the correctness of the estimate of those who like ourselves love and honour him, that to the best of their knowledge, he is the most many-sided literary genius of the first rank that any country can show. And the spirit of his works is in full harmony with the eternal verities.

The late Dr. Wallace and Indian Home Rule.

The Indian Social Reformer contains the following paragraph, which will be read

with pleasure by all advocates of Home Rule for India :—

In the second volume of his letters and reminiscences of Alfred Russell Wallace, the co-discoverer with Darwin of the principle of Natural Selection, Mr. James Maschant quotes an account by Mr. D. A. Wilson of a conversation with the eminent scientist when he visited him in 1912. "He defended," says Mr. Wilson, "the old Dutch Government monopolies of spices, and declared them better than to-day's free trade, when cultivation is exploited by men who always tended to be money-grabbers, selfish savages let loose. In answer I mentioned the abuses of officialdom, as seen by me from the inside in Burma, and he agreed that the mental and moral superiority of many kinds of Asiatics to the Europeans who want to boss them made detailed European administration an absurdity. We should leave these people to develop in their own way. Having conquered Burma and India, he proceeded, the English should take warning from history and restrict themselves to keeping the peace, and protecting the countries they had taken. They should give every province as much home rule as possible and as soon as possible, and to study to avoid becoming parasites."

Dr. Wallace on the Mahabharata.

The same paper quotes from the same authority Dr. Wallace's opinion of the *Mahabharata*.

Here is an instance of his appreciation of Asiatic culture as being, in some respects, superior to that of Europe. "I have now finished reading the *Mahabharata*" he wrote to his daughter in March 1899, "which is on the whole very fine—finer, I think, than the *Iliad*. I have read a good deal of it twice, and it will bear reading many times... Many of the ideas and moral teachings are beautiful; equal to the best teaching and superior to the general practice of to-day. I have made a lot of emendations and suggestions, which I am going to send to the translators, the proofs have evidently not been carefully read by any English literary man."

The Indian Social Reformer says :—

It would be interesting to know what the edition which Dr. Russell used was, and what his emendations and suggestions were.

Lord Carmichael on the Exodus to the Hills.

The following observations of Lord Carmichael on life in Darjeeling will not be liked by those official advocates of the annual desertion of the plains and flight to the hills who say that more work is and can be done there than in the plains :—

Darjeeling is deservedly a popular hill station and I hope it will long continue so. I am afraid I cannot agree with those who profess to think that far more work is done in the hills than in the plains. In Bengal, at any rate, that is certainly not the case. If it were, I do not think Darjeeling would be as popular as it is. When dealing with those files from which there is never any escape I have often wished Darjeeling were nearer Calcutta so that I might have got the information I needed quickly; but I was glad to be here for my own enjoyment and for the sake of my

health. Though I know that if I had been in the plains I could have done more work, I know too that many of my friends, especially of those who seem to me to work hardest, think the same thing and I cannot see why he should not say so. Health and amusement are good things in themselves. They can be found up here and they ought to be sought for so that the works done down below may be all the better done.

Yes, but this recuperation of health when sought by those who are not Olympians is obtained by taking leave for themselves, not by dragging whole departments after them at the public expense.

Education and Efficiency of Labour.

The Leader writes :—

A circular recently issued by the Mussoorie agricultural experiment station affords a striking illustration of the value of education in raising the efficiency of labour. It records the results of a comparison made in 1912 between two groups of farmers; one consisting of 554 men who had received only a rural school education and another of 102 who had received education in high schools extending on an average to two years. The better educated farmer, it is stated, made an income which was 71·4 per cent. greater than that of the farmer with less education, and even after the labor income of the latter was adjusted to allow of his smaller size of business, the difference still amounted to 40 per cent. How much India, where the bulk of the people are illiterate agriculturists, would benefit by the wider diffusion of education can be easily realized from this.

"Representative of the People."

Indiaman observes :—

It might perhaps be thought that the eminent professional gentlemen who make up so large a proportion of the Council could be relied on to espouse the interests of their principal constituents, but experience has shown that this expectation is unfounded, and, in fact, the tie between councillor and cultivator is of the slightest. A minute proportion of the cultivators may vote in a local board election; local boards return members to the provincial Councils, and these again are represented at Delhi; but it is quite inconceivable that a seat at Delhi could be either gained or lost through votes or speeches on a question of agricultural importance, and so long as this is the case the charge that the Imperial Council is not representative of the people must be regarded as definitely established.

It is also as definitely established that the editor of *Indiaman* and his employers and customers are the true representatives of the people of India.

Ignorance, hypocrisy and impudence combine to produce paragraphs like the above quoted from *Indiaman*. The people whose mouthpiece that journal is would go into hysterics if it were suggested that India should have a large and truly representative assembly, elected by millions of cultivators and non-

cultivators possessing certain qualifications and therefore as a preparatory step there should be universal compulsory education. And yet the very same men try to belittle the importance of the only persons who possess any representative character at all. That they were not returned by cultivators or by a large number of cultivators, is not their fault. Why is it not urged by *Indiaman* that there should be universal education and cultivators should be given the power to vote? It is a calumny, oft repeated but never proved, that our elected councillors and other popular leaders do not espouse the interests of the cultivators. From Raja Rammohun Roy downwards have not the popular leaders tried to secure permanent settlement of the land revenues throughout India? Is not that of agricultural importance? But it is useless to argue with disingenuous men. None are so blind as those who will not see.

Co-operative Societies Debt Redemption Scheme.

Bombay October 31st.

Eighteen registered co-operative societies of Bombay are working under the debt redemption scheme started by Mr. G. K. Devadhar of the Servants of India Society. At the annual gathering of the members of these societies, over which the Hon. Mr. J. Carmichael presided, Mr. Devadhar stated that the societies were able to pay off debt to the extent of over a lakh and a-half of rupees, and the debts due by the members of the societies amounted now to Rs. 65,000 only.

This is very encouraging. Similar efforts should be made throughout the country.

Herein Calcutta, to give one example, the shoemakers who make Thanthania slippers, as they are called, are always in debt and are ill-housed, ill-clad and ill-fed; whereas those who merely sell the slippers are richer, better housed, better dressed, and look well-fed. Cannot the condition of the former be improved?

Chinese Students in Japan.

According to the latest official investigations there are at present in Japan 814 Chinese students, studying in 45 schools. Each of the following schools and colleges have 20 or more Chinese students :—

Tokio Imperial University.....	101
Tokio Higher Normal School.....	85
Tokio Higher Commercial School.....	28
First National College.....	72
Chiba Medical College.....	30
Nagasaki Medical College.....	21

Tokio Higher Technical College...210

Osaka Higher Technical College.....30

Chinese students appear to understand what kind of education can enable nations in modern times to preserve and maintain economic and political independence.

Combination of industry and scientific education suggested.

Giving evidence before the Indian Industrial Commission at Agra,

Mr. N. C. Nag, Professor of Chemistry at the Agra College, said that to promote the industrial development of India, more co-ordination between Indian University training and actual manufacture was necessary. By better co-ordination he meant that wherever possible a Scientific Department of a College or a University should be expected to manufacture certain materials of every-day use so that students might be acquainted with the actual process of manufacture.

This is a good suggestion. When in reply to the President Mr. Nag said that "they had not come to that stage when they could take up research work from a purely scientific standpoint," he perhaps referred to local conditions, as research work from a purely scientific standpoint has been done elsewhere.

Representation of India in the Imperial Federal Parliament.

Talk precedes action, though often it is mere idle breath. Prominent Englishmen are talking of giving India representation in the future Imperial Federal Parliament. *The Review of Reviews* writes :—

Our Portuguese Allies have set us an example in giving representation to Portuguese India in the Senate at Lisbon. Dr. Jose Paulo Lobo, who has been elected, was born in Goa in 1872, and studied medicine in the United States of America, where he won celebrity as a mouth, nose and ear specialist. He defeated his opponents by a very large majority. The franchise given to Portuguese Indians is of a limited character, only 12,851 men out of a population of 605,000 persons being allowed to vote for Senator. If representation on a numerical basis had been conceded, Lisbon would have had half a dozen Senators from Goa. While writing on this subject we may draw attention to a suggestion put forward by Sir Harry Johnston, in a recent issue of the *New Statesman*, that British India be given representation in the Imperial Federal Parliament. He advocates that educated Indians, who, he estimates, number five or six millions, should alone have the privilege of electing such representatives. He admits that India will not have "as many votes in universal Imperial affairs as the size and extent of her territory and the numbers of her population" warrant. He, however, considers that representation on a more extended basis would swamp the white vote. Sir Harry would give India "extended local control of her own policy and finance under the Viceroy appointed by King-Emperor."

Is there any hope of Sir Harry's idea materializing?

"Religious" Character of Noise or Music.

It is well-known that our Musalman neighbors object to any non-Islamic street music before their mosques. In October last at Aligarh the District Superintendent of Police promulgated an order, prohibiting any music *by the Hindus* on any road, street or lane in the town during the ten days of Maharram. We are not concerned now with what consequently the Hindus said or did, or what became of the order. What we have never been able to understand is why it is considered permissible by Musalmans according to their scriptures for them to beat the big drum in all lanes and roads and streets at all hours of the day and night on the principal day of the Maharram, whilst Hindus must not then play on any instrument either noisy or melodious. What are the exact verses of the Koran bearing on this question? We know strict Musalmans object to the carrying of *tajiyas* in procession. They may be expected to enlighten the public on the subject.

India a nonentity.

A Japanese paper writes :—

The Statistical Bureau has just announced the population of Japan at the end of 1913, the figures for Japan proper being 53,356,295, and 15,169,923 additional for Chosen, 3,265,169 for Formosa and 1,691 for Saghalien. This makes the entire population of Japan 71,793,078. On the rough estimate of the world's population at 1,440,000,000, Japan has a little over 4.9 per cent. In population, Japan proper ranks fifth among the great countries of the world, China coming first, Russia, the United States of America and Germany next in order.

In population India ranks second; but, though she is great in size and great in population, as she is not at present correspondingly great in any other respect, she has not been mentioned.

Political Inaction and Anarchism.

In our Bengali magazine the *Prabasi* we had occasion once to observe that a rational way to meet the anarchistic propaganda was for the leaders to talk politics frankly, freely and courageously to our youngmen, and for Government to allow such talks and discussions, of course on the understanding that the maintenance of the British connection and the sovereignty of the

King-Emperor were not to be assailed. It would not at all be difficult to convince any reasonable person that the assertion, winning and preservation of independence by India in her present circumstances are impracticable. But the laws and particularly their enforcement by the executive and the police are such that such discussions seem impossible, and, in any case, very risky. But it would seem necessary to brave the risks. Political inaction in Bengal, among other causes, has given rise to a very undesirable situation. Lowell says :—

"It is only when the reasonable and the practical are denied that men demand the unreasonable and impracticable ; only when the possible is made difficult that they fancy the impossible to be easy."

Both the Government and the leaders of the people ought to bear this in mind.

Mrs. Annie Besant and the C. P. Government.

Last month the C. P. and Berar Provincial Conference was held at Amraoti. At about the same time a Theosophical Conference was held in the same town. Mrs. Besant was to address the Theosophical Conference. Under these circumstances the C. P. Government prohibited Mrs. Besant from entering the Central Provinces and Berar under the Defence of India Act. Naturally there have been vigorous protests against this order from many towns in India, both from Theosophists and non-Theosophists. At a meeting of the C. P. Legislative Council, in reply to a question put by Mr. Joshi, Mr. Slocock, Chief Secretary, gave his government's reasons for the prohibition. They have appeared in the papers. We need not quote them. They do not seem to us satisfactory. In fact, Mr. Slocock's reply is somewhat self-contradictory. He said in part :—

When the projected visit of Mrs. Besant for the Theosophical Conference at a time which coincided with the Provincial Conference session became known in Amraoti a few days before the date which had been fixed for the meetings, the information gave much dissatisfaction to an important section of those interested in the Provincial Conference, who considered that it would prejudice the success of the Conference, and proposals were actually put forward that Mrs. Besant should be asked to abandon her visit. The Reception Committee of the Provincial Conference conveyed an assurance to the Commissioner that Mrs. Besant would take no active part in the Conference. This assurance was fully accepted and the issue of the Order implies no mistrust of that assurance.

In answer to this part of the official reply, we find in the dailies the following telegram from Bombay :—

In the reference to the explanation given by the Government of the Central Provinces in the Legislative Council regarding the exclusion of Mrs. Besant from the C. P. and Berar, the secretaries of the 5th C. P. and Berar Provincial Conference, in reply to enquiries made by several members of the Reception Committee, have stated that none of the office-bearers of the Reception Committee had authorised formally or otherwise any responsible person interested in the conference to represent to Government that the attendance of Mrs. Besant would prejudice the success of the conference. The secretaries have further stated that Mrs. Besant was not invited by the conference at Amraoti nor was there any understanding that she should be given an opportunity to speak at the conference or take part in its deliberations.

In the *Commonweal* Mrs. Besant writes :—

The Hon. Mr. Joshi put a question in the Legislative Council, and received from Mr. Slocock an answer which so contradicted itself that it seemed to have been written by different persons. Sir Benjamin did not want political agitation during the War ; well, he raised no objection to Mrs. Besant's lecturing on Home Rule in October 1915, but only objected to her when she was going to preside at a non Political Conference. He wanted no inflammatory speeches, but he allowed a Political Conference where the speeches were certainly not frigid.... He did not object to Theosophy, but he proscribed the President of the Theosophical Society. The explanation was of the most halting and feeble character, only making the matter worse.

The prohibition was a blunder and the reasons assigned therefor were a worse blunder.

Mrs. Annie Besant speaks, writes and moves about freely in Madras. But neither land nor water is on fire there. A hope-inspiring vigorous constitutional propaganda is a cure for many political maladies. We need not repeat Lowell's dictum in this connection.

Mrs. Besant's speeches and writings do not endanger either public safety or the British Government ; they are a menace only to a certain *form* and *system* of administration.

An unconscious stroke of genius.

We have said the prohibition was a blunder ; but on second thoughts it seems it was a happy, though unconscious stroke of genius. For it made many papers give much space to the matter,—it was so easy to write about it, as it required no study—to the neglect of other questions of importance. Wasn't that a good result from a certain view-point ?

Not that we think it a trifle that anyone's freedom of movement and action and speech should be restricted for no sufficient cause. What we mean is that if Mrs. Besant had not been prohibited from going to the C. P., journalists might have given greater attention and space to Home Rule, the Patna University Bill, the Bengal interments, &c., which last are also examples of the hardship caused to many innocent persons by the application of the Defence of India Act and the consequent loss of freedom of movement and action.

Dr. Gour on Self-government.

In the able presidential address which Dr. Gour delivered at the C. P. and Berar Provincial Conference, he dealt with questions which are of interest to all Indians along with those in which the citizens of his province were more directly concerned. On the most important question of self-government he said :—

This brings us to the subject of Self-government, the one question that more than any other is now agitating the public mind. Educated and enlightened India has unanimously and in unflinching terms declared for Self-government within the Empire and is sure that British statesmanship, which has in the past enthusiastically supported the cause of liberty unsheathing its valiant sword for the freedom of weak and smaller nations, will appreciate the aspirations of the people of India and meet them in no ungrudging spirit, henceforth treating her as a 'trusted partner' and not merely as an humble dependant. I interpret the cry of unfitness, from whichever source it comes, as a lame and unsubstantial excuse for refusal and India is not hereafter prepared to silently submit to such ungenerous treatment. Nothing renders the people fit for Self-government better than self-government itself. The history of all self-governing nations has been the history of nations who have learnt self-government by experiment. Even England herself, the august Mother of Liberty, has been continuously and is even now passing through that phase, since no human ingenuity has yet discovered the art of self-government which is past further improvement. Without self-government it would be impossible for India, as past experience has shown, to utilize its vast and unlimited material and moral resources to their full extent in the service of their country and the Empire. India wants to play her part honourably in the Empire. India wants the Government to be responsible to the enlightened will of the people, which under the present form of government is not possible. It is not upon mere ground of sentiment alone that we base our claim to self-government. It is not necessary to believe, as Mr. Asquith himself once said, "that the people, into whose hands their own political destinies may be entrusted will always be wise, or that the majorities will always be in the right. But in all civilized communities two strong and convincing arguments will for all time demonstrate the necessity of some effective form of representative Government. First of all, nothing else can secure, in the long run, the preponderance of general as

distinguished from sectional class interests. Secondly, nothing else can secure the widest diffusion of sensible responsibility."

The Colonies and India.

The question of self-government necessarily led Dr. Gour to consider the question of the future relation of India to the colonies. There would be general agreement with him when he observed :—

There is no disguising the fact that we look with considerable misgivings, if not with a feeling akin to dismay, upon the intended policy as declared, to take the Colonies into partnership with Great Britain in the Government of the Empire. This would be nothing but a calamity to this country, unless India is at the same time equally admitted into the common partnership; for it would then mean the subjection of India, not only to England but also to her Colonies, whose unfortunate prejudice against our countrymen and unrighteous treatment of them in the past have been so painfully brought home to us from time to time. Their domination over this country, in any shape or form, would confer on them an authority and an advantage, the consequences of which will be disastrous to our interest.

The Chiefs' Conference.

Though the conference of ruling princes and chiefs which was held at Delhi on the 30th of October last was not the first of its kind, "it is only of late years," as the Viceroy observed in his opening speech, "that Delhi has witnessed such an assemblage as this of Rulers from all parts of India, met without formality or ceremonial to deliberate upon matters affecting the interests of their order, and to assist the Government of India in the solution of important problems of administration." Two such conferences were held during the regime of Lord Hardinge, the first in 1913 and the second in 1914. Some idea of the nature of the work done in these conferences can be gained from the following extract from the Viceroy's opening speech to the chiefs :—

There are questions constantly arising in respect of your people and yourselves on which the Government of India would like your free and frank advice. The Government have asked you, therefore, to meet together and give us that advice and I hope that Your Highnesses will consider it worth your while, at the cost of some inconvenience, to help us in this way. As to the meaning of this conference, if Your Highnesses, after your experience of this meeting, regard it as of value to come together again and discuss such matters as I have indicated, for my part I shall be delighted to renew my invitation. It may be that in time to come a constitutional assemblage may grow out of these conferences which will take its place in the Government of this great Empire, but for the moment I would say to you to content yourselves with the prosaic, but useful task of advising the

Government of India on certain specific matters. I am not far wrong in thinking that this will commend itself to the majority of Your Highnesses. You are jealous and rightly jealous, of the position as Ruling Princes and Chiefs owing allegiance to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and I hope no need for me to assure you that I do not desire to impinge on that position or to interfere in your domestic concerns. Conversely Your Highnesses will, I am sure, not be anxious to interfere in the domestic affairs of British India. With this agreement in essentials between Your Highnesses and the Government of India we may, I think, leave the future to decide for itself the question of constitutional development as it arises.

His Excellency left the future to decide for itself the question of constitutional development as it might arise. He did not want to interfere in the Princes' domestic concerns, nor did he want them to intervene in the domestic affairs of British India. There are, however, questions which concern the whole of India, Indian and British, a protective tariff, railway freight, &c., being some of them; but the Viceroy did not refer to them at all, nor did he say whether the Princes might in course of time expect to make their voice heard in the settlement of such affairs.

The Gaekwad's Reply.

In the reply which the Gaekwad gave on behalf of the Princes and Chiefs, he, we think, referred to such all-India questions, and expressed the opinion that they expected to have a vote in the settlement of such affairs. The reference will be found in the last sentence of the extract given below.

It will at all times not only be of advantage to us, but also a source of pleasure and satisfaction to be of what assistance we can in the way of advising, and perhaps assisting, Your Excellency and your Government in important problems concerning the affairs of ourselves, our States and our people. Apart from imperial conceptions, duties and obligations, it is no less in our own interests that we welcome such conferences and cherish the hope of their future development on constitutional lines, for with the march of the times—and no man can put back the hands of the clock—it is in our opinion of the utmost importance to ourselves, our States and our people that we should have a regularly assigned and definite place in the constitution of the Empire, and indeed, that there should at an early date come into existence an institution which we have consistently advocated, such as a council or assembly of Princes formed on proper lines, where important questions concerning ourselves can be discussed and settled. The great importance which we attach to meetings of this kind is fully demonstrated, if further proofs were needed, by the fact that such a large and representative number of Ruling Princes have assembled here from each and every province in India, including far away Madras and Bengal. We have no desire to encroach upon the affairs of British India any more than we want any-

body outside our States to interfere with the affairs of our own States and ourselves. All that we aspire to is that, apart from our having recognised any constitutional means of bringing before the distinguished representative in India of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, questions affecting our States, ourselves, and our people, we should also representing as we do one-third of the Indian Empire and one-fourth of its entire population, have a vote in the settlement of the affairs thereof.

The Gaekwad also advocated the establishment of a Council of Princes.

Your Excellency has yourself been pleased to lay stress on the supreme importance of the existence of harmonious relations between the Government of India and ourselves and of seeking every means by which to preserve and improve them, and we would venture to express the opinion that nothing will be more productive of such results than the establishment of a Council of Princes which will meet at regular intervals.

The Future of the Conference.

In presenting to the Viceroy a first account of the proceedings of the Conference the Gaekwad again gave expression to the hope that the conference would in future meet annually:—

This has been the first meeting of the Conference in its extended form, composed as it is of princes and chiefs who are accustomed rather to issue direct commands than to discuss and vote and who are, for the most part, strangers to the rules of debate. We think that its results have been fruitful and profitable.

Your Excellency has held out the hope that in the fulness of time some constitutional assemblage may grow out of these conferences which will take its appropriate place in the Government of our mighty Empire. We cherish that hope; we trust that this conference will in future meet annually, for in it we see the commencement of an institution full of potential good. The ideal we have before us is a council of princes with specified functions and well defined powers and that it may perhaps be looked on in future as one of the landmarks of Your Excellency's term of office. Our every endeavour must be to secure that future sessions of the Conference may be worked on proper businesslike lines.

But in the reply which the Viceroy gave he refrained from committing himself. He merely said:—

I think I can without risk say that I share your opinion as to the value of this conference and hope to be able next year to invite Your Highnesses once again to help me with your advice, but I would beg you to give time for development and growth and the motto I would ask you to place before yourselves is "Festina lente", Make haste slowly. Naturally, I should like to see the conference take concrete shape during my tenure of office but the tenure of a Viceroy's office is merely an arbitrary time limit and the course of events in history are not determined by limits of man's making. Be sure that in this matter of the evolution of your Conference, as in others, the inevitable psychological moment will arrive. But true statesmanship awaits that moment and is careful not to be ahead of it.

The work done at the Chiefs' Conference.

The matters considered at the conference were not all of equal importance, as the following account submitted to the Viceroy by the Gaekwad will show:—

Of the agenda placed before this Conference we have been compelled to postpone consideration of item No. 2 relating to the realisation from insolvent debtors of assets in State territory, this being a complicated question which requires further investigation and expert advice. Consideration of the designs and plans for the Higher Chiefs' College, item No. 3, has also been postponed pending further information as to the funds available and the quantity of accommodation required, while, as regards item No. 7 on the subject of the rules for the payment of compensation for railway land required in British India we have decided that the question is one which is more suitable for discussion by letter and later reference, if necessary, to a future conference. As regards item No. 8 we have to acknowledge with gratitude the helpful suggestions made by Sir Thomas Holland as to the means by which the industries of our States may be developed. On the question of the ceremonial to be observed at installation and investiture durbars we have arrived, after full consideration, at certain conclusions which we desire to place before Your Excellency's Government for favourable consideration. Similarly the question of the form of administration to be adopted in a State during a minority, and administrative and moral training of minor princes and chiefs have been carefully considered by committees and resolutions on the subjects have been adopted. We have also recorded our opinion on the control and regulation of motor vehicles and have approved provisionally the report of the committee appointed to consider means for financing the Higher Chiefs' College.

The Conference has reaffirmed its previous resolution in favour of the institution of the Higher Chiefs' College at Delhi.

The reason why the Chiefs' Conference is needed.

The reason why such Chiefs' Conferences are needed and why they must be held under the auspices of the Viceroy and not independently by the Rajas themselves, cannot be understood without a knowledge of the exact status of the ruling princes and chiefs and their relationship with one another and with the British Government. Mr. St. Nihal Singh's useful book on "The King's Indian Allies" gives exact information on these points, and we shall, therefore, make a few extracts from that book.

ABSENCE OF EXTERNAL SOVEREIGNTY.

The Indian Rulers do not possess external sovereignty. The non-existence of such power completely cuts off the Rajas from relationship with any Power other than the British. Severally or jointly they cannot make nor end war, nor pursue negotiations concerning administrative affairs with any foreign government.

RAJAS ISOLATED.

The absence of external sovereignty results in isolation of one Raja's Government from that of another. No Indian Ruler can go to war against another, even with one who is his vassal and tribute to him. He cannot carry on or enter into negotiations with another concerning peace, or any administrative matter. The Rajas, singly or in numbers, may not arrive at any kind of political understanding between themselves, nor bestow, receive, or exchange tokens likely to carry any political significance with them. One cannot give titles to another, nor receive envoys from another Court.

The Rajas, no matter how close their racial affinity, blood relationship, or friendship may be, must transmit all communications of an official character through the British. No exception is made in the case of one who is dealing with his tributary. This policy is carried to such a length that certain Rajas are not allowed to collect directly the tribute due to them from some of their feudatories.

A few Indian Rulers whose Territories are interlaced are allowed to send official papers of a routine nature, such as summonses, warrants, and applications for extradition, direct from one State to another, in order to facilitate the administration of justice. These concessions have not in any degree modified the complete severance of one Indian Administration from another.

QUARRELS AVOIDED.

This policy is said to have been designed and enforced in order to eliminate all possible opportunity for Indian Rulers to quarrel with one another. It does not always succeed in this object; and disputes arise between neighbouring States, chiefly over matters pertaining to boundaries, the extradition of criminals, and other minor matters. The Rajas are bound by treaty or understanding to submit any disagreement that may arise between them, or with any Power, to the British for arbitration; and their finding is final and binding.

The Rajas and the Political Department

In the speech with which H. E. the Viceroy opened the Chiefs' Conference he said:—

Your Highnesses would be the first to acknowledge that the questions of business which have to be transacted between yourselves and the Government of India must be carried on through the medium of that distinguished body of men which forms the Political Department of the Government of India, and I feel sure that you would also acknowledge that no body of men has done more faithful service, not only on behalf of their own Government, but in the real interests of Your Highnesses and your states. But rare cases sometimes arise where there is a difference of opinion, and as to these I should like to inform Your Highnesses that I hold myself bound to investigate personally the issues at stake and to endeavour to act as an impartial judge.

How differences may arise between the Rajas and the Political Department will be understood to some extent from the following extracts from Mr. St. Nihal Singh's interesting work on "The King's Indian Allies":—

Indian Ruler, great or small, is bound to be representative of the British Government, and to give any advice that he may offer.....

THE PERSONAL ELEMENT.

It depends upon the temperament of the British Representative appointed to the Court of a Raja, and upon the capacity and tact, as to whether they cooperate or clash. If the Resident has a meddlesome disposition, or if he is a megalomaniac, he has it in his power to make life exceedingly uncomfortable for the Raja, and to restrict his functions of sovereignty. On the other hand, if the Resident is not capable of managing his affairs wisely, or is too indolent to attend to them, the British Representative is forced to take an active part in the Government. Numerous instances of discord caused by overzealous and tactless Residents, and by inefficient Rajas have occurred in the remote and immediate past; and there is no guarantee that they may not be repeated in the future.

But in normal circumstances, the British policy is to be to abstain from interfering with the Government of the Rajas as far possible, and to do nothing that will impair their authority or injure their prestige in the eyes of their officials and subjects.

Sibpur College Strike.

It will be remembered that there was a strike in Sibpur Engineering College on the 4th July last. At the meeting of the Governing Body held immediately after the strike it was resolved to remove the names of the strikers from the college rolls. The students on strike and whose names were struck off the rolls numbered about 100. Subsequently a circular letter was addressed to all the guardians of the strikers stating that if they liked to have their wards readmitted after the vacation they should apply to the Secretary of the Governing Body. In response to this, almost all the students applied for admission and the Governing Body at a recent meeting passed general orders to govern the re-admission of strikers.

We do not know whether there is any European in this Body, but the members present at this meeting were all Europeans. They passed the following orders:—

That no striker be readmitted unless he sign an ordinary form of application for admission; (2) no Government scholarships be reawarded to students who joined the strike; (3) that no senior scholarships be awarded to strikers on the results of 1916 Intermediate Examination in Engineering; (4) that on the results of the 1917 Intermediate Examination in Engineering the Principal may award Scholarships to strikers of the 1st year engineer of 1915-1916 if entirely satisfied with their merit; (5) that no striker be readmitted at the reduced fee, but students admitted to the 1st year or 2nd year class in July, 1916, may apply for re-admission to the reduced fee list on passing the annual examination in July 1917; (6) that before their names are entered on the books of the college all strikers may be readmitted shall be required to pay a

fine calculated on a sliding scale at the rate of Rs. 15 in the case of engineer students, Rs. 10 in the case of apprentice students for each year that has elapsed since their first joining the college, six months' attendance to count as a year in determining this fine; (7) that no college certificate be granted to strikers who do not rejoin; (8) that no strikers, either engineer or apprentice, who have completed the full course of theoretical instruction at the college be given practical training, nor in the case of those who have commenced their practical training shall they be allowed to complete it in order to qualify for the full college diploma or certificate; (9) that no striker, either engineer or apprentice, who has completed the full course of theoretical instruction and who has failed at the final examination shall be permitted to rejoin the college with a view to completing the last year's course; (10) that all monitors who joined the strike be expelled.

The orders blight the prospects of a considerable number of students. They must be considered draconian in their severity, specially when it is remembered that the strikers, as far as we are aware, have never had any opportunity to place their side of the case before the Governing Body, who have consequently passed orders on *ex parte* evidence. School and College strikes are, no doubt, unwise and mostly futile and sometimes mischievous proceedings. But still there may sometimes be extenuating circumstances, for which full allowance ought to be made, which has not been done in the present case. Adopting the language of Roman Catholic theology, one may say that a school or college strike like the one at Sibpur is a venial sin, not a deadly sin. Many Christians now-a-days do not believe in eternal damnation. Governing Bodies of Colleges ought not in cases like the Sibpur strike to pass orders which do irreparable injury to the future prospects of students.

Discipline is a good thing in its way, and it is also good to remind Indian students that the authority of preceptors should be obeyed like that of parents. But with parental authority is combined parental affection. Is there much of affection or feeling for the boys in the orders quoted above? Probably there could not be, as the sons of the members or of their friends, neighbours and countrymen do not study at Sibpur. The boys were evidently looked upon mostly as troublesome youngsters of a conquered race, and the Governing Body were perhaps unconsciously influenced by the spirit underlying the words, "I will teach you who is master." However, now that the bo-

have been *samjhaoed* and taught their place, may not Lord Carmichael intervene and import a larger element of human feeling into the matter? The guardians of the boys should petition His Excellency to do so.

Extraordinary Session of the Behar Provincial Conference.

From the report of the proceedings of the Bihar Provincial Conference published in the papers, we are very glad to find that the people of Bihar, Orissa and Chota-Nagpur have taken up a very firm attitude with regard to the Patna University Bill. They protest against its retrograde character. They want all the faculties which the other Indian universities possess, with agriculture and technology in addition. They want colleges in all places which can start and maintain them. And in conclusion they say that if they cannot have a University like the one they demand, "the people of the province will prefer to remain without a separate University." The agitation has been well begun and should be vigorously carried on.

Pandit Bishan Narain Dar.

The death of Pandit Bishan Narain Dar is a great loss to India, and particularly to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. He was a man of great intellectual powers and wide culture. With his ardent patriotism and great courage were combined sobriety of judgment and moderation in counsel. He was an eloquent and forcible speaker and writer. He distinguished himself as a speaker at an age at which many young men are still college students. Great things were expected of him. But though what he did was of high quality, chronic ill-health stood in the way of his doing all that his friends knew him to be capable of. That was the tragedy of his life. From youth upwards he and the late Munshi Gangaprasad Varma were co-workers. He was the first editor of the *Advocate*, and afterwards an occasional contributor to its columns. His contributions were always valuable. He had the reputation of being an excellent Urdu writer in both prose and verse. He was only 52 at the time of his death.

Mr. A. Hydari on Hindu-Moslem Unity.

In his pertinent and able presidential address at the South Indian Mahomedan

Educational Conference Mr. A. Hydari gave a comparative idea of Muslim education of different grades in the provinces of India, and compared the educational progress of his co-religionists with that of the Hindus. The advice he gave was wise. His observations on Hindu-Moslem relations were worthy of his nature and position. He asked :—

Is it possible that we children of the same motherland, nourished by the same earth, breathing the same air, can live happy and prosperous, nay live at all, without fighting amongst ourselves? The salvation of our country, our very existence depends upon the suppression of these rivalries and the union of us all in a common people united with one heart, working towards a common goal. It is a matter of peculiar pleasure to me to see, and I congratulate you upon the fact, that there is no Hindu-Mahomedan prejudice within your borders and that the traditional enmity of the two great communities of India to each other in this Presidency is one of brotherliness and co-operation. May it not be that the relative position of the Mahomedans in the statistics of education here is due to this fact? It is my prayer that this feeling may continue and shape their interests and mould their aspirations for all time to come, for the good and glory of our motherland.

Mr. Hydari on the Education of Women.

We are glad to find that Mr. Hydari did not take that narrow view of the education of women which considers it necessary only because they are mothers of children, and children cannot be properly educated unless the mothers are educated. He did draw pointed attention to that aspect of the question too, and he added:—

Before I close this subject I would like to draw your attention to what Dr. Lungen of Frankfurt says:—"It is our duty to regard a woman, not merely as a woman, the helpmate of man, the mother of children, the worker, perhaps driven by hard necessity to self-support—but as a *human being*, with the same rights as other human beings. We all believe that a young man, whether rich or poor, who is intended for a profession or not, has imposed upon him the noble and sacred duty of cultivating to the utmost perfection those gifts of the intellect which nature has endowed him, so that he may approach as nearly as may be to the ideal of humanity. Now, I ask, what right have we, men, to neglect a girl from this noble and sacred duty? Why, on the contrary, should we render the fulfilment of it difficult if not impossible for her? Is it not as if we lop the topmost part of a beautiful tree which was striving towards the sunlight? Are we not binding down the chains of spiritual slavery a large part of the human race? Are we not cruelly withholding from women the noblest, highest good—the possession of spiritual freedom?.....Let us now begin to pay the debt of centuries. To the grace and personal charm of women let us add the charm of trained intelligence, let us remove the bandage from their eyes and lead them to the fountain of knowledge that they, too, may have their share in the gath-

of ages, that they may despise empty frivolity, chatter and may learn to know the highest most inspiring of all human pleasures—joys of achievements."

Indentured Labour.

promptitude with which the United Provinces Congress Committee has addressed representation to Government on the subject of emigration of indentured coolies, is only commendable. The letter which President Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru has addressed to the secretary, Industries Department, U. P. Government, is well-reasoned to the point. Dr. Sapru says :—

The Government of India having publicly pledged themselves to the abolition of indentured emigration in the near future it is happily unnecessary for my Committee to dwell on the grave moral and social inseparably connected with it. The only questions which need occupy our attention now are how soon the present system should be discontinued and what conditions should be insisted on in future in regard to the recruitment of labourers in India and their treatment after arrival in the colonies which import them.

On the first point my Committee is emphatically of opinion that the present system should be immediately stopped and that, if it is necessary to achieve the object in view, the Government of India should hesitate even to place a temporary embargo on emigration altogether. It is true that the question is to be considered by an interdepartmental Committee of the India and Colonial Offices which will meet in London in January next. But the absolute prohibition of indentured labour cannot be the subject of discussion in any way. On the contrary, my Committee by enabling it to consider the whole matter without being hampered by past traditions, is more than six months have already passed Lord Hardinge announced the decision of the Government of India to stop the recruitment of indentured labour, and in view of the need for consultation with the Government of India, the local Governments and Indian public opinion before taking action on the subject of the interdepartmental Committee, a considerable time may well be expected to elapse before a scheme can be devised which will adequately safeguard the interests of Indian labourers. But the magnitude and seriousness of the evils which flow from the present system and which are so lucidly and fully described in the despatch addressed by the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the 10th October, 1915, render its immediate discontinuance a matter of urgent necessity. According to the despatch, over 7,000 indentured labourers are led to lead lives of misery and shame left for dead, British Guiana, Jamaica and Fiji in 1913. Consideration for the interests of these colonies is to induce Government to permit the continuation for however short a time, of a system which is its victims by thousands annually. In the words of the despatch of the 15th October, 1915, it is not the duty of the Government of India to provide coolies for the colonies. The Government should not allow the present mode of recruiting and engaging labour to continue until it can be replaced by a better system, and to bring it to an end whether a satisfactory

substitute for it can be devised or not. If no scheme can be formulated which will give adequate guarantees for the welfare of the labourers India will prefer the permanent stoppage of even free emigration to ruinous exploitation.

That is distinctly the opinion of the educated public of India.

As the Government of India seem to think that the systems prevalent in Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula would be a good substitute for indentured labour, and as, therefore, Mr. Majoribanks, I.C.S., has been deputed to enquire into the condition of Indian labourers, mostly Tamil coolies, in those countries, the U. P. Congress Committee has submitted that

It will be a great advantage if an Indian gentleman possessing a knowledge of Tamil and enjoying public confidence is associated with Mr. Majoribanks in the task which has been entrusted to him. His race and language will obviously be an asset of great value to him as his compatriots will open out their hearts far more freely to him than to any other person and the public will therefore have greater confidence in the result of the enquiry.

Exactly so.

As regards the systems prevalent in Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula, the Committee observes :—

The system prevalent in Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula seems to have recommended itself to the Government of India because it is apparently free from those features which are the main characteristics of indentured labour. But in reality the freedom of the labourer in these colonies is a delusion. He can be punished in a criminal court for purely labour offences, he is prevented on pain of imprisonment from quitting the estate on which he is employed, except on recognised holidays, without the permission of his employer, and the period of imprisonment or absence without leave is not counted as part of the period of service. In Ceylon a labourer can be sentenced to imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months if he is guilty of *drunkenness, wilful disobedience of orders, insolence, etc.*, or of quitting the service of his master without leave or one month's previous warning. He cannot legally engage himself for more than a month at a time, but the protection afforded to him by this provision is rendered illusory in practice by the fact that the contract is deemed to be renewed from month to month unless either party gives a month's notice of its intention to terminate it. According to the report of the Ceylon Social Service League of which Sir P. Arunachalam, Kt., formerly a member of the Executive Council of that colony, is chairman, the employers take advantage of this to force the labourers to continue in their service. 'Complaints are received from the coolies,' states the report, 'that when they give notice of their intention to leave an estate pressure is put on them by assault and reduction of food, or stoppage of food, to make them withdraw the notice, and that in default, false charges are trumped up and the recalcitrant coolie is sent to jail before the expiration of his notice. In a recent case a coolie, who escaped from the estate to give notice through

the magistrate, was sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment. A native coolie was recently produced before the chairman (Sir P. Arumachalam) who bore about forty cane marks on his back and was reported by the Medical Officer to have spied blood when first seen by him immediately after the assault. The offending superintendent was fined 'one rupee.' And the ill-treatment of women has become so grave a scandal that the Social Service League requested the Governor in a memorial submitted to him on the 18th September, 1916 that 'in no case shall a female be arrested or removed by, or placed in charge of males unless accompanied by a matron of the Fiscal's or Prisons' Department.' For 'in the absence of such precaution women are exposed to serious dangers until they reach the safe precincts of a court or of a principal jail.' It is hard to see in what essential respect a system which lends itself to such serious abuse differs from indentured labour or slavery.

The state of things in the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements does not seem to be less deplorable than it is in Ceylon. The freedom of contract is equally unreal, women are equally liable to ill-treatment, the labour laws are, if anything, severer and, it appears from private information, their administration is harsher.

Under these circumstances, not only the U. P. Congress Committee but all who are made acquainted with the facts, must "view with the greatest alarm any attempt to copy the system which prevails in Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula. Its adoption will bring no relief to the Indian labourer, and will intensify the political bitterness which indentured emigration has given rise to."

We support the suggestion of the Committee that "the report of Mr. Majoribanks as well as the recommendations of the interdepartmental committee should be published for general information and discussion before any action is taken upon them."

Cost of the C. I. D.

We are indebted to India for the following figures relating to the cost of the Criminal Investigation Department:—

A very interesting return has been issued by the Government of India showing the cost of the Criminal Investigation Department in the various provinces in the years 1904-5, 1911-12, 1912-13, 1913-14. The figures, which do not include that part of the department directly under the Government of India, exhibit an increase of ten lakhs of rupees (nearly £70,000, in as many years. The total cost in 1904-5 was Rs. 1,76,667 (£11,700); in 1911-12, it had risen to Rs. 11,53,019, in 1912-13, Rs. 11,63,684 were spent, and in 1913-14, Rs. 12,00,104 (£80,000). The greatest increase has been in Bengal, where the department cost a little over Rs. 50,000 in 1904-5, and no less than Rs. 4,50,000 (£30,000) in 1913-14. We have no doubt this figure has swollen considerably during the past two years. Bombay comes next. In 1904-

1905 the expenditure in that Presidency was Rs. 58,415; by 1911-12 it had quadrupled and as high as Rs. 2,09,114, and this had risen in 1914 to Rs. 2,13,039. Similar large increases in the other provinces, with the single exception of Burma, where the cost was only Rs. 415 in 1914, as compared with Rs. 39,235 in 1904-1905.

For the great increase in Bengal are due in the first place to Lord Curzon. For it was the partition of Bengal which led to events which made a police repression seem inevitable to his successor. The responsibility for the increase in other provinces, too, lies indirectly in the same quarter.

Lord Carmichael on the Police.

In the speech which Lord Carmichael made last month at the Police Training College at Surdah, he very magnanimously tried to transfer some portion of the popularity of the police to the shoulders of his own Government when he said:

It is not part of the duty of the police to lay down a policy for Government. Government has to throw its responsibility on to the shoulders of the police. Government is responsible for the action of the country. The police are its servants. Government entrusts the police with the maintenance of law and order and with the prevention of crime under existing conditions and under existing laws, but the police are not responsible for the policy which has led to the condition of affairs at any particular time and they are not responsible for the form of the law. When the failure or a failure of the police is due to conditions brought about by the policy of the administration or is due to defective lines, the police are not to blame. Government which is to blame and which they ought to blame. This consideration should affect the attitude of Government not only towards the police but also towards its police officers. There ought to be sympathy on the part of Government with the public and there ought to be sympathy also on the part of Government with the police. In both cases the sympathy should be founded on knowledge. Above all should be just.

But from the point of view of the people who suffer,—and it is really the hardship caused to the people which lies at the heart of the unpopularity of the police,—it is not the material who are to blame, the Government or the police. There is nothing to be gained by having a fling at either the police or the Government. We want both to be popular.

If "the policy of the administration" and "the condition of affairs" be to blame, are they immutable? Cannot they be changed? We think they can and ought to be.

India after the War.

It ought India to expect after the war. According to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, as stated in its annual report for 1915-1916,

she expects that, after the war, she will not be left to any part of the Empire merely because of her size. She may not have all the rights, but surely she ought not to be under any of the disabilities. The opinion is great to treat India as a dependent. It is true that she has encouraged the Self-Governing Colonies to think that they are superior to India. The Government must not treat Indians differently from the way in which Great Britain treats them: and India ought to have the power to retaliate against the wrongs of the Empire. The Legislative Council of India ought not to be employed merely to enforce the will of the ministers in the interests of classes and sections. It ought to take time for India to attain full self-government, but it ought not to take any time for it to be placed in the commissioned ranks of the army, to volunteer for defence, to be tried by jury, and to hold any office under the Crown.

Japan's Efforts to Hold Markets.

The efforts made by Japan to capture the markets left vacant by Germany, Austria, and other countries during the war, are being hampered from the flooding of our bazaars with Japanese goods. *The Japan Magazine* has given us some information about the efforts made by its countrymen to capture and hold the markets, from which we have much to learn. Here is the information.

Since the war began Japan has been doing what she can to capture and hold the trade fields formerly occupied by Germany, especially in Australia, New Zealand and the South Sea regions generally. She has been in a large measure successful, but the main question she has to consider is how to hold these markets after the war is over. For this purpose she is reorganizing her industrial and commercial forces, so as to ensure a sufficient output of the right quality of all manufactures and goods demanded by respective markets; and she is also appointing commercial commissioners to reside in the chief centres abroad to keep the business community at home in constant and intelligent touch with market conditions all over the world. These commissioners of Japan have already gathered an enormous amount of information that is proving immensely useful to their own manufacturers and exporters. The commissioners will be attended by students who can devote their lives to study of the trade fields where they are posted, taking the places of their superiors as the latter retire or are removed. In this way Japan hopes to be at all times familiar with the demands of the market in every part of the world and be thus in a position to supply the needs.

Beast and Man in India.

It is stated in a Government of India report that the number of persons killed by wild animals in British India in 1923. The number killed in the year was 1,702. Evidently,

either the men are getting less civilised or the animals are growing more civilised for the most acceptable test of civilisation seems at present to be the power to kill.

The total number of arms licenses in force in the year 1915 was 175,890 against 176,779 in the preceding year,—a decrease of about 1000. 175,890 licenses for the defence of more than 244 millions of British subjects against the depredations of wild animals which do not require licenses to carry arms in the shape of horns, claws, teeth, tusks, fangs, &c., do not seem at all adequate.

As the wild animals do not contribute taxes to the public treasury, and we do not want them to be provided with the weapons we require, and they ought to be punished for not paying any taxes and for carrying arms in the shape of teeth, tusks, claws, &c., without license. Of course, the most suitable form of punishment is to kill them and then deprive them of their weapons.

Indian Educational Service Appointments

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sāpru has obtained from the Government of India a statement showing the officers recruited for the Indian Educational Service since its reorganization on the 23rd July, 1896. Out of 308 officers, 25 have gone to fight the enemies of the Empire; but in filling up the temporary vacancies thus caused, the services of competent Indians have not been utilised to any appreciable extent. The number of appointments made during different periods and the number of Indians who obtained them is shown below.

Period.	No. of appointments.	No. of Indians
1896-1900	29	Nil.
1901-1905	56	Nil.
1906-1910	92	Nil.
1911-1916	115	seven (?)

The comparatively large number of appointments made in the last period, including a considerable number made when the Public Service Commission were collecting evidence and writing their Report and even after their Report had been submitted would have the effect of preventing the occurrence of any appreciable number of vacancies in the I.E.S. for years to come for Indians to fill either by direct appointment or by promotion from the Provincial Service, should the Commission have recommended any such course. By the time vacancies occur the senior men in the

Provincial Service may have to retire and another Royal Commission may be sitting.

For the small number of Indians appointed during the last period Indians may be called upon to be thankful; but it is a fact worth noting that even in the case of some of these appointments, decidedly more competent men have been passed over in favour of men who, though competent, are less competent.

The London School of Oriental Studies.

Lord Curzon, Lord Cromer, and the Lord Mayor of London are among the signatories to an appeal for public subscriptions in aid of an endowment fund of £150,000 for the London School of Oriental Studies in Finsbury Circus. The objects of this new institutions are three in number:

(1) To provide a place where the Englishmen who will presently be engaged in governing or garrisoning the Oriental and African parts of the Empire may learn the languages and study the literature, the religions, and the customs of the peoples with whom they will be so soon brought into contact, and their influence over whom will largely depend upon their familiarity with indigenous character, ideas, and institutions; (2) to offer a training to those who are about to proceed to the same countries to take part in commercial enterprise or avocations; (3) to furnish in the capital of the Empire a meeting-ground and focus for the scholars of the East, of all nationalities, where, on their visits to this country, they may be assured of a sympathetic welcome, and, if required, of opportunities for study among those who are engaged in kindred pursuits.

Of the three enumerated above, the first two are the real objects, and the last is a sort of soft sawder, meant to unloose the purse-strings of gullible Indians. The reader will notice the very complimentary word "garrisoning." We are called upon to pay for the education of our masters, of our exploiters, and of those who, according to the appeal, will do the work of "garrisoning" India, which means in plain language, "holding down Indians." We do not deny the need of soldiers for defending India. But why the insulting word "garrisoning"?

The income required is £14,000. "Of this sum the school has at present no view an income of about £7,000, including grants from the Imperial Government and the Government of India." A question should be put in the Imperial Council to ascertain the amount of the Indian grant, if any has been made. It should be opposed. As the pecuniary advantage will be derived entirely by Englishmen, why should we pay?

The Indian Students' Department in England.

Sir John Jardine asked the Secretary of the India what was the yearly cost of the Indian Department in the United Kingdom, and what the various salaries paid to different officials and what allowances were paid to them.

Mr. Charles Roberts (who replied) said: "The cost of the Indian Students' Department in the United Kingdom was £5,564 in 1914-15 and £5,544 in 1915-16. For details of salaries and allowances I refer my Hon. friend to the financial statement appended to the Annual Report on the work of the Indian Students' Department which is presented to Parliament."

Rightly or wrongly Indian students in Great Britain speak of "21, Crown Road" as the *Thana* (a police station) and the Indian Students' Department looked upon as an annexe of Scotland Yard. Is there any such compliment paid to colonial students and the colonies made to pay for it?

Race-strife in Canada.

In the *Literary Digest* for June 17, 1916, occurs the following paragraph:—

German sympathizers who enjoy any trouble that breaks out in parts of the British Empire are turning their eyes toward the Dominion of Canada where press dispatches inform us, the French language agitation has grown from a provincial problem to a national issue. An important feature of the friction between the English and French-Canadians in the schools of Ontario is the discovery that the recruiting statistics of the various provinces show that out of a total of 330,000 men enlisted, French Canada, with more than a quarter of the entire population of the Dominion, has furnished fewer than 14,000 men. Agitation against enlistment has been boldly carried on by Mr. Henri Bourassa, leader of the Nationalists,.....

In its issue for September 30 last, the same journal writes:—

A BITTER FIGHT has been raging in Canada over the use of the French language in the schools of Ontario, and we are told that it has not only engendered the sharpest race feeling between the British and French inhabitants, but, still more remarkable, it has divided the Roman Catholic population into "French" and "Irish" camps. It is further alleged that this language-issue is responsible for the small percentage of French-Canadians found in the Canadian force in France. The whole question is discussed in detail in the *London Round Table*, an authoritative quarterly review of the politics of the British Empire, which puts the question before us in its briefest form.

It is beside our purpose to enter into any details or comment on the features of this racial, linguistic and sectarian strife. We only wish to point out that Canada is a self-governing country, and that the fight has been raging there. Is it not a strife between nations, or between races?

NOTES

in the same country are no doubt to be deprecated. But non-believers in self-rule for India, both among our countrymen and among our British and Anglo-Indian opponents should take note that self-rule can be obtained and maintained in spite of the existence of racial, linguistic and sectarian strife.

Indians in the higher ranks of the Railway Service.

The writer of "Indian Railway Notes" in *The Railway Times* says:

There can be no gainsaying the fact that the Indians as a class are very badly paid on almost every line in this country.....Some of my Indian friends tell me that all their ills will be cured by the employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the service, but excepting State railways the prospect of Indian Railways being officered by Indians sufficient to revolutionise the conditions of service and pay of the Indian staff are remote in the extreme.

We think there is truth in the last clause of the last sentence. It is for this reason that Mr. Raicharan Mukerjee stated in an article in this *Review* that one of the points to be urged in favour of the State management of railways in India is that the State-managed lines employ Indians in the higher ranks, too, which company-managed lines generally do not.

"Yellow versus White."

Such is the heading of a note in the *Japan Magazine*. The paragraph is significant, though amusing. It tells us:—

The sun is full of caprice; it has its likes and dislikes, declares Mr. Unosuke Wakamiya in the *Chuo Koron*, and so it will finally decide the white man's fate as to occupation and exploitation of the tropics. On the yellow, the white and the black races the sun has different effects; the king of day decides where races shall and shall not live. If one race trespasses on another, the sun will eventually come to the rescue. It is no use for races to defy the lord of light. The sun favours the yellow man most; it places him in the largest and richest part of the world, and very probably he is the original representative of mankind, the first man. The three races mentioned occupy different portions of the globe. Of late, however, trespassing has begun. The white man has started to defy the sun; but he has neither the right nor the power to domineer over the yellow man; he can never succeed in planting himself permanently in Asia, which is the rightful home of the yellow man. He is likewise excluded from the home of the black man, by the same insistent sun. The white man is now at the zenith of his power and glory and has assumed the dictatorship of mankind. But he has failed in his attempted conquest of the tropics, the climate of which proves fatal to him and his offspring. His adventure has turned out morally and physically

disastrous to him. He cannot endure the races of East nor the sun that created them. Yet, strange say, though nature bans the white man from the tropics, she has made him dependent on tropical products. His tea, coffee, cocoa, dyes and fruits; cotton and tobacco; his rubber and numerous other necessities of civilization, all come from the tropics. But the sun decides that he shall obtain them through the yellow man and not come to take them himself. He must be satisfied to purchase what he needs from Asia and not try to take the country as well. It is indeed wonderful to what pains nature has gone to exclude the white man from Asia. The native tropical countries have a normal temperature lower than that of the European at home, so that a white man arriving in the tropics inevitably suffers from rise of bodily temperature and becomes liable to tropical diseases of all kinds. Thus the native easily live where the white man will die. To be completely acclimated the white man has to perform the miracle of lowering his natural temperature in the tropics; but this takes several generations, a process which the tropics have conquered him and he is no longer a white man. In this matter the yellow man has no difficulty at all, for the sun has made him life in hot climates: the tropics are his home. The Japanese is a yellow man; he has the warm blood of the south; his temperature is normally below that of the European; and the cry of "Southward Ho!" is most natural to him. Japan, and not Europe or America, is to be supreme in Asia.

In his enthusiasm and hurry the writer has forgotten the existence of races which are not exactly white or yellow, or black, or blue, or others. Were they created to slave others?

Recruiting in Bengal.

The decision of Government to continue recruiting in Bengal, though the double company of 228 is now complete, is statesmanlike. One special point to note about the Bengalis who have enlisted in the army, and otherwise distinguished themselves in the war, is that they all come from the educated middle class. Jatindranath Sen, who died fighting as a private in France, was a graduate of a British university. Captain Kalyan Kumar Mukherji, I. M. S., one of the Kut prisoners, who has been awarded the Military Cross for his gallantry and coolness in performing an urgent surgical operation in the field under fire and other acts of bravery, belongs to a middle-class family. Those members of the Bengal Ambulance Corps who have been mentioned and commended in despatches for distinguished service all come from the ranks of the middle-class gentry. From this class a large number of recruits cannot be expected unless the conditions of service regarding pay and prospects be improved and the internment of men is made with

far greater discrimination. The Commissioned ranks should be thrown open to qualified Indians of all classes. Steps should be taken to popularize recruiting among the cultivating and labouring classes.

Night Schools and the Police.

The harassment to which the pupils and teachers of night schools in some places are subjected by the police or their agents is an unjustifiable feature of police activities.

In some places night schools have been closed by threats indirectly conveyed. It is not axiomatic that people engage in altruistic work for a nefarious purpose. Far greater discrimination ought to guide the conduct of the police and their agents in this matter. His Excellency the Governor has said that the police are not to blame for everything that they do, and that in certain matters they only carry out a policy of the Government. But can the name of Government be connected with the harassment of the teachers and students of night schools in certain places and their suppression by indirect means?

Two "Round Table" Books.

In the preface to "*The Problem of the Commonwealth*" published by Macmillan & Co., Mr. Lionel Curtis writes:—

"In 1910 groups of men belonging to all political parties were formed in various centres in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa for studying the Imperial problem. Other groups were subsequently brought into existence in the United Kingdom, India and Newfoundland, and they all came to be known informally as 'Round Table groups,' from the name of the Quarterly Magazine instituted by their members as a medium of mutual information on Imperial affairs.

"The task of preparing or editing a comprehensive report on the problem was undertaken by the present writer. Preliminary studies were distributed to the groups for criticism, and their criticisms, when collected, were printed and circulated for their mutual information. In the light of these criticisms instalments of the report were prepared and printed for private circulation as each was finished. It presently appeared that any attempt to treat the subject in all its essential aspects would fill several volumes. Shortly before the war, therefore, it was decided to prepare a brief separate report on one aspect of the Imperial problem, that raised by the question *how a British citizen in the Dominions should acquire the same control of foreign policy as one domiciled in the British Isles*. A draft was prepared and widely circulated for criticism in the autumn of 1915 and in view of this criticism the text has now been substantially revised.

"The result is the present volume, which aims merely at showing what in the nature of things are

the changes which must be made before a British subject in the Dominions can acquire self-government in the same degree as one domiciled in the British Isles. No attempt could be made within the compass of this short report to discuss in detail the position of India and the great Dependencies of the Commonwealth. An adequate treatment of this important subject must be left to the main report which is still in progress."

The first volume of this larger report has been published under the title of "*The Commonwealth of Nations*." India will be dealt with in the first section of Part I of "*The Commonwealth of Nations*."

We understand that in pursuance of the Round Table plan of studying the Imperial problem as it concerns India, Mr. Curtis is now touring in this country. He will take note of both official and non-official views, and has, it is said, already had the advantage or disadvantage of the company of Sir Valentine Chirol. However, as the Round Table group are not a quite negligible coterie, it is necessary to know their point of view. Non-official Indian gentlemen who might meet Mr. Lionel Curtis would do well to study at least one of the two books referred to in this note, viz., *The Problem of the Commonwealth* particularly Chapter XIX which treats of the Dependencies. Some idea of the Round Table plan of dealing with India may be gained from Mr. Polak's timely article in our present number. We shall review in a future issue the two books edited by Mr. Curtis.

The Cyclone in South India.

Heart-rending accounts of the havoc wrought by the cyclone in South India are being gradually received. Two brief extracts will show their character.

The havoc caused by the cyclone amongst men and cattle in the villages between Chinglepet and Chidambore is serious. There are reports received of the destruction, entire villages being swept away in floods, fields and crops submerged and pucca buildings being blown down by the hurricane. Numerous corpses of human beings and animals are floating down the river or are buried under ruins.

PONDICHERRY, November 26th
It is officially stated that till yesterday morning 275 dead bodies have been discovered from under walls, trees, huts and in pools in the town and suburbs. The victims are mostly children, old men and women. Relief work has been started by different local bodies and Government. The loss to the Rod Mills is estimated at about seven lakhs. Offices and colleges remain closed since Thursday. The city is without light. The mails from Madras were received this morning. Telegraph service has not been resumed.

A Madras telegram to the dailies says that at a meeting of the Legislative Council, the Governor presiding, His Excellency exhorted the Council to come to the aid of the mass of people who were rendered homeless. The Council closed the session last evening after sanctioning more than a lakh-and-a-half of rupees for helping the destitute homeless, to construct the houses, remit taxes and repair the town. The twenty per cent. tax passed by the General Municipal Council is postponed in view of the distress caused by cyclone.

The sufferings and loss caused by the cyclone are great and widespread. Consequently relief funds should be opened in all provinces without delay.

Agricultural Education.

In spite of the authoritative pronouncement of Mr. H. Sharp, Education Commissioner with the Government of India, to the effect that "where the bulk of the population is agricultural, the period of education is necessarily shorter than under more complicated social conditions and the amount of education required is less," the cause of agricultural education is bound to make headway. One encouraging fact which points to this conclusion is the paper on "Agricultural Education" by Mr. Wynne Sayer, B. A., Assistant to the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, contributed to *The Agricultural Journal of India*, published for the Imperial Department of Agriculture in India. Mr. Sayer leaves us in no doubt as to the great value attached by his Department to the wide diffusion of agricultural education.

Agricultural colleges of the advanced type we have at present in India came with the development of the Agricultural Department, the idea being that agriculture is the backbone of Indian prosperity we give too much agricultural education in this country; while therefore preference was to be given to those who were brought up amidst agricultural surroundings; yet there colleges were to be open to the non-cultivating classes as might be leading towards agriculture.

...inks, and we fully agree with him, ...should be university degrees in

...ean countries there is an agricultural lines of other faculties in the liberal scientific education in sciences allied thereto and training work. In these no training in operations is given, as the object

is to turn out specialists fitted to carry on independent investigations. These faculties provide liberal scientific education in agriculture and thus attract the very best talent. We think that in India also for the general widening of agricultural education affiliation to a University is desirable. So long as agricultural colleges are not affiliated to a University they will not attract boys from the higher classes of Indian society connected with the land. These classes require a true collegiate education centring round agriculture, not mere manual training in the details of each agricultural practice. When these facilities are provided a fair number from these classes will be forthcoming, and the men thus trained will take their places as leaders of rural society with a thorough knowledge of what to aim at in the development of their estates. The strength of English agriculture lies in the fact that practically every land-owning Englishman has a knowledge of farming and stock breeding—it is part of his life: *noblesse oblige* is the reason for it and the fact is recognized from the King downwards. Thus it can be seen that this class furnishes the country with a set of pioneers and influential supporters in agricultural improvement and India wants a similar class.

Mr. Sayer also deals with the education of grown-up farmers and of the cultivators' sons.

Japan's Expansion.

Mr. Y. Takekoshi, one of the foremost politicians and publicists of Japan, has contributed an article to the *Toho Jiron*, in which he "wants to know what the government is doing during the period of crisis to expand the national boundaries: in other words, what Japan is going to get out of this war, to which she has lent her name. Mr. Takekoshi holds that this is the psychological moment for an extension of Japanese territory; and if the moment is not seized it will not again return." He is good enough not to believe in dismembering China; he thinks Japan can expand in other ways.

She has Tsingtau, but there is talk of returning that to China; and she has a few bits of rock in the South Seas but can the Japanese people be satisfied with so paltry a reward as this? They are no more than what one might pick up on the street. It is not enough to be called a dutiful, benevolent and philanthropic nation. Mr. Takekoshi believes the government should evince a larger ambition. No matter who wins in the war he thinks the Dutch East Indies are bound to pass under the control of more powerful nations than Holland, and that, therefore, Japan should forestall others and seek control of them. Now is the time to ask Holland for Java and Sumatra, just as America is asking Denmark for her islands in the Atlantic; and the fact that at present the Powers are busy cultivating Japan's friendship and good-will shows they will be ready to acquiesce. No better time than the present can be thought of for obtaining Java and Sumatra. This war has shown that the main safeguard of an island empire is control of food supply

by supremacy on the sea ; and without possession of the Dutch East Indies Japan could not hope to effect such control. Holland can do without these colonies better than Japan can. Even now Holland is unable to maintain the strict neutrality of these islands ; and it was the same during the Russo-Japanese war. Once secure Java and Sumatra and immigration to America will be no longer necessary.

The trend of another article in the *Japan Magazine* is also significant. The writer is Dr. Naito of the Kyoto Imperial University. Here are a few extracts from it.

Supposing Japan and Russia had sent one-third each of their forces for the subjugating of China instead of fighting with each other, how different the result would have been! And the object would have been attained in less than half a year.

Should Germany and France ever come to realize what an immense change they could bring about in the world by uniting, what a difference that would make in results! At present such a thing seems impossible ; but who is to say that such a thing will be impossible after the war ? It is no more impossible than the present alliance between Japan and Russia, which seemed so impossible during our conflict with that country.

All international relations are based on national safety ; and if in the future any new group of nations should arise, threatening our safety, we might be obliged to change our present attitude. At present we do not blame ourselves for faithfully adhering to our obligations, but how long, can we say, this attitude will be wise to continue ?

In this war the fate of the British and French colonies is altogether dependent on the attitude of Japan. After the war is over colonial administration will doubtless go on as before, without any greater

measure of protection or any increase in military strength : but they cannot forget how during war they were dependent for protection on Japan and will always be so dependent so long as present situation continues. But when all the powers and colonies awake to their real strength new situation may arise and then Japan may have to take a new attitude.

Work for the Congress.

Besides the question of self-government for India after the war, the Indian National Congress will, we trust, take up questions of the Patna University Bill, rural sanitation, the poverty of the masses, Press Laws, universal elementary education, general recruiting in all provinces, the alarmingly permanent character of plague epidemic, the abuse of the Defence India Act as exemplified in Bengal in case of numerous men interned or deported and in the prohibition of Mrs. Besant from entering the Bombay Presidency and C. P. and Berar, and other important matters.

The Indian Excise Revenue.

The following statement supplied by Secretary of State shows the alarming increase of the excise revenue in India :—

	1904-5	1909-10	1914
Net Excise Revenue of India.	£5,295,863	£6,462,226	£8,744,000